

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

ESTABLISHED 1843.

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

London:

MDCCLXXXIII.

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OF THE
British
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1878.

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T. RICHARDS, 37, GREAT QUEEN STREET, W.C.

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British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archaeology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions, of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the first and third Wednesdays in the month, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Members have the privilege of introducing their friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Members, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Treasurer, THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., Hill Side House, Palace Road, Streatham Hill, S.W., to whom subscriptions by Post Office Order or otherwise, should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or TEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to receive the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA, except in the cases set forth on p. iv. The annual payments are due in advance.

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1844 CANTERBURY . . . }	LORD ALB. D. CONYNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1845 WINCHESTER . . . }	
1846 GLOUCESTER . . . }	
1847 WARWICK . . . }	
1848 WORCESTER . . . }	
1849 CHESTER . . . }	J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A. SIR OSWALD MOSELEY, Bt., D.C.L. THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1850 MANCHESTER & LANCASTER . . . }	
1851 DERBY . . . }	
1852 NEWARK . . . }	
1853 ROCHESTER . . . }	
1854 CHEPSTOW . . . }	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A. THE MARQUIS OF AILESBUURY THE EARL OF CARNARVON BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1855 ISLE OF WIGHT . . . }	
1856 BRIDGWATER AND BATH . . . }	
1857 NORWICH . . . }	
1858 SALISBURY . . . }	
1859 NEWBURY . . . }	SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, Bt., M.P., M.A., C.B. JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A. LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L. GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A. THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND THE EARL OF CHICHESTER SIR C. H. ROUSE BOURGTON, Bt. EARL BATHURST LORD LYTTON CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P. SIR W. COLES MEDLYCOTT, Bt., D.C.L.
1860 SHREWSBURY . . . }	
1861 EXETER . . . }	
1862 LEICESTER . . . }	
1863 LEEDS . . . }	
1864 IPSWICH . . . }	THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M. KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P. THE MARQUIS OF HERTFORD THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE SIR WATKIN W. WYNN, BART., M.P.
1865 DURHAM . . . }	
1866 HASTINGS . . . }	
1867 LUDLOW . . . }	
1868 CIRENCESTER . . . }	
1869 ST. ALBAN'S . . . }	
1870 HEREFORD . . . }	
1871 WEYMOUTH . . . }	
1872 WOLVERHAMPTON . . . }	
1873 SHEFFIELD . . . }	
1874 BRISTOL . . . }	
1875 EVESHAM . . . }	
1876 BODMIN AND PENZANCE . . . }	
1877 LLANGOLLEN . . . }	

Essays relating to the History and Antiquities of these several places will be found in the volumes of the *Journal*. The *Journals* already published are sold at the following prices, and may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association :

Vol. I, £2 to the Members.

The subsequent volumes, £1 : 1 to Members ; £1 : 11 : 6 to the public.

The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1 : 11 : 6 ; to the Members, £1 : 1.

In addition to the *Journal*, published regularly every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archeologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 15s. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 10s.

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., Honorary Secretary. Present price to Associates, 10s. 6d. ; to the public, 15s. Subscribers' names received by the Treasurer.

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1877-78 are as follow :—1877, Nov. 21, Dec. 5. 1878, January 2, 16 ; Feb. 6, 20 ; March 6, 20 ; April 3, 17 ; May 1 (Annual General Meeting, 4.30 P.M.), 15 ; June 5.

Visitors will be admitted by order from members ; or by signing their names, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION¹

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of patrons, associates, correspondents, and honorary foreign members.

1. The Patrons,²—a class confined to the peers of the United Kingdom, and nobility.

¹ The rules, as settled in March 1846, are here reprinted by order of the Council. The variations made since that date are introduced, and indicated by notes.

² Patrons were omitted in 1850 from the list of Members, and have since been nominated locally for the Congresses only.

2. The Associates,—such as shall be approved of and elected by the Council ; and who, upon the payment of one guinea as an entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology, in which case the entrance fee is remitted), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or ten guineas as a life subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Committee, and admit one visitor to each of the public meetings.
3. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities ; to be qualified only for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two members of the Council, or of four Associates.
4. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious and learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen¹ Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, and a Secretary for Foreign Correspondence ; who, with eighteen² other Associates, one of whom shall be the Honorary Curator, shall constitute the Council. The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The election of Officers and Council shall be on the first Wednesday³ in May in each year, and be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during one hour. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the President or presiding officer ; and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists, and report thereon to the General Meeting.

OF THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1. The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society. He shall regulate the discussions, and enforce the laws of the Society.
2. In the absence of the President, the chair will be taken by one of the Vice-Presidents, or some officer or member of Council.
3. The President shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Society, discharge all debts previously presented to, and approved of by, the Council ; and having had his accounts audited by two members elected at the previous Annual Meeting, shall lay them before the Annual Meeting.

¹ Till 1848 six Vice-Presidents, then the number enlarged to eight, in 1864 to ten, and in 1875 to the present number. In 1868 past Presidents made permanent Vice-Presidents.

² Formerly seventeen, but altered in 1875 to the present number.

³ In the earlier years the elections were in March. After 1852 till 1862, the Annual General Meetings were held in April. Subsequently they have been held in May.

OF THE SECRETARIES.

1. The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association.
2. The Secretary for Foreign Correspondence shall conduct all business or correspondence connected with the foreign societies, or members residing abroad.

OF THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the members, whose names are to be read over at the public meetings.
2. The Council shall meet on the days¹ on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require; and five shall be deemed a sufficient number to transact business.
3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.
4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members.
5. The Chairman, or his representative, of local committees established in different parts of the country, and in connection with the Association, shall, upon election by the Council, be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council and the public meetings.
6. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association shall meet on the third Wednesday in November, the first Wednesday in December, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from January to May, and the second Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely;² for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.
2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Members, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly.
3. A general public meeting, or Congress, shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings, either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

¹ In the earlier years the Council meetings and ordinary meetings were not held in connection.

² At first the meetings were more numerous, as many as eighteen meetings being held in the year; and the rule, as it originally stood, appointed twenty-four meetings. Up to 1867 the evening meetings were held at half-past eight.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1877-8.

President.

SIR WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNN, BART., M.P.

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Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.; THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.;
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British Archaeological Association.

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1878.

*The past-Presidents marked * are permanent Vice-Presidents.*

The letter L. denotes Life-Members.

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WELSH CONVERTS OF ST. PAUL.

BY J. W. GROVER.

THOSE who have had the good fortune to visit Rome will remember with delight the majestic basilica church of S. Maria Maggiore, the largest, and I may add noblest, of the eighty churches which are said to be dedicated to the Virgin in the Eternal City. A few steps from this splendid fane, in the direction of the Quattro Fontane, bring the pilgrim to the church of S. Pudenziana, which tradition asserts to be the most ancient Christian building in Rome. To a Welshman it certainly must be the most interesting, for it was founded by the daughter of that beautiful and accomplished Welsh lady, Claudia Rufina, who was, it is said, the near relative of the famous Prince of Wales, Caradog.

As I am not using the word Welsh in its more extended application, but am confining it to its modern acceptance, it is necessary that I should parenthetically observe that the Saxon and Teutonic races generally applied the name indiscriminately to the former proprietors of these islands, who were not of Teutonic race. The *Saxon Chronicle*, for instance, describes the inhabitants of the Sussex town of Pevensey as Welsh; and the Saxon word "Woelisc" meant simply a foreigner. All England, before the Saxon invasion, was the land of the Welshman, although history generally adopts the Roman name of Britons. The Welsh of those times, it is well known, should be more correctly described as Cymry.

The church of S. Pudenziana is said to stand on the site

of the house of the Roman officer Pudens ; and here tradition asserts that he and his beautiful wife Claudia entertained St. Peter and St. Paul. The present mosaics in the tribune are of the fourth century probably, and represent Christ with St. Praxedis and St. Pudenziana and the apostles ; and above them the emblems of the evangelists, on either side of the cross. They are said to be the oldest Christian remains in Rome. At the extremity of the aisle is an altar with the relics of the table at which, according to Romish legends, St. Peter is said to have first read Mass. The question of St. Peter's presence in Rome is one which I cannot venture to discuss here. All that can be said is that we have no Scriptural authority on the subject ; but we have indubitable evidence of St. Paul's presence in the Eternal City ; and amongst other converts, in his second Epistle to Timothy he mentions Claudia and Linus and Pudens. The question now is, who were these sainted persons so named ? Can we identify them in any way by the record of real history, apart from those triads and ecclesiastical traditions on which the antiquary does not like to lean too heavily ? And my object in this paper is to put forward the evidences which learned men have collected on the subject, rather than to broach any theory of my own.

A glance at the page of Roman story in the days of St. Paul. Claudius was on the throne, and he sends his legions into Britain to conquer the land,—a task which the redoubtable Julius, his predecessor, had not been able to accomplish about a hundred years before. Some say he came himself, and although he did not stay very long, his lieutenants prosecuted the campaign with true Roman energy and pluck. It must, however, have been but an unequal fight at best. On the one side were science and generalship, commanding well-disciplined steel-clad cuirassiers and heavy-armed legionary infantry ; on the other, patriotism and enthusiasm, and a half-armed mob of skin-clad warriors, attacking with enthusiasm, and then flying panic-stricken at the first resistance.

According to the Welsh *Triad*, No. 17, all the Britons, “from king to vassal, enlisted under the banner of the valiant Caradog, at the call of their country, against foes and depredation”. Caradog, we are told by the same authority, was the son of Bran, Prince of the Silures, or

inhabitants of South Wales,—a race which seem to have resisted the Romans more valiantly than any other. For nine years did the undaunted Prince of Wales hold his own. His story will be read and re-read with fond affection by every inhabitant of these islands, and by every lover of freedom, and a touching story it is. Defeat, and chains, and slavery, were the fate of the gallant Welshman. His last battle was fought, it is supposed, near Brandon Camp, on the Teme. “This is the day”, said he, “and this is the battle which will prove either the beginning of recovered liberty or of endless slavery.” The battle was, indeed, lost ; but by the merciful ordinance of Providence the victory really was won by the conquered Briton, for it led to his journey to Rome ; and tradition tells us that in consequence of the visit of his family to that city, Christianity was first introduced into Britain. His dignified bearing in the presence of Claudius and Agrippina are such well known facts in history that I will merely allude to them. He made a speech which Tacitus has handed down to admiring posterity, and the Emperor generously forgave the conquered warrior, and caused his fetters to be removed, and also set at liberty his wife, his daughter, and his brother.

Now Archdeacon Williams in his *Ecclesiastical History of the Cymry*, quoting from the Welsh genealogy of the saints, p. 58, identifies the Claudia of St. Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy with Eurgain or Eigen, the daughter of Caractacus ; but in another place he seems to make her the daughter of Cogidunus, and the niece of the great British chief. The tradition in the Romish Church seems to be that she was his sister. From the various concurrent testimony, it may be accepted that she was his near relation ; and it can be well understood, from the custom of the times, that she adopted the Roman name of Claudia out of respect to the emperor, who had generously spared her and her noble kinsman.

The story is told in Sir Richard Phillips' *Million of Facts*¹ thus. The British lady Claudia, to whom Martial addressed two or three of his epigrams, and others to Linus and Pudens, is supposed to be the very Claudia mentioned with Linus and Pudens in St. Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy. She is believed by Cambrian writers to be of the family of

¹ London, 1835 ; 8vo, p. 872.

Caractacus, and perhaps the *first British Christian*. In 51 Caractacus was overcome. In 62 Paul was at Rome, and was murdered by Nero in 67. In 90 Martial died aged 75. Her Cambrian name, as translated, would be Gladys Ruffyth, for Martial addresses her husband as Pudens and Rufus on their marriage; and he also addresses two or three of his epigrams to Linus, proving the connection of the three.

Dr. Lingard, in his *History of England*, seems also to accept the story. We have certain evidence from St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, not later than two or three years after the arrival of the Welsh captives at Rome, that there were Christian converts in that city; and amongst them one "Rufus". It is also said that, according to the chronology of Eusebius and Jerome, St. Paul himself was in Rome as early as the year 56, when it was still possible that the great British chief was there himself.

The Welsh Triads differ somewhat from the version of Tacitus, for they make out that Bran, a great Welsh prince, was the father of Caractacus, and was detained at Rome as a hostage for his son for seven years. Prince Bran was a bard; and whilst in the city he seems strictly to have adhered to the principles of his order, in the free investigation of matters which contributed to the attainment of truth and wisdom.

Archdeacon Williams¹ says that "the sound morality and sublime mysteries of the Gospel recommended themselves preeminently to his reason and faith. He might have learned them even from the lips of the Apostle himself". The fact of Bran's conversion is recorded thus in Triad 18: "That Bran brought the faith in Christ first into this island from Rome, where he had been in prison." Again, in Triad 35: "Bran, the blessed son of Llyr Llediath, who first brought the faith in Christ to the nation of the Cymry from Rome, where he had been seven years as a hostage for his son Caradog."

The Welsh genealogy of the saint of the Isle of Britain agrees with the Triads in attributing the first introduction of Christianity to Bran: "Bran, the son of Llyr Llediath, was the first of the nation of the Cymry that embraced the faith in Christ." Another copy says: "Bran was the first who brought the Christian faith to this country." For

¹ *Cymry*, p. 53.

these interesting documents we are indebted to the bards ; but we have the high evidence of the early reception of the Gospel in Britain from Theodoret, Eusebius, and Gildas. The two former refer the event to apostolic times, and the latter fixes the date before the year 61, when Boadicea was defeated by the Romans. What makes this subject of special interest to us at this Congress is that “Castell Dinas Bran” takes its name from Prince Bran, who was said to have founded it ; and as he was the first Welsh Christian, and no doubt a friend of St. Paul, we must look with especial reverence on his ancient domicile. Harlech Castle was called by the Welsh *Twr Bronwen*, after Bronwen, a Welsh lady, who was said to be the sister of Prince Bran. A farmhouse in Glamorganshire called *Trevran* is pointed out by tradition as the place where Prince Bran used to reside. Not far from it is the church of *Ilid*, which is regarded as the oldest church in Britain.

I hope I shall not be held responsible for all the quotations I may make from the ancient Welsh MSS. It is well known that they require much caution ; but they have a certain value, and, like tradition, are collateral evidence, which is only of service when there is other testimony of a more authentic character to begin with. These MSS. state that four other missionaries accompanied Prince Bran from Rome to Wales. One of them is called “*Arwystli*”, and is spoken of as a man “of Italy”, and is traditionally identified¹ with the Aristobulus of St. Paul ; the other three are called “men of Israel”, but their names have a much more Welsh than Jewish ring ; they are *Ilid*, *Cyndav*, and *Mawan*. The church of *Llan Ilid* is said to have taken its name from one of these illustrious missionaries, who seem to have paid all their attention to Wales, the country of their chief. Indeed one of the *Triads* especially claims for Wales priority in accepting the Gospel. Thus it says : “Three ways in which a *Cymro* is primarily above every other nation in the Isle of Britain—primary as a native, primary as regards social rights, and primary in respect of Christianity.”

With respect to the three last named Welsh missionaries, we cannot certainly be assured that they were friends and direct converts of St. Paul : but if there really were such people, and they came from Rome as Christians when the

¹ *Cymry*, p. 55.

Apostle was preaching there, it is scarcely possible they can have missed hearing and knowing him. The legend is that they were sent over by Claudia, or as she is called by her native friends, Eurgain.

Of Aristobulus (the Arwystli), the first of these missionaries, there is a most remarkable independent confirmation of the legend as to his being indeed confirmed Bishop of the Britons by St. Paul himself; and it is given at length in Usher,¹ and is from the Greek menology—a production, I believe, of the Byzantine Empire; and such confirmation of the Welsh tradition by Greek writers, with whom there could be no collusion, seems to fix with reasonable historical certainty the first Welsh bishop as Aristobulus, the convert of St. Paul mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans, ch. xvi, v. 10. Usher also quotes a similar statement from Dorotheus, Bishop of Tyre, to the effect that Aristobulus was made Bishop of Britain.

We will now return to Claudia herself. She is the great centre light of our picture, for she at least is no myth, but an undoubted once-living beautiful Christian lady; and probably a Welsh one too. Of her friendship with St. Paul and Martial we can speak with reasonable historical assurance. St. Paul, and Martial! how can I couple two such discordant names? That after eighteen centuries both are yet known as the friends of the beautiful Claudia, is about all that can be said to be common between them, yet both were in Rome at the same time; the one an obscure prisoner, bound with a chain to a Roman soldier; a tent-maker by trade; sent from a far distant province on an obscure charge to the great Court of Appeal, before Cæsar himself; the other the gay licentious young Spanish barrister, too much given to versification to succeed at the bar, rich and powerful, the friend of several emperors, from whom honours flowed as the reward of poetic homage. The one destined to revolutionise the moral and social government of mankind, and to die the death of a sanctified martyr and apostle; the other doomed to retire from the brilliant pageantry of Imperial Rome to his native land, a poverty-stricken and broken old man. To the first the grandest and most majestic of Christian churches of the great commercial centre of the world has been dedicated,

¹ *Britann. Eccles. Antiq.*, p. 9.

the other has left his name only on a volume on the dusty shelves of the Latin scholar's library. Martial, it seems, had a special attachment to Claudia and her husband Rufus Pudens. His first ode to her, book iv, epig. 13, begins—

“Claudia Rufe meo nubit peregrina Pudenti,
Maecte esto tædis O Hymenæe tuis.
Tam bene rara suo miscentur cinnama nardo,
Massica Thæsæis tam bene vina favis.”

Which may be freely rendered—

My Pudens, with the stranger Claudia wed,
Demands thy torch, O Hymen, light to shed.
Then rare cinnamon with spikenard join,
And mix Thæsean sweets with Massick wine.

Another ode, book ii, epig. 54, says she is a Briton.

“Claudia cœruleis cum sit Ruffina Britannis
Edita ; cur Latiae pectora plebis habet !
Quale decus formæ, Romanam credere matres,
Italides possunt Atthides esse suam.”

Which may be rendered generally—

From painted Britons how was Claudia born !
The fair barbarian how do arts adorn !
When Roman charms a Grecian soul commend,
Athens and Rome may well for her contend.

In these we have Claudia and Rufus Pudens identified ; and it is singular that the poet, in speaking of the latter, uses a rarely applied Roman word, “sanctus” or sainted, which seems to show the character of the man who was worthy to be one of the earliest converts to Christianity. It might be contended that the names of Claudia and Pudens, being common amongst the Romans, might apply to other persons ; but when we add the third, of Linus, which was a very uncommon name, it seems to fix the identification. Martial, in no less than four of his epigrams, alludes to Linus,¹ and from these it would appear that he was a schoolmaster.

There seems to be some little difference of opinion as to who was the first Pope after St. Peter, supposing him to have been one. Some say Clement, others Linus. “We know”, says the Rev. C. H. Bromby, Principal of the Normal College at Cheltenham, in his little work on the

Lib. ii, Epig. 38 ; lib. v, Epig. 12 ; lib. iv, Epig. 66 ; and lib. ii, Epig. 54.

Liturgy and Church History, "that Linus was a Briton, Clement tells us he was the son of Claudia". If Linus was indeed half a Welshman, then it is evident the Church of Wales owes less to Rome for its origin than Rome to Wales. This, too, is the argument of a learned Welshman, Thomas Jones, who, in the year 1678, wrote a singular book, entitled *The Heart and its Right Sovereign, or Rome no Mother Church to England*. I have read that when Cardinal Wiseman was elected to that dignity in the Romish Church, as is customary on the election of an ecclesiastic to that office, he adopted as his patron saint Pudens, the husband of the Welsh Claudia. A good deal of curious legendary lore has surrounded the name of St. Pudens, the husband of our heroine. He was said to have been a senator of Rome, as well as an officer in the army. His house seems to have been the headquarters of the early converts of the apostles in Rome, and his daughters, St. Praxedis and St. Pudenziana, according to Dr. Maitland, ministered to the suffering Christians during the Antonine persecutions.

One of the famous portraits of our Saviour in Rome, which is exhibited on Easter Day in the Monastery of St. Praxedis, is said to have been given by St. Peter to the senator Pudens. The story goes that it was sketched by that apostle, for the daughters of Pudens, one evening at supper, in the house of Claudia, on the napkin of Praxedis. It was encased in silver by Pope Innocent III.¹ The *Quarterly Review*,² speaking of St. Paul, says: "His Pudens, who saluted Timothy, was not impossibly the courtier of a Sussex viceroy, as his Claudia may have been the fairest of Sussex virgins". In vol. 97 of that distinguished publication there is a description of a curious inscription to one Pudens, which was discovered at Chichester in the early part of the last century, and which states that a certain temple to Neptune and Minerva was erected on ground presented by Pudens, the son of Pudentinus. It also alludes to Cogidunus, who was a native prince who was entrusted by the Romans with the government of South Britain.

As I have before mentioned, Claudia is said by some authorities to have been the daughter of this prince; and the inscription is certainly very curious, to say the least of it. We gather from it, however, that Pudens must have

¹ See *Quarterly Review*, No. 246, p. 503.

² No. 223, p. 39.

been a pagan at the time of its erection. Finally, I may mention that in the martyrologies of the Roman Church six children are assigned to Pudens and Claudia, viz., three sons and three daughters, who were all distinguished saints and martyrs. The sons were, according to this authority, Linus and Timotheus and Novatus; and the daughters, Praxedis, Potentiana, and Pudenziana. The first became either the second or the third Bishop or Pope of Rome. Timotheus is said to have become an apostle to the Britons, and to have finally suffered martyrdom at Rome. The daughters exercised saintly virtues in the Catacombs. At the venerable age of ninety, the beautiful Claudia is said to have died, and was buried at her husband's estate in Umbria. Of Pudens, we learn from Martial that he died young.

It would not be right if I were not to mention that some objections have been raised to the story of Claudia and Pudens on the ground of a want of coincidence in the dates of the visits of St. Paul and Martial to Rome. Without entering into a long story or controversy on this subject here, I will briefly mention that Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, the learned authors of the celebrated *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, at p. 780 of that work, say, after reviewing the question of dates, "the Claudia and Pudens of Martial may be the same with the Claudia and Pudens who are seen as the friends of St. Paul".

There is one other early Christian lady to whom a Welsh nationality is often assigned. Her Romanised name was Pomponia Græcina, and she was the wife of Aulus Plautius, the general who was sent to conquer Britain by Claudius. Her story is given in the 32nd section of the 13th book of the *Annals of Tacitus*; and it is from the peculiar manner in which her name is associated with the ovation given to her husband in Rome that her British origin is surmised. She was accused of embracing the rites of "a foreign superstition", which is generally understood in Tacitus to refer to Christianity; and although she seems to have escaped from actual persecution, although she underwent a trial, she passed the remainder of her life, during a period of forty years, in mourning and sorrow. As a Christian she can hardly have helped being acquainted with St. Paul himself during his stay in Rome, although from the date of her trial it is possible that she was not actually one of his converts.

There is something peculiarly interesting in all that relates to the days of that great apostle of the Gentiles ; and his intercourse with the little Welsh colony in Rome must, I think, ever have a peculiar charm to the inhabitants of our island. We can, without a great stretch of imagination, picture to ourselves the scene in the house of the Senator Pudens, where the venerable bard Bran, the Prince of Wales, and the beautiful Welsh Claudia, heard the voice of him who made Felix tremble, and almost persuaded Agrippa himself to be a Christian. Is there a modern believer who would not wish to know more of him ; what was he like ? Bosio describes an early painting of “ Paulus Pastor Apostolos ” in the cemetery of Priscilla, near Rome. He stands there depicted with outstretched arms in the act of prayer ; he is surrounded with the nimbus ; his dress is that of a traveller, the tunic and pallium being short, the feet sandalled, perhaps to indicate his many journeyings. In the *Ecclesiastical History* of Nicephorus we have a description of his personal appearance. Here it is. “ In person he was small, only 4 ft. 6 in. high ” ; as Chrysostom remarks, “ short, yet tall enough to reach to heaven ”. He also stooped a little, besides which he had a weakness of the eyes—a common complaint in those times—which dimmed his otherwise penetrating look. His complexion was fair, his eyebrows bushy, and rather prominent ; his nose was longish, and well formed and aquiline ; his beard was thick and dark, showing a few grey hairs ; his forehead high and commanding, with a head slightly bald ; his countenance was grave. Such, we are told, was St. Paul.

In conclusion, I must allude to the suggestion which has at various times been made, that he visited Britain in person ; and I am sorry to say that, after looking over the evidences on the subject, I am bound to say that they are not such as to justify the statement that he did come. Clemens Romanus, who was his personal friend, does say that he preached the Gospel “ to the utmost bounds of the west ” ; and although that expression has been shown by many writers to refer to Britain, it may, with equal force, apply to Spain, where we know he intended to go, from what he tells us himself.

St. Jerome, about 300 years after the apostle’s death, certainly does say that St. Paul, after his imprisonment,

having been in Spain, went from ocean to ocean, and preached the Gospel in the "western parts", which would seem to give some colour to the tradition, for the writer does distinguish between Spain and the western parts; but this may have been a mere flourish of rhetoric.

The most weighty authority on the subject is Theodoret, who was Bishop of Antioch. He says distinctly, "Our fishermen, publicans, and the tent maker brought the laws of the Gospel to all mankind, and persuaded not only the Romans and those belonging to them, but also the Britons, to receive the laws of Him that was crucified". And elsewhere he says, "Afterwards Paul passed over Italy and came to Spain, and to the islands lying in the sea beyond it he brought in the aid of the Gospel". This statement would carry weight had Theodoret lived nearer to the times of which he spoke. As it was, he referred to events which happened more than 400 years before.

Speaking generally, the early fathers, such as Irenæus, Tertullian, Chrysostom, Eusebius, and others, do ascribe the introduction of Christianity into Britain to the apostles themselves, and their stories have been followed by monkish writers; but it is scarcely possible to attach much importance to what may be only flourishes of rhetoric. I have endeavoured to sift the chaff from the wheat, and to show that there does seem to be some real historical evidence for St. Paul's acquaintance with the little Welsh colony in Rome, and of the consequent early introduction of faith into our island through the family of Caradog, that famous prince of Wales.

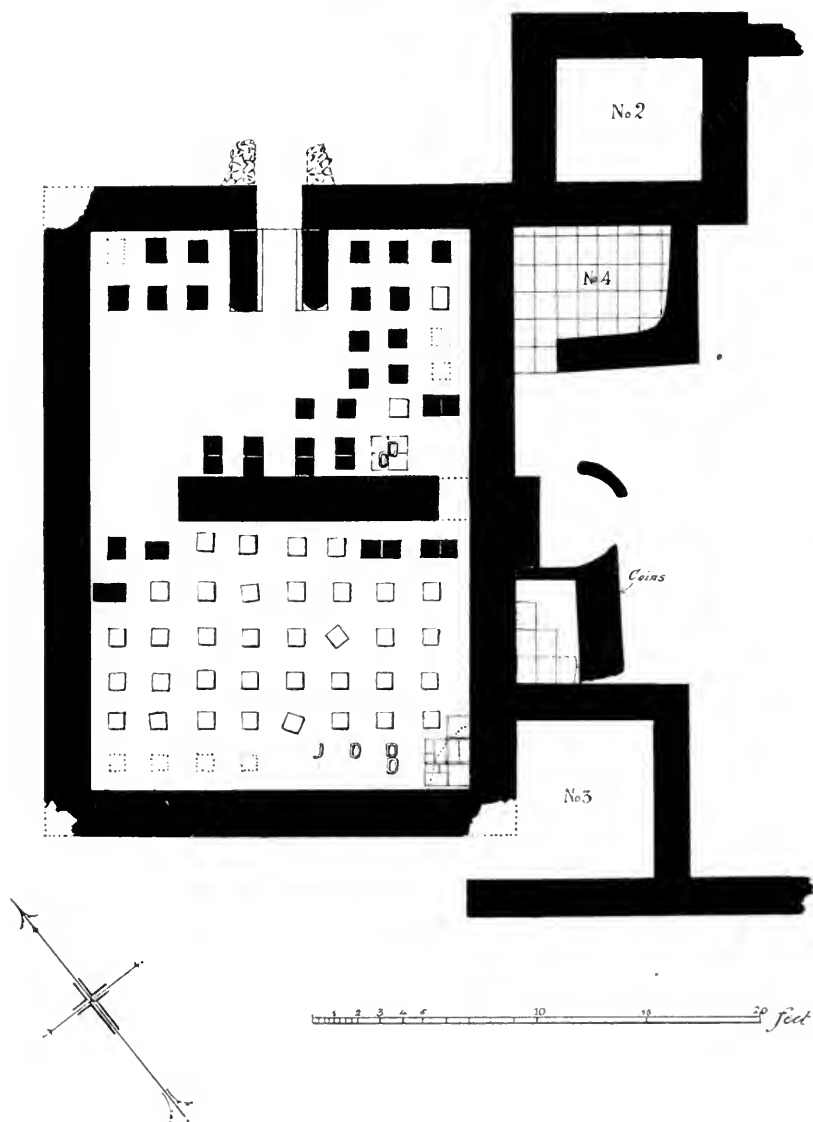
THE ROMAN HOUSE AT ICKLINGHAM.

BY HENRY PRIGG, ESQ.

AT the meeting of the Association held on March 21, 1877, I had the honour of announcing the discovery of the sub-structure of a Roman building in the field known as "The Horselands", Icklingham All Saints, Suffolk. Since then I have caused excavations to be made upon the site, the result of which I now beg to report.

I commenced work early in April, close to the ground disturbed in Mr. Martin's digging, referred to in my first report, and in a few feet came upon a solid wall, 2 feet thick, composed of flint rubble with bonding courses of red tiles. This was intact to a height of from 2 feet to 2 feet 6 inches, and proved to be an external wall enclosing a quadrangular space 25 feet north-east by south-west, by 17 feet in width: the western termination, it would appear, of a range of buildings of some size and character. Further excavation proved this apartment to have been entered from the centre of its eastern side, and to have been heated throughout by a hypocaust, the furnace of which was found in the northern wall. No portion of the pavement of this apartment remained *in situ*; and although the places occupied by each could be traced, only a small number of the *pile* of the hypocaust, that once supported the floor, remained in perfect condition. These were 18 ins. high, and placed in rows at intervals of from 12 to 15 ins., with a similar space between each pillar. They were constructed of tiles $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, set in mortar. Those in the southern half of the basement (for a low wall in part divided the hot chamber into equal portions) were 9 ins. square, and those in the compartment nearest the furnace 12 ins. by 9. On these were placed originally the large thick tiles upon which the plaster floor was laid, and portions of both were found during the excavation amongst the *débris* that filled the walls. The pillars themselves stood upon a coarse concrete floor of lime and pounded tile, which was covered with soot and wood-ashes, and in which now and then sundry bones of animals and a few coins turned up.

GROUND PLAN
OF THE
ROMAN HOUSE
ICKLINGHAM, SUFFOLK.
EXCAVATED, APRIL 1877





At each end of the south-eastern wall of the main building, and projecting therefrom, was an apartment of small size. That at the east corner was only 6 ft. 4 ins. by 5 ft. 4 ins., and had walls of the same thickness and construction as the larger room, but covered internally with a fine plaster. Its floor also consisted of plaster based upon a concrete, 18 ins. thick, of lime and large flint stones.

Adjoining this, in the angle formed with the wall of the main building, was room No. 4, likewise rectangular, and measuring 7 ft. by 5 ft. 3 ins. It had been paved with tiles 15 ins. by $10\frac{1}{2}$, bedded upon a concrete of extreme hardness. The walls of this apartment were 17 ins. thick, as were those also of the room at the southern angle, No. 3. The internal dimensions of this were 7 ft. 6 ins. long by 6 ft. 4 ins. wide. It was found to be filled to a depth of over 3 ft. with dark unctuous earth, in which were bones and fragments of pottery. Between this chamber and what is considered to have been the entrance to the large room was a short length of thick walling running parallel with the wall of the latter at a distance of 3 ft., and connected with it by a narrow wall of slight construction. This in its turn partially supported a projecting ledge, 4 ft. long by 1 ft. in width, on which was a flooring of fine cement. The space enclosed by the two walls had originally been paved with tiles, and was possibly a passage-way into apartment No. 3. Upon the northern corner of the thick wall was found a little heap of thirty third brass Roman coins and a fragment of a reeded vessel of glass.

From the eastern walls of the projecting rooms at the angles, walls ran connecting this portion of the building with others further to the east, but, followed for a few feet, they were found to have been demolished, nor in the course of the present excavations could their continuations be hit upon. Trial trenches, dug in the intervening 35 ft., showed only a stratum of compact chalk and gravel at 18 ins. below the surface throughout; and, owing to the field being planted with barley, no further excavations were made in this direction. I hope, however, arrangements may be made to plan the remainder of the villa, or whatever it may prove to be, at some future time, for there is little doubt that other remains are to be found further in the field. So far as one can judge from the portion already explored, the

general plan of the building was that of a parallelogram, directed north-west and south-east, having its principal apartments at the ends, and the minor ones grouped around a central courtyard.

In one feature only does this building differ from those explored elsewhere in Great Britain, the plans of which are known to me ; and that is the position and construction of the furnace of the hypocaust, which it will be seen by the plan projects into the building. It is constructed of tiles and cement, and is 18 ins. in width at the bottom, and 22 at a height of 9 ins. above it. Its length within the building is 3 ft. 6 ins. As the height of the topmost tiles coincides with those of the perfect *pila* of the hypocaust, and there is no appearance of the formation of an arch, I am inclined to believe the roof was formed of large tiles, fragments 3 ins. thick being found near by. Without the wall was the *prefurnium*, constructed, as usual, of fragments of limestone, chalk, and mortar.

In more than one place, but notably at the south-east corner of the hypocaust, flue-tiles set up on end, in pairs, and filled with cement, did duty for the tile-piers ; and the corner itself was paved with red tiles, and filled to the floor-level with a shapeless mass of clunch and mortar. I can only imagine this to have been a rude repair of the floor, the support of which hereabouts may have given way.

It is very evident, from the state of the remains, that the building, after its abandonment, was subjected to a considerable spoliation, for the tiles with which all the corners of the main room had been turned were carefully removed, and the mortar from them left in a heap at the angles. The tiles of the *pila*, not injured by the fire, were removed in the same way, as were those from the floor of room No. 4. There was also a marked absence of materials of the superstructure. The period of the dismantling of the building is indicated, I think, by the coins found in the soot of the south-east corner of the hypocaust, and would point to the latter half of the fifth century, they being all *minimi*,—diminutive coins of the type of those of the tyrant emperors.

Fragments of various kinds of pottery, and a number of bones of animals, were found during the progress of the excavations, but not the quantity usually found. The animal remains include those of the horse, ox, goat, pig, fox, and

hare; many shells of a large but superior kind of oyster, and of the common hedgesnail (*Helix aspersa*); and one fragment of a pearl-mussel.

With the exception of three iron holdfasts, some nails, and an iron axe-head of a type decidedly Saxon,¹ which was possibly lost by a workman employed in dismantling the building, nothing in the way of metal was found save the coins. These were all small brass, and, with few exceptions, were much oxidised. The most important were a *Magnia Urbica*—rev., a female standing, supporting with the left hand a shield and sceptre, and in the right a helmet; legend, VENVS VICTRIX, with S XXI in exergue²—from the little heap found upon the wall; and a *Curatius* of the ordinary PAX AVG. type, found in room No. 4.

¹ For form of the axe, see Hewitt's *Ancient Armour*, Plate 7, No. 6; or *Horæ Ferales*, Plate 27, No. 17. Curiously, the last example was found at Icklingham.

² Type 12, Cohen, *Méd. Inq. ér.*, t. v, p. 368.

THE
EARLY HERALDRY OF THE ABBEY CHURCH OF
ST. ALBAN, NOW ST. ALBAN'S CATHEDRAL.

BY THE REV. CHARLES BOUTELL, M.A.

WHILE, as a treasury of historical architecture, second to no edifice in England in its riches of early heraldry, the venerable and grand church at St. Alban's, now crowned with the highest dignity, may justly claim to hold equal rank with its sister Cathedrals of Canterbury and York (and, indeed, as of old the head of the Abbey of the British proto-martyr disputed precedence with the abbot of royal Westminster), the abbey church of St. Alban may almost hesitate to recognise an heraldic superior even in the queen of our national churches.

The singularly interesting and very beautiful photograph of an important portion of the painted flat ceiling of the choir of St. Alban's Cathedral, exhibited at the last meeting of the Association by Mr. Grover (and afterwards, by that gentleman's courtesy and kindness, entrusted to my care, with the view to my preparing some notice of it to accompany its second appearance in this room on the present occasion), necessarily directed attention to the assemblage of shields of arms displayed in the photograph in question. But the time of the last meeting was too fully engaged with other considerations of great interest to admit any inquiries connected with the St. Alban's heraldic ceiling, and accordingly I ventured to suggest that Mr. Grover's photograph might consistently be brought, in a regular manner, before the notice of the Association this evening. My long familiarity with the noble old church at St. Alban's, coupled with the fact that upwards of thirty years ago it was my good fortune to be one of the founders and one of the first Honorary Secretaries of the St. Alban's Architectural Society, will be accepted, I trust, in justification of my having taken upon myself to address to the British Archæological Association some observations upon the early heraldry of the youngest of our cathedrals.

The St. Alban's early heraldry may be divided into four principal groups : 1. The first comprises the shields of arms and other insignia that constitute integral parts or decorative accessories of the architecture of the edifice itself ; but not including either the remains of early stained glass in the windows, or the blazonry of the roofs. 2. To the second group may be assigned the heraldry that still lingers in early stained glass in some of the windows. 3. The collections of armorial shields and devices that are blazoned upon the roofs form the third group. And 4. In the fourth group is included all the heraldry of the early monuments. If to these four a fifth group, of a kindred character, were to be added, it would comprehend the heraldry of the more modern monuments, of modern glass in the windows, and of a numerous series of monumental hatchments preserved on the north wall near the west end of the north aisle of the nave.

I propose now to treat almost exclusively of the third of these groups, the one that contains the heraldry of the St. Alban's roofs, with brief references only to the other three groups ; and thus I leave a detailed consideration of the heraldry of those three groups to be brought on some other occasion before the Association.

In order to avoid repetition, and at the same time simply to do an act of justice, I may here remark on the long array of armorial insignia carved in relief in different parts of the building, that, almost without an exception, they have been both designed and executed with a boldness, spirit, and freedom, with a richness and a delicacy also, and a loving feeling for true heraldic art, which, indeed, leave nothing to be desired. This prevailing excellence is in no degree affected by the foreign heraldic influence palpable in the insignia scattered in rich profusion throughout the chantry of Abbot Thomas Ramryge, about A.D. 1500.

St. Alban's Cathedral, of which the extreme length on the exterior is 547 feet 9 inches, in its present state consists of nave with north and south aisles ; transept without aisles ; central tower ; choir and presbytery, or feretory, to which the recovered shrine of St. Alban—one genuine “restoration” in recent architectural proceedings to be mentioned with unqualified satisfaction—so happily has been restored ; an eastern aisle, or ambulatory, extending from north to

south to the full width of the choir and its aisles ; and Lady Chapel.

The heraldry of the roofs of this noble building is displayed upon, and in connection with, the vaulting of the feretory and of the three bays of the choir to the east of the line of the transept, and on the painted flat ceilings of the transept and the nave.

Upon the wall above the great eastern arch, under the tower, at the crossing of the transept, looking towards the east, three shields of ample size are blazoned in their tinctures. The central shield, charged with the arms of the Abbey, *azure, a saltire or*, is ensigned with a very large cap of crimson rising from an ermine band ; and to the dexter and the sinister of this shield, as if discharging the duty of its supporters, a lamb with a red cross pennon and a golden eagle, both of them nimbed, are represented. The shield to the south of the lamb bears *gules, three open crowns, two and one, or*; and the shield to the north of the eagle is *quarterly gules and or, four lions rampant counterchanged*. In connection with these shields and their accessories, four lines of rhyming Latin declare, "Ubicunque vides sit pictus ut agnus et ales". There may be recognised the work of JOHN, sixth of that name, ABBOT OF ST. ALBAN'S. The sixth John of the forty abbots of St. Alban's was JOHN DE WHEATHAMSTEDE, A.D. 1421-60, so designated, as it would seem, from the place of his birth, Wheathamstead—a large and populous village, situated on the river Lea, five miles due north of the city of St. Alban's.¹ The Agnus Dei and the

¹ In the north transept of the interesting church at Wheathamstead, recently "restored", is preserved a monumental brass to HUGH BOSTOCK and MARGARET MACRY his wife, the parents of Abbot John de Wheathamstede, as an inscription, still perfect, at the feet of the two engraven effigies records in the metrical fashion of the fifteenth century. This brass, which is not dated, but may be assigned to about 1440, retains above the head of the effigy of the lady a shield of arms, which bears *three bats, their wings expanded, two and one*. The inscription, which may be assumed to have been written by the abbot himself, is as follows :—

"Hic pater hic mater . soror hic jacet . hic quoqv' . frater
Pastoris pecorum Prothomartiris angligenarum
Bostok Hugo patri . Maery margareta qñ . matri
Nomen erat . simile genitus trahit a genitore
Hinc qui pertransis . rogo femina vir puer an sis
Vt periter recubant . in pace precare quiescant."

The second line contains what from other sources appears to have been a favourite form of expression with the abbot when speaking of himself. From this inscription we learn the family name of Abbot John to have been Bostock,

eagle, respectively emblems of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Apostle and Evangelist, were assumed by abbot John de Wheathamstede to symbolise his own Christian name, and in like manner to be suggestive of his territorial name ; for his arms the abbot bore—*gules, a chevron between three clusters of as many ears of wheat, or*, with the appropriate motto, VALLES : HABUNDABUNT. This shield, in many instances supported by two angels and ensigned with a mitre, frequently appears in the eastern parts of the church. Nor is the abbot's badge absent—a *cluster of three ears of wheat*, having their stalks so arranged that they form a monogram of the letters I.W.—the initials of the abbot's names. The clusters of the three wheat-ears in the armorial shield are tied together in the same manner. Repeated again and again, and associated with an abundance of beautifully illuminated foliage, the lamb and the eagle of John de Wheathamstede appear upon the choir and feretory vaulting ; itself a work of rich design, attributed to abbot John, and most skilfully executed in wood ; and the gilding and colour are almost as brilliant and fresh as when the good abbot stood and watched the completion of his designs. Upon the wall at the east end of the feretory, and immediately below this vaulting, two large shields ensigned with crowns are painted. One is of *France, modern, and England quarterly* ; and the other of the *Confessor*.

At a later period, twelve groups of armorial shields, apparently formed of wood, and having their charges duly blazoned in their proper tinctures, were placed immediately above the vaulting shafts of the choir and feretory, and so arranged as to spread out like the opening of fan-tracery. Of the fifty-two shields that form these groups, I must be content now to mention only those of Butler, Grimston, Cecil, Howard, Beaucherk Duke of St. Alban's, Newburgh,

while the name of the village, still famous for its productive corn lands, in which his parents and nearest relatives were buried, and where he himself in all probability passed his early years, explains his designation of DE WHEATHAMSTEDE, with the *wheat ears* of his armorial shield and his badge, and his happily allusive motto. At Wheathamstede the family name of the abbot's mother is still preserved in the title *Macryend*, which distinguishes an estate and a manor house of a superior order. In another brass, adjoining that of Hugo and Margaret Bostock in Wheathamstead Church, the shield with the *three bats* again appears, with the engraven effigies of JOHN and ELIZABETH HEYWORTH. It is worthy of note that the predecessor of John de Wheathamstede in the abbacy of St. Alban's was WILLIAM DE HEYWORTH, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield.

and Beauchamp of Warwick ; Berkeley, Capel, and Russell. The last two shields are those of the see of Canterbury, and the royal arms of the Stuarts, differenced with a silver label of three points ; the shield apparently of James Francis Edward Stuart, so well known as the "Chevalier St. George", son of James II, who was born in 1688. In the archiepiscopal shield the insignia of Canterbury impale—*argent, on a chevron, between three crosses pattées, gules, as many martlets of the field*. Thus this is the shield of William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1678 to 1691 ; and, accordingly, these shields may be assumed to have been blazoned and placed in their present positions during the period of that prelate's primacy.

I pass now from the easternmost portion of the main building of the cathedral to its western extremity. The structural nave, that is, the entire range of the church, from the transept towards the west, extends to no less than thirteen bays. Of these bays, however, the three that are nearest to the transept are included in the choir ; and it is exclusively to these three bays that Mr. Grover's photograph refers. The inner roof of all these thirteen bays is a flat ceiling of wood ; and a similar ceiling also covers the entire range of the transept. The whole of this flat ceiling is painted, and the execution of the whole is assigned to the thirty-third abbot, John de Wheathamstede, of whom I have already spoken at some length.

In connection with the western portion of the nave, and in addition to the painted decorations of the ceiling on each side, sixteen small figures of angels have been introduced, carrying shields of arms. On the south side, commencing from the west end, the shields carried by the fourth and the eighth angel respectively bear,—*gules, between three roses argent, the initials I.W.* ; and, *azure, on a bend argent, a bird rising sable* ; dimidiating, *argent, a cross gules*. On the north side there are, borne by the first, fourth, fifth, seventh, eleventh, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth angels, the eight shields following :—1. *Azure, the monogram IHC argent*. 2. *Per pale gules and argent, a cross botonée, per cross counterchanged*. 3. *Gules, three open crowns, two and one, or*. 4. *Gules, the letter M, crowned*. 5. *Gules, a cross argent*. 6. *Azure, a saltire or, for the abbey of St. Alban*. 7. *Argent, five bleeding wounds in saltire gules*.

8. *Argent, a cross gules.* Commencing from the west end, the flat ceiling over each of the ten bays is divided into two rows of rectangular cusped panels; and each of these panels contains, in white upon a dark ground, the monogram INC, with eight small lions passant, which form an orle around the letters. Proceeding eastwards, the three bays, included by the St. Cuthbert's screen in the choir, (that intervene between the ten just named, that have the monograms, and the transept) upon their flat ceiling display the armorial insignia shown in Mr. Grover's photograph. This ceiling is divided into eleven rows of rectangular panels, six panels being in each row. With the exception of the two central panels of the entire composition, these panels display alternately a shield of arms and the monogram INC. Each shield is held by an angel, above whose head is a scroll, inscribed with a brief text, or some pious ejaculation, or some declaration of faith; while below each shield a corresponding scroll sets forth to whom the armorial blazon belongs. Each monogram, written in ribbon letters in white, on a dark field, is inclosed within a circular wreath or orle; and at each angle of the panel there is a cluster of three ivy leaves, with tendrils extended to environ the wreath. At each angle also of every one of these panels a small carved boss is placed on the dividing lines.

The inscription beneath each shield commences with the word "seutum", and the following is the series of these inscriptions in their consecutive order, commencing with the north-eastermost panel, the first shown in the photograph:—

1. "Seutum s'ci Edmundi regis." *Azure*, three open crowns *or*.

2. "Seutū s'ci Albani martyris." *Azure*, a saltire *or*.

3. "Seutū s'ci Off' mercii regis." *Gules*, three open crowns *or*.

4. "Seutum s'ci Georgii." *Argent*, a cross *gules*.

5. "Seutum s'ci Edwardi regis." *Azure*, between five martlets, a cross fleurie *or*.

6. "Seutū s'ci Lodrici regis fra." *Azure*, three fleurs de lys, two and one *or*.

7. "Seutum imperatoris Romano." *Argent*, an eagle with two heads displayed, *sable*.

8. "Seutū."



9. "Scutū imperatoris Constantino." *Gules*, a cross moline *or*, cantoning four bezants, each charged with a plain cross *of the field*.

10. "Scutū regis Hispanie." Quarterly, Castile and Leon.

11. "Scutū regis Anglie." Quarterly, England and France ancient.

12. "Scutū regis Portugaul." Within a bordure of Castile, *gules*, charged with eight castles *or*, *argent*, three escutcheons *azure*, each charged with six plates, two, two, and two.

13. "Scutum regis Sardie." *Azure*, three men's heads bearded *affronté* ppr., crowned *or*.

14. "Scutum regis Cyprie." *Argent*, three bars *azure*, over all a lion rampant *gules*, crowned and collared *or*.

15. "Scutum regis de Man." *Gules*, three human legs coupéd at the thigh, conjoined in triangle *argent*.

16. "Scutum fidei." *Gules*, the device emblematic of the Holy Trinity.

17. "Scutum Saluationis." Shield charged with the emblems of the Passion.

18. "Scutum regis Arragon." Paly of eight, *or* and *gules*.

19. "Scutū regis Iherusalem." *Argent*, a cross potent between four plain crosses *or*.

20. "Scutū regis Danie." *Or*, three lions passant in pale *azure*.

21. "Scutū ducis Bretaign." *Ermine*.

22. "Scutum regis Boemie." Quarterly, one and four, an eagle with one head displayed *sable*; two and three, *argent*, a lion rampant, queue fourchée *gules* (shield and supporter in a circle).

23. "Scutum dn'i thome filii regis." Quarterly, England and France ancient; a label of three points; the whole within a bordure (shield and supporter within a circle).

24. "Scutū regis Cicilie." France ancient, with a label *gules*.

25. "Scutū regis Hungari." Barrulée *argent* and *gules*.

26. "Scutum regis Francie." *Azure*, semée de lys *or*.

27. "Scutū ducis Lancastrie." Quarterly, England and France ancient; a label of three points *ermine*.

28. "Scutum He'r'ci pi's [Henrici principis] Wallie." Quarterly, England and France ancient; a label of three points *argent*.

29. "Seutum duci' Eboraci." Quarterly, England and France ancient; a label of three points *argent*, charged on each point with as many *torteaux*.

30. "Seutum regis Norwa." *Argent*, a lion rampant *gules*, holding in his paws a battleaxe.

31. "Seutum regis Nau[arr]le." *Gules*, an escarbuncle *or*.

32. "Seutum regis Scotie."¹ *Or*, a lion rampant within a double tressure *gules*.

Before I proceed to offer any remarks upon the shields that form this series, I here may briefly state that the flat ceiling of the transept is enriched in a similar manner with armorial blazonry. To the south of the crossing there are twenty-six shields, including those of the University of Oxford, Offa, St. Edward, Chester, the University of Cambridge, De Vere, De Neville, De Clare, and other great mediæval families; and one very interesting shield, apparently of John Beaufort, before 1397. It is *chequé argent and azure, a bend gules, charged with three lions of England*, instead of *per pale* of the same tinctures, and it is without the *label of France*. The corresponding shields to the north of the crossing, twenty-three in number, include those of Neville (differenced), Beaufort (after 1397), Seymour, Clinton, Hastings, Ferrers, Percy, Powys, and others. For a more full notice I must leave these shields for some future occasion. Such also must be the case with the noble shields of England, France ancient, St. Edward, and St. Edmund, executed in relief, probably about A.D. 1315, in the spandrels of the main arcade of the nave, on its south side, commencing with the fourth bay from the transept. The lions here are full of life and energy, and closely resemble their illustrious kinsmen of the Percy shrine at Beverley, and of the Black Prince's shield at Canterbury; the fleurs de lys, also, appear with extreme elegance and grace of form and proportion.

I pass over, too, the chantries of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester A.D. 1435; of the great abbot John de Wheathamstede, who died in 1460 (whose chantry unquestionably was constructed by himself); and of the thirty-seventh in the long roll of the abbots of St. Alban's, Thomas Ramryge,

¹ The roll of the time of Henry III, published with Mr. Walford's learned and valuable notes in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxix, gives for eight of these sixteen sovereigns the same arms, namely, *Germany, France, Spain, Arragon, Sicily, Navarre, Scotland, and Man*.

who ruled over the abbey of the proto-martyr from 1484 to 1524 ; each one of these chantries, and with them the great screen at the east end of the choir, are rich in heraldry of the greatest interest. But I pause for a minute to notice briefly the remains of heraldic glass of two periods (in addition to many excellent stained quarries) that still linger in three of the large two-light windows in the north aisle of the nave. These windows, which commence with the third from the transept, and follow each other in succession westwards, are alike in the design of their tracery, which lozenge contains a fleur de lys, like the quarters of France in the shield of the Black Prince at Canterbury. 2. The same, differenced, with a *plain silver label*, BLACK PRINCE. 3. The same, differenced, with a *silver label* of three points, charged on each point with a *canton gules*, LIONEL, D. CLARENCE. 4. The same, differenced, with a *silver label* of three points, charged on each point with *three ermine spots, two and one*, JOHN OF GHENT. The plain silver label of the Black Prince needs no comment.

Prince Lionel, third son of Edward III, born 1338, died 1368, in 1352 married Elizabeth de Burgh, heiress of Ulster, and coheiress of the De Clares ; and in 1362 was created Duke of Clarence, having previously been Earl of Ulster. Upon the monument of Bishop Burghersh, who died in 1340, in Lincoln Cathedral, a shield, assigned by Mr. Walford in a very able paper to Prince Lionel, is charged with France (ancient) and England differenced, with a label charged on each point with a cross. The arms of Ulster are, *or, a cross gules*. The *red cantons*, reputed to have been borne by the De Clares before their well known *chevrons*, Prince Lionel apparently substituted for his crosses on his elevation to the Clarence dukedom. I shall have to refer to this label with the cantons presently.

I now return to the heraldry of the ceiling of the three bays represented in Mr. Grover's photograph. More than one subject for curious and interesting inquiry may be suggested in connection with the selection of shields of arms, and their aggroupment contains three large cusped quatrefoils. The two lower quatrefoils in each of these windows display the allusive Agnus Dei and golden eagle of Abbot John de Wheathamstede. In the uppermost quatrefoil of each window is a large shield, supported by a single figure of an

angel, who stands behind the shield, vested in an amice and an alb. In the easternmost window the upper shield bears the *arms of the abbey*, impaling *argent, on a bend sable, three eaglets displayed or*, the insignia of abbot Thomas Delamere (one of Wheathamstede's predecessors), as is shown in the well known monumental brass of that splendid prelate. The roll of arms, *temp.* Edward II, gives to Sir John de la Mare *argent, on a bend azure, three eagles or*. The abbot appears to have differenced this coat by substituting *sable* for *azure* in the bend. The corresponding shield in the next window bears *or, two bars gules*, and is without any impalement. In the third window the *arms of the abbey* again appear, and they are within a *bordure gules, charged with eight mitres argent*. I am not able to assign these two shields with any degree of certainty, but I may state that Abbot Wheathamstede's immediate predecessors were John de la Moote and William Heyworth. The whole of the glass in these shields is beautifully diapered.

The second of these same windows, in each of its two lights, has two shields of an earlier date than the glass in the tracery. At what period they may have been placed in their present positions, or from whence they may have been brought to occupy those positions, I am unable to determine. These four shields are—1. *France (ancient) and England quarterly*, the field of the first and fourth quarters diapered in lozenges, so that each two form historical and highly honoured decorative accessories of sacred edifices of eminent rank in the palmy days of Gothic architecture. The spandrels of the wall arcade of Henry the Third's and Edward the First's aisles at Westminster display a remarkable early series of such shields. Here, more than a century and a half later, we have another series well worthy of consideration, on the ceiling, in close connection with the corresponding portion of the edifice at St. Alban's.

In their *History of the Architecture of the Abbey Church of St. Alban*, by Messrs. J. C. Buckler and C. A. Buckler, published in 1846, those gentlemen wrote as follows:—“The ceiling of the nave and transepts has been rudely repainted in modern times, in imitation of the ancient pattern”¹—a statement this, which I have read more than once with considerable surprise, since it must be pronounced

¹ P. 33.

entirely inconsistent with the fact ; and yet the Messrs. Buckler were architects of no common ability. They wrote, however, from a decidedly Roman Catholic point of view. The late Dr. Nicholson, the rector of the abbey church, my much valued and lamented friend, in his valuable notes on the "Abbey Church of St. Alban,"¹ says, "Abbot Wheathamstede new ceiled and painted the nave," including under the term "nave" the entire range of the edifice to the westward of the transept. The shields upon the ceiling of the transept may be shown, I think, to have been painted early in the sixteenth century ; but to the munificence of Abbot de Wheathamstede certainly may be assigned the ceiling of the ten bays of the nave to the west of the three of the photograph, with all its painting as we now see it. The heraldry of the three bays now specially before us I expect will show itself to be a work somewhat earlier than the abbaey of De Wheathamstede, which, as will be remembered, commenced in 1420 and ended in 1460.

With the shield of St. Alban himself at the head of this series of shields are associated those of St. Edmund, St. Edward, and St. George—an alliance which calls to remembrance the statement of the chronicles of Carlawerack ; how, after that fortress had fallen in 1300, the victorious Edward caused the banners of the same three national patron saints to be displayed from the walls. The saintly title here assigned to the Mercian king Offa, the original founder of the abbey of St. Alban in 795, with his armorial shield differing from that of St. Edmund only in having the field *gules* instead of *azure* (now the arms of the see of Ely), will not fail to be regarded with interest. Still more singular is the shield assigned to St. Louis of France, well known as *France modern*, from having *three fleurs de lys* only, in place of the field being *semée* of the famous French device. Louis IX, *Saint Louis*, reigned from 1226 to 1270, and was a contemporary of our Henry III throughout his reign ; and, as his successors for a century continued to do, he bore *France ancient*, *azure*, *semée de lys or*. Charles V (1364-1380) was the last king of France who blazoned this shield upon his counter seal, as his successor Charles VI (1380-1422) was the first who displayed upon his counter seal *France modern*. It is scarcely necessary for me to observe that in

¹ Second edition, 1856, p. 60.

1340 our Edward III *quartered France ancient and England*; and that this shield, so quartered, continued to be the royal arms of England, till Henry IV, early in his reign (c. 1406), substituted on his shield in the first and fourth quarters *France modern* for *France ancient*, following the example of the French king *de facto*. The shields of the kings of England and France, now before us, are alike in bearing *France ancient*. *France ancient*, in like manner, is quartered in the shields of the four English princes of the blood royal that also are shown in Mr. Grover's photograph. It is further remarkable that in all these English shields the three lions of England are marshalled in the first and fourth quarters, the fleurs de lys of France appearing in the second and third quarters; so reversing the customary usage. Richard II sometimes gave this precedence to the English lions, but such marshalling was rather the exception than the rule.

The shields of the four English princes are specially interesting, and they appear to assign the part of the ceiling now under consideration, in which they occur, to the reign of Henry IV (1399-1413), and indeed to the early part of it. As I have just said, these shields quarter *France ancient*. One of them is declared to be the shield of "Henry, Prince of Wales," who must have been Prince Henry, eldest son of Henry IV; himself afterwards Henry V. A second shield is assigned to the "Lord Thomas, the son of the king," who must have been Thomas, second son of Henry IV, born in 1389, and consequently ten years old at his father's accession. This prince, who was killed in battle in Anjou in 1421, when created Duke of Clarence, in 1411, charged his ermine label with a *canton gules* on each point. The label here is without the cantons, and indeed it is quite plain, while the shield of the young prince, who evidently had not yet been advanced to his dukedom, is further differenced with a narrow *silver bordure*. Shields are not assigned to the Princes John and Humphrey, the other sons of Henry IV (afterwards Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester), doubtless from their still being in early youth when the shields were blazoned upon the St. Alban's ceiling.

The two other shields are declared to be those of the Dukes of Lancaster and York. Of these, the former differenced with a *label of three points ermine*, first borne by

John of Ghent, on his advancement to the earldom of Richmond in 1342, on the death of John de Dreux, Count of Brittany and Earl of Richmond. This *label of Brittany and Richmond* John of Ghent retained after he had been created Duke of Lancaster in 1362, leaving the early *label of France* of the Earls of Lancaster to be assumed afterwards by his son Henry of Bolingbroke, who in due time became the first sovereign of the House of Lancaster. Since, on the accession of Henry IV to the throne, the dukedom of Lancaster had become merged in the Crown, this shield of "the Duke of Lancaster" must have been designed either to be commemorative of the king's father, "time honoured Lancaster", who died February 3, 1399, or to represent the king himself as the head of the House of Lancaster. I have already noticed a shield of Lancaster in the earlier glass of the abbey nave, in which the label has the ermine spots *two and one*. Here, on the roof, the ermine label has the spots placed palewise. This shield of the Duke of York may be assigned either to the first duke of that house, the uncle of Henry IV, Edmund, fifth son of Edward III, who was created Duke of York in 1385, and died in 1402; or to the second duke, eldest son of the first duke, Edward, who succeeded to the dukedom in 1402, and was killed at Agincourt in 1415. The St. Alban's shield shows very plainly the three torteaux upon each point of the label of York, which label was borne by the first duke before his advancement to his dukedom, and is blazoned on his garter plate. The source from whence this label of York was derived is still open for further inquiry and research, though I am inclined to consider it to have descended from the shield of Wake of Lydel. Had time permitted, I should have been glad now to have invited attention, in connection with the label of York, to the remarkable label (engraved in facsimile in the third edition of my heraldry) upon the shield placed below one of the statuettes on the south side of the monument of Edward III at Westminster; which label, on each of its three points, has a *billet (or canton) gules, interposed between two torteaux*, thus leaving it apparently an open question whether it is a label of Clarence or of York.

In the Henry III roll the arms of the Byzantine Greek emperor, Manuel II, the successor to John Palæologus, who reigned from 1391 to 1425, twenty-eight years before the

Greek empire was brought to an end by the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, are given as,—*gules, crusuly d'or, un crois passant d'or, a 4 rondels d'or, en les 4 quarters et in chescun rondell un croisée*. Isabel, youngest sister of Henry III, married the Emperor Frederick II. The prominent position assigned to the shield of the King of Spain, *quartering Castile and Leon*, is easily to be understood, when it is remembered that the queen of Edward I was a princess of Castile and Leon; that two sons of Edward III married two daughters of Pedro, King of Castile and Leon; and that the Princess Joan, second daughter of Edward III, was betrothed to Alphonso, also king of the same realms; and, further, that Catherine of Lancaster, third sister of Henry IV, married another Castilian king, Henry III.

Philippa of Lancaster, eldest sister of Henry IV, married John I, King of Portugal. As early as 1216 the arms of Portugal were,—*argent, five escutcheons in cross, each charged with as many plates in saltire*; and this shield was blazoned within a *bordure gules, charged with eight castles or*, on the marriage of Alphonso III with Beatrice of Castile in 1256. The shield upon the roof has been incorrectly blazoned, evidently through some misapprehension on the part of the English herald painter. The queen of Richard II was Anne of Bohemia. The queen of Henry IV himself was Joan of Navarre.

Blanche and Philippa of Lancaster, daughters of Henry IV, married, the one a King of Arragon, and the other a King of Denmark and Norway. Alliances between the royal houses of England and the kings of Scotland and the dukes of Brittany were close and frequent; and the arms of Sardinia, Cyprus, Sicily, and Hungary also may be shown to have had a claim to the places and the association in which they appear.

The arms of Brittany here are blazoned as *ermine* only, as they appear impaled with France and England on the monument of Edward III, and not with the full blazon,—*chequée, or and azure, a canton ermine, the whole within a bordure gules (roll Henry III), the bordure afterwards charged with lioncels of England*. A different blazon is given for the arms of Hungary, Bohemia, and of Cyprus, in the roll of Henry III. In that roll also the arms of Denmark are blazoned,—*d'or un beauff gules*, and the arms of Norway, *gulez un chevall d'or selle*.

The^{*} shields of "the faith" and of "salvation," often found in early architecture and on monuments, speak for themselves. Upon the St. Alban's ceiling, between these insignia, is painted, under a rich canopy, a figure of our Lord enthroned, holding in His left hand a globe, and with His right hand giving benediction after the Latin manner. It will be seen that the crossed stole on the breast of this dignified figure is very distinctly shown. There is also a second figure, seated under a less elaborate canopy upon a throne, of a youthful personage, having a peculiar square head dress and nimbed, who is offering adoration to our Lord. Possibly it may have been designed to represent the British proto-martyr, Alban himself.

The shield of the crusader kings of Jerusalem, placed immediately below the figure last named, appears in the photograph, remarkable for the sharpness of the outline of the charges, *the cross potent between four plain crosses, on a silver field.*

I venture to consider these shields and the accompanying monograms to have been executed some few years before John de Wheathamstede became abbot, and commenced his own unquestionable heraldic and other decoration of the roofs of his abbey church. I may add that, while there are no decided Lancastrian insignia displayed in De Wheathamstede's own chantry in that beautiful structure, the rayed Rose of York appears more than once.

A GROUP OF CUMBRIAN MEGALITHS.

BY C. W. DYMOND, ESQ.

"These antiquities are so exceedingly old that no bookes doe reach them, *sc.* that there is no way to retriue them but by comparative antiquitie, which I have writt upon the spott from the monuments themselves."—JOHN AUBREY.

THE four plans¹ which illustrate this short paper have been selected for publication as representing the most important megalithic antiquities in the county, and as the only ones connected with that part of England in my possession which have been accurately surveyed. At the same time, they are remarkable as exhibiting most of the distinctive peculiarities which characterise various classes of these remains in Britain. For instance, we have—1st, a fine specimen—taking rank as the fourth in England—of the great stone-circle, with the added feature of a gateway or rudimentary avenue, and an external *mênhir* ; 2nd, an excellent example of the smaller circle, with stones in close order, and with a perfect entrance gateway ; 3rd, an instance of a circle, partly in open and partly in close order, with some sepulchral indications, and with an inclosed chamber on the eastern side ; 4th, a typical specimen of an irregularly inclosed cemetery, with no marked peripheral feature.

To the memoranda written on the plans I will add the following particulars :—

LONG MEG AND HER DAUGHTERS.—The earliest published account of these remains is that of Camden, who made a survey of Cumberland in 1599. He says :—

"At Little Salkeld there is a circle of stones, seventy-seven in number, each ten foot high : and before these, at the entrance, is a single one by itself, fifteen foot high. This the common people call *Long Megg*, and the rest *her daughters* : and within the circle are two heaps of stones, under which they say there are dead bodies bury'd."

A little later we find Aubrey writing of the same at about the middle of the seventeenth century. His information,

¹ Of Long Meg and her Daughters, the circles at Swinside and Keswick, and the principal circle on Eskdale Moor.

he says, was derived "from Mr. Hugh Tod, Fellow of University College in Oxford, a Westmorland man," and runs thus :—

"In little Salkeld in Westmorland are stones in an orbicular figure about seventie in number which are called Long Meg and her daughters, Long Meg is about yards : and about fifteen yards distant from the rest." And, in a note, he adds : "Quære Mr. Robinson the minister there, about the Giants bone, and Body found there. The Body is in the middle of the orbicular stones."¹

The same writer has the following, which can hardly have referred to anything but the same object of antiquity, whose distance from Kirk Oswald is only about three miles ; though, if it be a description of this circle, most of the particulars are greatly exaggerated :—

"From S^r Will. Dugdale Clarenceaux : but 'tis not entred in his Visitation of Cumberland ; but was forgot by his servant." "In Cumberland neer Kirk-Oswald is a Circle of stones of about two hundred in number, of severall Tunnes. The Diameter of this Circle is about the diameter (he guesses) of the Thames from the Heralds-Office, which by Mr. J. Ogilby's Mappe of London is [880] foot. In the middle are two Tumuli, or Barrowes of Cobble-stones, nine or ten foot high."²

If this be a description of the circle in question, we must reduce the diameter from that guessed at 880 ft. (I have supplied the hiatus by measuring on a modern plan of London) to the real, average one of 332 ft. ; and, if the alleged number of stones (200) be reduced in the same proportion, we shall have 75, which agrees very closely with the evidently much more accurate account in the former description, that the number of stones was about 70. The statement as to the two tumuli or barrows seems to harmonize with the report about the giant's bone and body, and also with what is stated by Camden.

All traces of these two cairns have long since been obliterated by cultivation. The number of stones is now 69, exclusive of several rather large fragments lying by the roadside ; so that it looks as though but few, if any, have been entirely removed since Aubrey's date. At the same time, there can be no doubt, after reports which I heard on the spot as to the depredations of former occupiers of the ground, that the sizes of many of the stones must have been

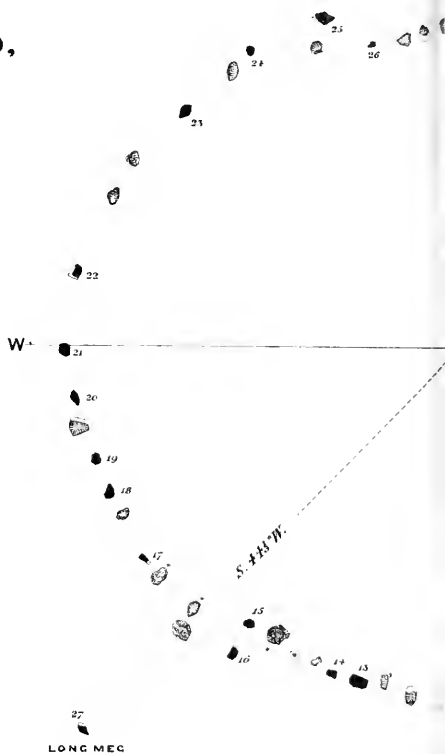
¹ From Part I, *Monumenta Britannica*, MS., in the Bodleian, a copy from which has been kindly lent me by our associate, Mr. Long.

² Ibid.

P L A N
O F A
S T O N E C I R C L E A N D M Ê N H I R ,
C A L L E D
" L O N G M E G A N D H E R D A U G H T E R S ,"
N E A R
L I T T L E S A L K E L D ,
C U M B E R L A N D .

SIZES OF

NO	HIGH FT INS	BROAD FT INS	THICK FT INS	NO	HIGH FT INS	BROAD FT INS	THICK FT INS
1	6.4	3.11	2.6	8	5.4	5.1	3
2	7.4	8.8	5.6	9	5.11	5.1	3
3	2.10	4.10	4.3	10	5.5	5.9	5
4	5.2	5.10	2.9	11	5.7	5.0	5
5	6.10	4.5	5.11	12	2.10	6.5	4
6	4.6	5.5	3.4	13	6.9	8.8	5
7	5.5	5.10	3.9	14	4.5	5.5	3



M E M O R A N D A .

This Plan is plotted from an accurate instrumental survey. The magnetic bearings were taken with a prismatic compass. The local deviation of the needle was ascertained to be $25\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ W.

Those stones which remain erect are filled-in with black on the plan: prostrate ones are stippled and line-shaded. These latter have generally been so dislocated, and, for many years, have been subjected to so much destructive violence,—having, until a comparatively recent period, been wantonly broken-up for walling and road-materials,—that it is seldom possible, in the case of any prostrate stone, to say with any degree of assurance which was the base, and where it stood; but whenever this can be conjectured, it is indicated by a small cross.

The open road which intersects the eastern half of the peristaltic was formerly bounded on the west side by a hedge,—since grubbed-up,—on the site of which lie two or three large fragments of the stones of the original work. These, being evidently at some distance from their original place, are not shown upon the plan.

The number of stones that remain, including "Long Meg," but not including the small stone in front of N^o 4, or the fragments by the road-side, is 60, of which 27 are erect—

Drawn
North and South, 505 Feet

SCALE



SCALE OF ORIGINAL

Surveyed by C.F. Dymond

STONES.

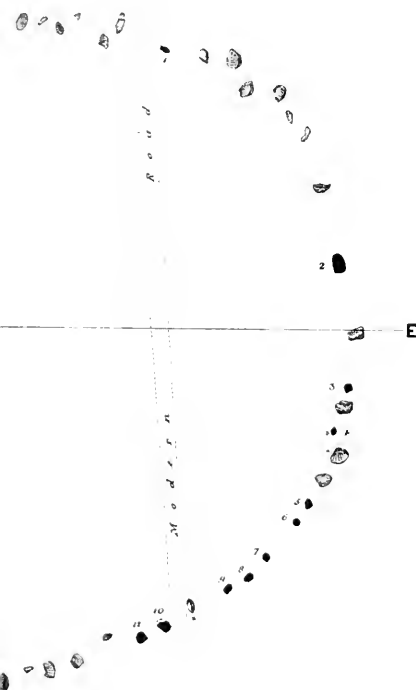
HIGH LINE	BROAD FT. IN	THICK FT. IN	N ^o	HIGH FT. IN	BROAD FT. IN	THICK FT. IN
9	5 0	4 0	21	8 0	6 0	4 0
6	6 6	3 6	22	5 6	7 0	5 3
6	6 4	2 2	23	5 9	7 5	1 8
3	6 0	5 0	24	5 6	1 1	3 0
10	1 10	4 6	25	-	8 8	3 8
8	6 11	3 5	26	5 5	3 6	2 6
LONG MEG			22 0	3 6	3 6	



VIEW OF LONG MEG.

(LOOKING S W)

FROM A SKETCH



MEMORANDA.

A gateway or rudimentary avenue interrupts the peristalith in the direction of the menhir. This last is a monolith of hard red sandstone which, it is believed, was brought either from the banks of the Eden, 1½ m. N. W., or from Leazouby Fell, on the further side of the river, in the same direction. All the other stones are of a very hard porphyritic nature. The rock of the site is a red sandstone of the Permian group; but small stones of, apparently, the same kind as those used in the circle, are found almost everywhere on the surface and are both built extensively into the walls, and used for repairing the roads over a large area in the locality.

Traces remain of a ring-embankment, from 10 to 14 wide, and now, at the most, a ten inches high, forming the seat of the circle, especially of the western half. These Remains stand on nearly the highest part of a plateau, elevated about 550 feet above the surrounding valleys. The site dips from Long Meg, which is erected at the highest part, toward stone N^o 1 where the ground is about 20 ft. lower.

Overhangs are shown in unshaded outline. The dotted lines indicate, approximately, the buried portions. Abt. 638 p⁴, N. 65° E., from the centre of this circle is a cast enclosed in a ring of 11 stones, formerly covered with a mound

st and West, 360 feet.

FEET.
100 200
1 INCH = 50 FEET.

E., 21st Sept^r, 1875.

A STONE CIRCLE NEAR KESWICK, CUMBERLAND.

MEMORANDA.

This Plan has been plotted from an accurate instrument-at survey. The magnetic bearings were carefully taken with a prismatic compass. Ascertained local deviation $23^{\circ} 5'$ W.

Those Remains are situated on a nearly level site, at the N. northern end of a flat ridge, $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. E. from Keswick, 706 ft above the sea, and in the midst of an amphitheatre of mountains N. and S. through an adjoining valley, 500 feet the N. Circle, and the river Greta washes the foot of the ridge on the N. and N.W. sides at a distance of from $\frac{1}{2}$ m. to $\frac{3}{4}$ m.

The stones are set in a ring, but at small rubble, some of which is exposed, and is shown in the Plan. These stones which are erect, or which have only declined somewhat from the perpendicular, are filled-in with black, the overhangs being shown in outline. Prostrate stones are stippled and type-shaded. In one or two cases—as, e.g., Nos 25 and 27—there may be some room for doubt as to whether the stones are in situ or have been overthrown, but as appearances are in favor of the former, they are so

MEMORANDA.

represented. Thus arranged, the peristaltic wall consists of 58 stones, 53 of these being erect, and 5 prostrate; the rectangular enclosure is lined by 40 stones, 8 erect, and 2 prostrate. Distinguishing small fragments, the total number of stones now remaining is 48. No 49 is the bed of a removed stone.

All the stones appear to be of metamorphic slate from the rocks of the locality. Portions of some of them exhibit both a gritty and a granitoid structure.

Within the area of the peristaltic is a shallow circular trench, 15 ft in diameter, probably the remains of a barrow.

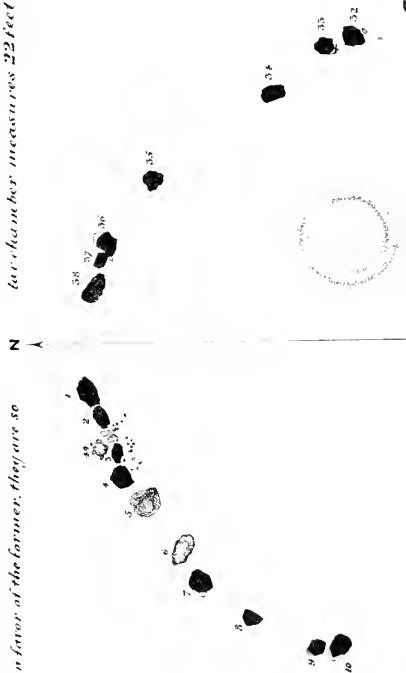
The peristaltic is ranged on an irregular oval, or rather pear-shaped figure, the longest diameter of which, from centre to centre of the stones, is that measuring 407 feet N. and S. between Nos 38 and 21, and the shortest, that lying E. and W. between Nos 11 and 30, and measuring 90 feet 8 inches. The clear area of the enclosed rectangular chamber measures 22 feet \times 11 feet.

SIZES OF STONES.

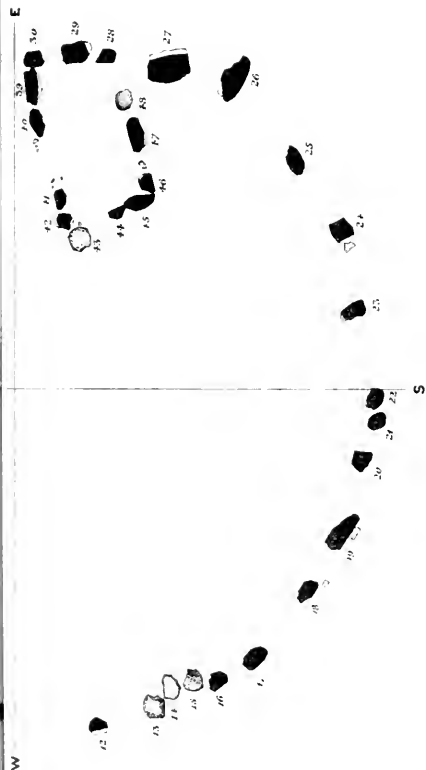
NO	HEIGHT		LENGTH		THICK		
	FT.	INS.	FT.	INS.	FT.	INS.	
1	5	8	—	5	0	2	3
2	2	4	—	5	9	2	0
3	1	5	—	2	9	1	7
4	4	0	—	3	1	3	0
5	—	—	4	6	1	1	—
6	—	—	5	0	2	6	—
7	3	9	—	3	8	2	0
8	2	9	—	2	10	2	5
9	2	0	—	2	5	2	5

SIZES OF STONES.

NO	HEIGHT		LENGTH		THICK		
	FT.	INS.	FT.	INS.	FT.	INS.	
25	2	5	—	4	5	2	3
26	7	6	—	7	0	3	4
27	5	3	—	6	3	5	8
28	4	0	—	2	11	2	2
29	4	4	—	3	9	3	1
30	2	0	—	3	1	2	8
31	3	8	—	5	1	2	8
32	2	10	—	5	10	2	8
33	4	4	—	2	0	2	2



12	4.6	—	3.0	2.0
13	—	3.80	3.7	—
14	—	3.3	2.6	—
15	—	3.3	2.0	—
16	3.2	—	3.2	2.6
17	5.6	—	4.0	2.6
18	2.00	—	3.0	2.1
19	5.2	—	6.4	2.6
20	4.00	—	3.0	2.6
21	4.4	—	3.0	2.4
22	3.3	—	3.0	2.8
23	3.8	—	3.2	2.3
24	6.4	—	5.6	3.2



36	3.2	—	3.0	2.0
37	3.2	—	2.3	1.6
38	3.6	—	4.3	2.4
39	3.0	—	3.9	2.0
40	3.1	—	4.5	1.00
41	2.6	—	3.1	1.9
42	3.0	—	2.6	2.4
43	—	3.7	3.0	—
44	2.9	—	2.4	1.8
45	3.0	—	4.7	2.2
46	3.0	—	3.0	2.0
47	2.3	—	3.0	2.2
48	—	3.1	2.3	—

SCALE OF FEET.



SCALE OF ORIGINAL PLAN, 1 INCH = 16 FEET.



View looking S. 17° E. — from a photograph

Surveyed and drawn by

C. W. Diamond, C. E., 8th Aug. 1877



greatly reduced ; and, probably, some have been overthrown in comparatively recent times. Among the largest of the prostrate stones there are two measuring respectively 10 ft. by 8 ft. 8 ins., and 9 ft. 11 ins. by 8 ft. 6 ins. A sufficient number remain erect to show that this peristalith was an irregular oval, the departure from continuity being very manifest on the northern side, especially about the stones numbered 24, 25, and 26. It may, however, be well to note here that No. 25 is so much inclined as to make it difficult to decide whether it should be called prostrate or erect ; and, thus, it may possibly not be *in situ* ; though, even with this angle removed, No. 24 is still considerably out of the line of the curve. For the information of those who set a high value on such facts, it may be well to mention that the eastern face of Long Meg—the only one that is distinctly flat—points $26\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ W. of N. The spacing of the stones seems to be a mean between the open order and the close ; and, if we supply seven evident gaps with one stone each, we shall obtain an average distance, from centre to centre of the successive stones, of a little over 14 ft. As to the aspect of the gateway, it points nearly S.W., and slightly up-hill, in contrast to the majority of examples which I have examined, and which usually look toward a valley with a stream.

SWINSIDE CIRCLE.—This is a very good example of a circle built in close order, for it is probable that, when perfect, all the stones nearly touched one another. The gateway points slightly down-hill. But few of the stones seem to have been removed—probably because plenty of materials for walling and road mending could be collected from the neighbouring hill-side. It is curious that a rowan tree has sprung up in a rift in stone No. 2, which has been rent asunder by its growth. The occurrence of such a tree in such a place has been seized upon by the advocates of the Druid-theory, who view it as a veritable relic of the cult which they associate with these structures. The falling of all the stones but one (and that a doubtful one) inward is a rather singular circumstance, for which I do not quite know how to account.

KESWICK CIRCLE.—It has generally been the fashion to class this with the temples of the prehistoric ages. The magnificence of its site, and the existence of a rectangular inclosure on the eastern side,—which has been thought to

be an *adytum*, foreshadowing the chancel of the Christian church,—have lent strength to the idea. In the present crude state of our knowledge on this subject, it is, however, better to refrain from using any technical terms which involve the advocacy of premature theories, and to confine ourselves to such as are simply descriptive of that which meets the eye. Nothing now remains to show for what purpose this chamber was constructed. If it once contained a barrow, it is singular that all traces of this should have disappeared, while the shallow trench of what appears to have been another barrow still remains within the circle. Had there been no such indications existing in the second case, it might, with more show of reason, have been conjectured that barrows might have occupied any part of the area, and that they have since vanished. The existence, however, of the relics of this one barrow (if such they are), while giving to this circle a *quasi* sepulchral character, affords an argument rather against than in favour of the former existence of others.

I have described the principal features of this peristalith on the plan; and therefore proceed to notice here one or two which involve the element of speculation. On reference to the plan, it will be observed that the circumscribed area narrows up toward the north, and there, exactly bisected by the meridian of its centre, occurs an opening, nearly 11 ft. wide, flanked by two fine stones, set, with the smaller ones which adjoin them, in a peculiarly symmetrical position. This gives it the appearance of having been intended for a gateway. As possibly throwing light upon this point, it is noteworthy that the very remarkable, but little known, compound circle at Gunnerskeld, near Shap, which consists of two concentric rings of prostrate stones—giving the impression that they were never erect—is also, at the north point, distinguished by a *pylon* formed by a pair of very fine monoliths—the only standing stones of any consequence in the work. This gateway looks out along the low flat ridge on which the circle is found, parallel to the stream which flows north, hard by on the eastern side. Returning to our plan, and noticing the transverse position of stone No. 26, the question arises, May not this also have been one jamb of a gateway of which the other may have been stone No. 27 (if that has fallen), or, more probably, a missing one between Nos. 26 and 25? Its position, as to the points of the com-

Left on
the ground

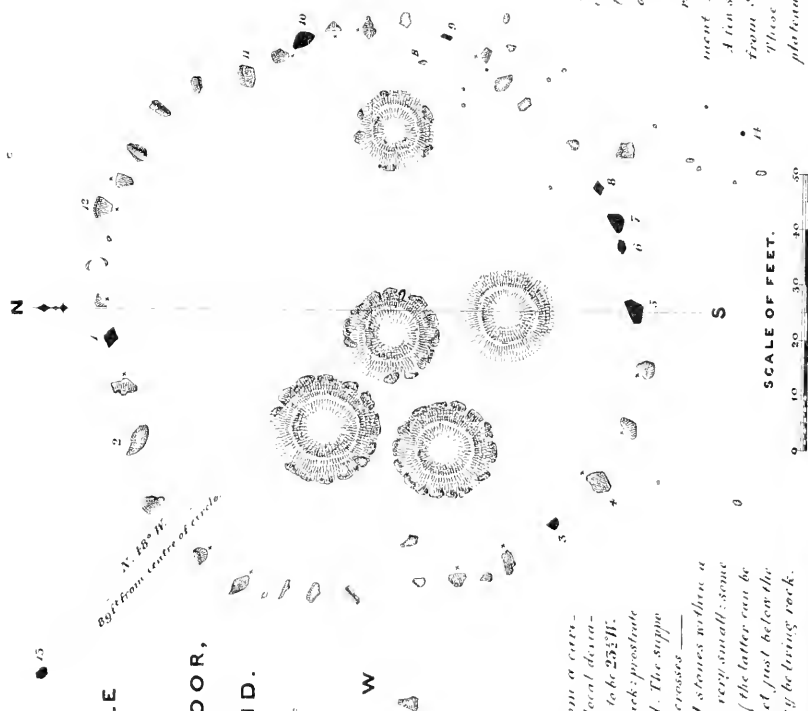
Diagrams—

H. N. W. & E. S. E. 100 ft.

V. S. S. 100 ft.

STONE - CIRCLE ON ESKDALE - MOOR, CUMBERLAND.

By J. H. H. H.
By J. H. H. H.



SIZES OF PERFECT & OTHER STONES.

No.	HEIGHT		LENGTH		No.	HEIGHT		LENGTH	
	FT.	INS.	FT.	INS.		FT.	INS.	FT.	INS.
1	2	2	—	—	8	2	0	—	—
2	—	—	6	9	9	2	0	—	—
3	2	9	—	—	10	2	0	—	—
4	—	—	4	10	11	—	—	4	6
5	3	5	—	—	12	—	—	2	8
6	2	1	—	—	13	1	0	—	—
7	1	11	—	—	14	—	—	—	—

MEMORANDA.

This plan has been plotted from a careful instrumental survey. The local deviation of the needle was ascertained to be 23° W. Great stones are filled in with black; pedestal ones are stippled and line-shaded. The supposed bases are indicated by small crosses. The plan embraces extramural stones within a radius of 100 ft. Most of these are very small; some are loose; and some, as A and B, (the latter can be traced for a distance of many feet just below the surface) with perhaps others, may be living rock.

MEMORANDA.

The number of stones remaining in the ring including the two very small ones is 14. Of these 8 are standing, the rest prostrate. Two outliers, Nos 13 and 14, are erect, the last small. The barrows are composed of peat and stone, mixed with stones sketched in without measure ment. All of these have been quoted. A tin stones, on E and S E-sides, are porphyritic, from Scatell; the rest are granite of the moor. These Remains are situated on a boggy, elevated plateau, on which are several others of a like kind.

SCALE OF FEET.



SCALE OF ORIGINAL PLAN, 1 INCH = 30 FEET.

A

STONE - CIRCLE

AT

SWINSIDE, NEAR BROUGHTON,

CUMBERLAND.

Diameter of average circle = 92 feet

N

W

S

SCALE OF FEET.



SCALE OF ORIGINAL PLAN, 1 INCH = 20 FEET

Surveyed by C. W. Dymond, C. E., in April, 1872.
 Revised and redrawn, 13th October, 1877.

MEMORANDA.

This Plan has been plotted from a careful instrumental survey. The local direction of the circle was found to be 255° W. Every stone was filled in with black; positions were stippled and line-shaded. Overhangs are represented by unshaded outline.

The number of stones now remaining is 55, of which 32 are still standing, though several of these have declined considerably from the upright, and 23 are prostrate. With the doubtful exception of the fragment between Nos. 1 and 14, all of these have fallen inward. West of Nos. 9 are the seats of two more stones which have been removed.

If the leaning stones were restored to their original upright position, it would be more evident than it is now, that the members of the peristyle were — with some little deviation —

SIZES OF PRINCIPAL STONES.

No.	HEIGHT FEET	LENGTH FEET	BREADTH FEET	No.	HEIGHT FEET	LENGTH FEET	BREADTH FEET
1	6.0			8		7.9	4.0
2		4.8	9			5.0	4.0
3		6.0	3.9	10		6.6	
4		6.0	5.5	11		5.0	4.0
5		7.0	6.0	12		5.7	
6		8.0	5.1	13		6.6	4.1
7		6.5	3.6	14		7.6	2.9

MEMORANDA.

from from exact regularity — ranged on the circumference of a circle, 92 ft diam. Stone, No. 2, has been lost by a Roman tree which has grown through it.

The stones, which consist of a purple porphyry, are also kind locally known as "Grey Colles", and were furnished by the neighbouring hill slopes. They are found in a seating of small rounded stones which extends around the whole of the ring, and across the floor of the gateway, but is not raised into an embankment.

These Remains are situated in an elevated position, at the foot of a mountain, some 1000 ft high, which the stone dips at first very gently, toward a stream which flows S. E., at the distance of a quarter of a mile from the circle. The view from the spot is not extensive.



pass, would be almost identical with that of the gateway of the Swinside circle. A slight peculiarity, common to both the circles at Keswick and at Long Meg, may be noticed in the breach of continuity made by No. 49 (missing stone) of the former, and No. 25 of the latter—each at about the same part of the circumference.

ESKDALE CIRCLE.—This, though the finest, is only one of several similar remains on the same moor. About one hundred yards W. are two smaller rings in an imperfect state, each about 50 ft. in diameter, and each inclosing one barrow. A quarter of a mile W.N.W. on Low Longrigg are two others; one apparently perfect, about 50 ft. in diameter, consisting of nine stones, and inclosing one barrow; the other imperfect, with diameters of about 75 ft. and 65 ft., and inclosing two barrows. A number of ancient “dykes”, each consisting of a slight ditch and embankment, intersect the moor near these remains. An imaginary plan of this circle appears in Dr. Fergusson’s *Rude Stone Structures*. In addition to a conventional representation of the existing stones, it shows an outer concentric circle of megaliths, fourteen in number, and an inner, nearly rectangular inclosure fencing-in the eastern barrow. There is no evidence on the ground to show that such an outer ring ever existed; nor is it likely that, placed as these remains are, out of the way of risks of molestation, such evidences, if there were any, would have disappeared. One small erect stone stands as an outlier to the N.W.; and three or four others, equally small, lie prostrate on the surface, or partly sunk into the ground, on the N., E., W., and S.E. sides. That is all. Not the slightest trace of a barrow-inclosure can be found, though I carefully sought for it by probing. The eastern barrow was being opened at the time of my first visit in 1866, though the exploring party were not then on the spot.

Now I think a comparison of the four examples herein described will lead to the conviction that, though they have an outward similarity of arrangement, they may not all have been devoted to the same purposes. The character of the last mentioned is, I think, purely sepulchral. There is a careless irregularity in the ranging of the peripheral stones, which gives the impression of being sufficient for purposes of separation, while little congruous with the dignity of a

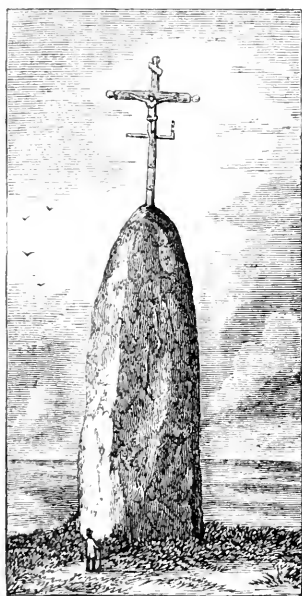
structure intended for ceremonial uses. Much of the area is occupied by the barrows ; while, hard by, we find four other similar inclosures, also devoted to sepulture. Who can resist the conviction that, in this case, but one end was to be answered—that of consecrated interment ?

There is, I believe, no record of any barrow having been observed within or near the Swinside circle. The ruins are those of a bold and carefully constructed peristalith. The stones were ranged nearly on a true circle, well founded on a dry site in a rammed stone bed, and placed, for the most part, in juxtaposition—often, indeed, so close that it is possible there would have been no convenient access to the interior, except through the gateway. Hence, in this case, a necessity for this feature, which evidently was considered an important one, and must have been designed to give ceremonial access to the sacred inclosure. Perhaps this is one of the best examples we have of a structure which, according to our ideas, would be eminently suited to be a hypæthral temple ; and I suggest that, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, this may have been the chief purpose for which the Swinside circle was erected.

The importance of a gateway is much enhanced when we find it, either in its simple form, a characteristic feature of an open stone peristalith, as in the case of Long Meg, or extended into a short avenue, as at Stanton Drew, or into a long one, as at Callernish, and in other English and continental examples. In all these, the inference is irresistible, that the recognised mode of entering and issuing from these inclosures—which were open on every side—was by the prescribed avenue ; and hence we arrive, by an easy step, at the conclusion that processional services were a common feature of their use. Whether these were connected with religious, political, judicial, or sepulchral objects, or with all of them, we know far too little of the customs of our remote ancestors to decide. Suffice it for the present, then, to say that, for anything we know to the contrary, some of these structures may have been temples, primarily ; courts of judicature, secondarily ; sometimes memorial buildings, thirdly ; and, thus consecrated, the great may have sought to take their last sleep around, and even within their pale, as, in later times the remains of the departed came to be laid in the church-yard ; and, in special instances, within the walls of the building itself.

ON BRITTANY AND BRITAIN.

BY JOHN S. PHENÉ, LL.D., F.S.A.



Menhir, nearly 40 feet in length,
near Dol.

THE subject before us is so vast, the several sections of it so deeply interesting, and that interest so varied, that a course of papers, rather than a single one, might well be given upon either its modern aspect and condition; the close commercial connection between continental and insular Britain in ancient as well as modern times; the quaint, curious, but always highly picturesque, costumes of the former,—and with regard to the women, exquisitely clean adornments; the rich yet often fanciful and flamboyant decorations of the churches, many of which are of great antiquity and interest; the romantic and magnificent *chateaux* and strong-

holds, which attest a kindred military spirit and power in the two Breagnes; the intense love of liberty and independence, again equally characteristic; the naval supremacy of each, which succumbed once, and once only, and that to Roman power; the almost incredible monuments of antiquity,—incredible to those who have not visited the continental Bretagne; and the traditions and legendary lore, so rich that at one time they formed the staple of the courtly literature of Europe; and beyond these, many other points of importance which serve to invest that outlying, and vast promontory of France with real interest to the insular Briton.

We can but glance at some of these, taking certain salient points, and thus, perhaps, securing rather more than the usual amount of interest in any present who may look on

archæology as a somewhat dry subject; but which once followed will be found to have a charm distinct and yet inseparable from itself, like that which many a sportsman finds who often comes to experience a greater pleasure in the exquisite scenes he has to visit than in the craft itself.

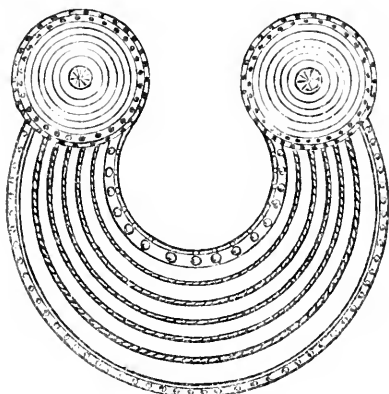
The first thing that strikes a Briton in visiting Brittany is, that he is not quite abroad. The faces are not French, nor the manners, nor the dresses. The language is a very British-French when you get into the country; the frequent recurrence of such prefixes as Pen, Tre, Cam, Car, make you feel yourself in Cornwall, Wales, or Scotland. But just as you have come to the conclusion that it will be well to brush up your Gaelic, if you know any, and, perhaps, having received no reply to sundry interrogations in French, you diffidently put one more, which is intended to be final, you are startled with the response, "*Je ne parle pas Gaelic*", and at once begin to wonder what language they do speak. The explanation of this is, that what we call French, they call Gaelic, while their own language is *Breton*.

It need hardly be mentioned here that it has been held by a large class of antiquaries that Brith, and hence Pict, means painted. The people to whom these terms were applied were represented as painting themselves in brilliant colours, blue being predominant; and the same fancy, more particularly on the south and west coasts, is still exhibited in the brilliant parti-coloured dresses of the men, who are, at the same time, most picturesquely attired, blue being still in the ascendant; and we learn from Cæsar that the Pictones inhabited the western coasts of the Continent as far south as Northern Aquitania, and also inferentially from Mr. Skene, as far north as extreme Argyllshire.

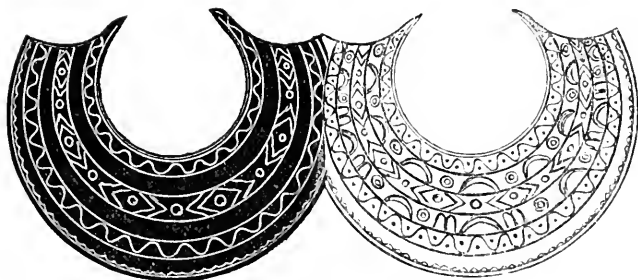
Not less picturesque, and of course infinitely more graceful in appearance, are the female classes of the south and west Bretons in the less frequented districts; the features of dress and character, physique and purity, being much less distinguishable near the great ports and towns. Hence, many who visit Bretagne see little or nothing of the Bretons, still less of their distinctive manners, and often positively nothing of their really wonderful antiquities, or, satisfied with a glimpse of the great monument at Carnac, imagine they have seen its treasures.

The costumes are various and strictly local, that of *le*

Van'netais being one of the most picturesque, followed by that of *Finistère*, *le Cornouaillias* (pro Cornwallia), *le Léonard*, *le Tregōrois*, and others, while the black costume of the peasants of *Thégonnee* often sobers the brighter colouring of the crowds.



Iodhan Moran.



Slight Embroidery, always on a dark, sombre ground. (1)

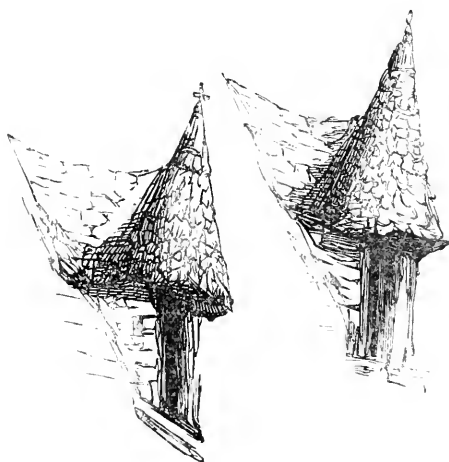
Richly embroidered, in gold and crimson, on a light, often a sky-blue ground, forming colours of rainbow.

The first expression of real admiration by my party—a spontaneous and universal expression—was at a female

¹ In the vicinity of Penmarc'h a collar covering the breast, as if suspended from the neck, almost identical with the size and design of the Irish *Iodhan Moran*, even to detail, is embroidered in very brilliant colours, the greater quantity being bright gold and crimson on a light, bright, and often sky-blue ground, on the vest of all the men; and equally remarkable is the fact that a slight device, without the gold, is embroidered on the other lapel, always on a sombre ground, the vest being double-breasted, so that the wearer can assume the golden or the darkened form at will. The bright device comes from the left or heart-side, and buttons to the right, the dark on the contrary side. The *Iodhan Moran*, a golden collar, said to have been worn by the Keltic priests while sitting in judgment, is reported traditionally to have been influenced by truth or falsehood, just or unjust verdicts, by attaching itself firmly to the neck till justice was done. Perhaps the Penmarc'h collar explains

water carrier at Auray ; her whole aspect was classical, not the least feature of it being the grace of unconsciousness in the giver of this delight. The picture was oriental, Greek, Etruscan, Spanish, or the beautiful Milesian Irish of the far West ; all or any of these, for they are all varieties of the same genus of caryatides, if I may so express it. At Vannes and Auray, and there only throughout Brittany, are the articles of pottery to be found of that exquisite contour so loved by the art-educated eye ; and the water carriers of those places seem most suited to such graceful burdens. I have here one from Redon not nearly so graceful, for the beauty of form fades as you recede from Vannes.

Starting from Nantes, the route from Vannes, indeed from Redon to Quimperlé, is one alternation of rich and picturesque archæology. To-day you stop at a quaint town with wooden houses of black oak, whose gables at every



Quaint domestic Architecture.

turn seem actually resting against fraternal gables opposite ; to-morrow you are on a wild moor, whose heather

this. The judge, wearing his collar of gold, surrounded by a senate whose confirmation was required to a sentence, and wearing only the semblance of the collar, the reversing or veiling the emblem might be a token of satisfaction with the verdict, authorising the judge to dismiss the court ; while the retention of its brighter side might indicate masonically, and without betraying him to the accused or the public, that they still sat for a revision or reversal of the sentence. The judge (perhaps the only one facing the public) would thus be obliged to remain, and would assert that he must have further evidence, without which he *could not remove his collar*, the Iodhan Moran.

hides innumerable souterrains ; another day brings you to the flat sandy shores of Quiberon, covered with monoliths and dolmens—the whole land teems with them. You traverse the serpentine avenues of Carnac, once seven miles in length or more, and which now, in spite of the various clearings, you may trace as far ; and then, wandering beneath the *mâchicoulis* of the Vannetais towers and fortifications, drive along a *via sacra*, having the enormous chambers of the dead warriors of ancient Bretagne on each side, till you descend at the magnificent necropolis of Loehmariaquer, where, as the tide often commands it, you wait for a Charon by the name of Morven, who, in the sable grey before sunrise, wafts you over turbid currents to the land of Gavr' Inis, where Æneas-like you descend to the regions of Hades, and see, figuratively, the abodes of the blessed, the sombre chambers of the doomed, the scenes and implements of punishment, and the mystic and unknown emblems of a departed race. Emerging into day, and into a sunshine that blinds you after the grey of the dawn in which you entered, a splendid view engages your attention ; the smiling village of Arzon, with its lofty spire, on the opposite coast, with, further to the south, the Galgal of Port Navalo, and eastward, in the same direction, the gigantic tumulus of Tumiac, the varied archipelago of the Morbihan, and the sea coast to the west, the whole enlivened by the song of the boatman, as the current hurries him past, succeeded by boat after boat and song after song. These, with the sounds of reapers, singing birds, and laving waters, give you a new taste for life ; and, ferried again to the shore, you start for the fine cathedral and art collections of Quimper ; its good hotel (*de l'Epée*), Breton-costumed attendants, and romantic rambles. Then to ancient cities, now areas of *débris*, the wondrous coasts and bays of the west, each spot of vantage

The public seeing no cause for this, and finding him reverse or modify his own judgment without conferring with his senate, would attribute to the collar the conduct of the judge. This would be not dissimilar to judgment by *ostracism*, of the Greeks, or by turning the thumb, which condemned the gladiators to death. As the name Iodan Moran is asserted to have a Chaldee origin, it may have been borrowed from a sacred fount. A double, *i.e.*, perhaps this style of, vest is referred to as Egyptian, and as peculiar to the male population. (Herod., bk. ii, ch. 36.) The circular temples of the Keltæ would facilitate such a silent compliance or non-compliance with a verdict, as I have suggested. It seems such ornaments are referred to in Isaiah iii, 18 ; Judges viii, 21 ; although the translation differs. These would not be Jewish ornaments, but decorations of the natives of Syria or Phœnicia.

marked by a stupendous monolith, till in the Ile d'Oues-sant you rest among a primitive people, who boast that to them the golden age still exists, and which may be called one of the Fortunate Islands of the West.

In pursuing a very careful survey of the antiquities of Brittany, I had the great advantage of personal intercourse with and assistance from two eminent antiquaries,¹ Mons. Le Men, Archiviste of Quimper, in Finistère, and Mons. J. Geslin de Bourgogne, Conseiller de Préfecture of Saint Brieuc, in the Côtes du Nord; while information on the heraldry and noblesse, and the old seigneuries of the country, was kindly given me by Mons. Robert Surcouf, Sous Préfet in the Côtes du Nord. I cannot speak too highly of the kindness of these gentlemen, or the trouble they took to assist in my pursuits, while their complete knowledge of the antiquities of the country reduced my labours very much.

Before going to real work, let me point out some matters of every day interest. As, for instance, when you find your Breton baker's bill delivered in the shape of so many notches, for so many loaves, on a divided stick, in form like that of the old exchequer tally, of which I have one here, kindly lent me by my friend Captain Clode to compare with the baker's stick of Bretagne, the two agreeing with the old Welsh stick of writing, and also with Ezckiel's two sticks, on which he was ordered to write and join them together into one stick. The *Phœnicians* are the first people historically brought under our notice in connection with these lands.

The Phœnicians.—In making any inquiry concerning these people, which must always be difficult, from their remote antiquity, we must remember that all that has come down to us through the Latins has an air of perversion, from national jealousy and bitter rivalry, the very term "Punic" being one of contempt, indicating falsity. As an instance, I cannot cite a better case than that which endeavours to throw ridicule over Carthage, even from its foundation. The absurd narrative, so gravely given by Maurus Hono-

¹ I have been fortunate enough to continue this intercourse, and have had the additional advantage of receiving most valuable information from Dr. Clos-madeuc of Vannes, and inspecting many ancient documents in the archives of various towns.

ratus Servius in his elaborate edition of Virgil, of the dimensions of that city having been determined by a *fraud* of Queen Dido, through her cutting in thin strips a bull's hide, and surrounding a large area of land, when she had obtained leave only to possess as much as the hide would contain or cover, fails by the gravamen of its own falsity. That a fugitive seeking hospitable reception should have repaid a welcome in such a manner is incredible, still more is it so that the Uticans would have submitted to it. Like all myths, however, it no doubt covers a fact; and I think it has never been pointed out what a poetical idea a more probable reading reveals.¹

The Phœnicians carried their gods with them. Their chief deity was Astarte; she was a personification of the moon, and was represented in the same guise as Io and Isis, two deities both closely connected with Phœnician tradition, *i.e.*, in the skin of a white and horned cow,² the horns emblemizing the cusps of the moon. The Greeks hated the Phœnicians as much as the Romans did; and the story, which first came through a Greek channel, destroyed the whole legend, for they represented the hide in question as an ox's hide; the Latins improved on this by further satire, and called it a *bull's* hide.³ But Dido was well received

¹ While time or period is undoubtedly the more comprehensive meaning, yet the measuring the circumference of land by strips of a cow's hide is also a custom much more ancient than the date of the foundation of Carthage. There is a trace of this in Japan: 1,800 square feet of land is called one *tan*; 9,000 square yards is called one *cho*, closely allied to the Armorican Celtic *kere*, shoe-leather. In the *Rigvedas* (i, 20, 3; i, 161, 7; and iv, 36, 4), spring is represented as resuscitated from a dead cow's hide. This is clearly the measure of time. On the other hand, it is Indras, or the Sun, that is represented as the Bull, and is so called in his different characteristic names (*Rig.*, iv, 35, 6), though the Moon is sometimes indicated by the masculine in the *Rigvedas*. In the Mahā Bhārata the cow's hide (*gocharman*) is the covering of the god Vishnu, and, cut into strips and fastened together, was used in India to measure the circumference of land. But according to Ælian, the Phœnicians made the one *sacred*, while the other was merely a custom. Thus at Gadeira they had altars to the year and the month. *Vide περί προνόλας*. Eustathius quotes from this, *Ad Dionysius Periegetes*, 451; *Aug. Civ. Dei*, 4, 11, 16, 20. It is even said Dido claimed to hold by *time*, or by night and day, in *Demon. Frag.*, p. 23; but in eastern symbolism, night and day,—the bright and dark moon for a month, summer and winter for a year, would have the same symbol.

² Murray, *Manual of Mythology*, p. 210; Fosbrook, p. 156.

³ Sanchoniatho represents Astarte as placing on her own head a bull's head as an indication of her own sovereignty; but this is exceptional, and indicates her taking supremacy as queen of heaven, being the first of his sisters whom Cronus married while a virgin, and daughter of Ouranus (heaven). It would be the disk above the crescent, or an eclipse of the sun. The disk above the crescent is seen above Taurus in the zodiac, at Tentyris. It is probably in this form that the moon is described as a heavenly bull and cow. (Grihyasū, i, 14.)

and much honoured, and her request appears to have been, "Let me possess as much earth as THIS hide—the cow's skin which covered her goddess—will contain." Assuming there was a double meaning in Dido's words, it was a meaning she knew they would reverence, for the sake of Isis, if not for Astarte, for the skin in each case covered the moon or *month*, the horned moon being the object of worship. The request was equivalent to this, "As much land as my followers can enclose while the moon is horned." The month also was worshipped.¹

But, as Astarte represented the moon, why refer to only a portion of the month? Because Astarte only represented the horned moon;² and we find in the religion of the neighbouring Egyptians that their great sun-god Horus (also horned as the descendant of the sun, Osiris, and of the heavens or the moon, Isis) was only Horus, the sun-god, during part of his course.³ So in the Indian poems, with which the Phœnicians would have come in contact, the cow represents time as only a portion of the year, month, or day.⁴ In this case the cow is Aurora or spring, which dies at even or in the autumn. So Astarte was only the moon during part of her course (*i.e.*), while the moon was horned.

The moon, strictly horned for about fourteen days, would assimilate to that condition a day or two before and after the full phase, *i.e.*, about three weeks; and it seems Dido's followers walled in about a stadium or furlong a day; a very probable amount, the whole being twenty-two stadia.⁵

All the statements of the Phœnicians were treated with like contempt, so that even the conscientious Herodotus is led into an error of judgment in his following the custom of throwing doubt on their assertions. Thus, on the Phœnician account of their sail round Africa, while he admits the voyage as a proof that Lybia was seabound, he throws discredit,⁶ so far at least as to their "having the sun on their right hand" is concerned, whereas to us this proves their truthfulness.

¹ Eustathius quotes Ælian to this effect, *supra*, p. 43, n. 1.

² It was at the change, or renewing of the horns, that the Hebrews held festivals.

³ Macrobius. In reality the name, not the person, was changed.

⁴ In the *Rigvedas*, the luminous cow (*i.e.*, day or spring) comes to rescue from evil sleep, which he is taking with the black cows (*i.e.*, night or winter), a warrior (the sun). (*Rigv.*, viii, 47, 14.)

⁵ M. H. Servius, edition of Virgil.

⁶ Herod., book iv, ch. 42.

I have thus introduced the Phœnicians under the unusual garb of truthfulness—an aspect I believe to be a correct one, if for no other reason, because we do not find them quarrelling with or cheating the Britons, while in the case of the Greeks, so far as the first provocation, by the removal of Io is concerned, they were in an unavoidable difficulty.¹ But there are other reasons. Brave and daring men, whether warriors by sea or land, have at all times had as one of their grand characteristics an open recklessness of the consequences of avoiding falsehood and deceit. It is clear they have no use for those commodities; there is too much of the rough and ready about real sailors to leave room for deceit and falsehood.

But these people in particular belonged, if not to the Persian nation by direct descent, at least to a band,² of which that nation, forming the head, held TRUTH to be the grandest principle of action. Herodotus states that, up to the age of twenty, the Persian youth were instructed in three things only—the use of the bow, horsemanship, and a strict regard to truth.³ The Egyptians, also closely allied with the Phœnicians, had their gods of truth and their temples of truth.⁴ Moreover, Dido's name of Elisa—a poetical contraction from Elizabeth,⁵ a revered name in Hebrew-Phœnicia, quoted as having been the name of Aaron's wife, and subsequently of the mother of John the Baptist,⁶ as frequently translated, commemorates her keeping her oath of fidelity, even to the memory of her husband. Was it possible then that she could openly have practised fraud and falsehood?⁷ Having placed these people in their right position, I venture now to lay before you some points which serve to connect several widely located bodies in the same family, and in result to bring us back to Bretagne.

¹ Herod., bk. i, ch. 5. It should be borne in mind that the extensive, in fact monopolising, traffic of the Phœnicians enabled them to fix their own prices on all commodities, which, considering the risk of adventure and the distance of purchasers, were perhaps not unreasonable. Those who dealt with them accused them of extortion without having means to estimate the risk.

² Herod., bk. i, ch. 4. ³ Ibid., bk. i, ch. 136. ⁴ Cooper, Horus myth.

⁵ Dr. Adam Littleton.

⁶ Ibid., אלישבע, Deus juramenti.

⁷ Some, indeed, consider Dido to be Astarte herself, as they were both worshipped by the Carthaginians. "Quamdiu Carthago invicta fuit pro dea culta est" (Justin, 18, 6); and Movers (*Phœn.*, i, 610) classes Juno, Diana, and Venus, on the same scale of worship as the deity of Carthage; add to this, "Urbe fuit media sacrum genitoris Elissæ manibus" (Silius It., l, 81).

It will be admitted on all hands that the Phœnicians were the most enterprising people of ancient times. Another people alike extensive in their pursuits, and only one other, existed, the Malays; but they were in the southern hemisphere, and apparently never came north. It is not a matter of opinion but of historical fact, tabulated alike by Herodotus¹ and Diodorus Siculus,² that, when all the eastern countries were summoned by Xerxes to muster their navies, the Phœnicians were found to have one hundred war ships in excess of the next maritime power, that of Egypt; and a fleet in all equal to one-fourth of the collective navies, including those of all the smaller states. Herodotus further informs us that the Phœnicians were the *best mariners*.³ I have already quoted his statement that they had sailed round Africa,⁴ in which he admitted they had proved Africa to be surrounded by the sea, such voyage being made upwards of two thousand years before that by any other European nation.⁵ I say other European, for the Phœnicians acclimatised themselves in Europe; but, beyond this, it is not improbable that both Columbus and Vasquez de Gama were descendants of some Phœnician colonisers, Kolumbos being a Greek or Phœnician word for a swimmer, while Gameo for Gama signifies one taken into alliance by marriage, and therefore both suitable names for immigrants.

There is distinct evidence that the locality of the pillars of Hercules, while forming the boundary of the Phœceans and other adventurers, was with them merely a *grand station*; and that their great trade was with Britain, and the Cassiterides or British Isles. Their *jealousy* is marked by Strabo's account that a Roman ship-master, endeavouring to follow one of their ships, to learn the locality of the secret sources of their wealth, the Phœnician mariner ran his ship on the rocks and destroyed it, but *he received the full value of his loss from the state to which he belonged*. With this *jealousy* so strongly marked, and with the supremacy of the ocean in their hands, I will ask, not if it is probable, but *possible* that they would have allowed another

¹ Herod., bk. vii., ch. 89 et seq.

² Dio. Sic., bk. xi., ch. 1.

³ Herod., bk. vii., ch. 96.

⁴ Ibid., bk. iv., ch. 42, 44.

⁵ Prideaux. 2,100 years before discovery of Cape of Good Hope by Vasquez de Gama in 1497. It is clear that no doubt existed in the minds of the ancients as to this voyage being effected, as Sataspes was ordered by Xerxes to repeat the voyage. (Herod., bk. iv., ch. 43.)

rival naval power to establish itself and trade with Britain in their own coveted article of commerce, and actually to intervene between them and it? This for my sequel.

Herodotus clearly intimates that the Baltic¹ was known to these people, who appear to have traded there for amber, which Strabo also mentions as an article of commerce. We find that the Phœnicians *traversed land* as well as sea when they had an object to attain; thus they came from the Red Sea to Phœnicia.² Darius sent an exploring party of Greek sailors, who, crossing the country,³ built their ships on the river Indus, and then navigated to the ocean and up the Red Sea. These were Greeks of Caria, in Asia Minor, and really, geographically, more Phœnicians than Greeks.⁴ On the Euxine were people whom I shall describe further on, and who are found bearing a name not unlike that of the Phœnicians, for it can be shown that the *ph* or *φ*, which I find in a curious but anonymous Keltic work set down as indicating the Phœnician serpent,⁵ this *φ* was certainly connected with that district, for not only does it appear on the Moabite stone, but Herodotus informs us that the people known in Macedonia as the *Bryges*, on passing over into and settling in Asia, were at once called the Phryges or Phrygians.⁶ The equivalents of the *b* and *v* have also a certain mutability in Hebrew, and

¹ Herod., bk. iii, ch. 115. He mentions a river flowing into the *northern sea*, from which amber comes, and attributes the name "Eridanus" to Greek origin. The Phœnicians alone could have reached so far; no doubt as the result of finding amber, with the people of the Cassiterides, to which he refers in the same sentence. This river is considered to be a tributary of the Vistula, the mouth being near Dantzic. But these waters were anteriorly known as Sinus Venedicus; clearly, therefore, pertaining to the Venedi or Veneti, *d* and *t* being mutatives, and still so retained there: *e.g.*, Lat. *tu*, Germ. *du*, thou. I do not assume the people here to have been Phœnician, but that a trade-station was established. This would give the name to the locality, and those concerned in procuring the amber, and retailing to the natives the Phœnician merchandise obtained in exchange, would be identified by a name of the same import without changing their nationality or language in any way.

² Herod., bk. i, ch. 1; bk. vii, ch. 89.

³ *Ibid.*, bk. iv, ch. 44. Rollin, Prideaux, and others, seem to have misread this. Herodotus places the whole initiative with Scylax of Cariandia, who, having to prosecute the voyage with the other Carians, no doubt constructed or directed the construction of the ships made for this special investigation, they being both shipbuilders and sailors, neither of which the Persians were.

⁴ Mr. Cox, in his *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, p. 230, vol. i, states, "no distinction of race is denoted by the names whether of Ionians or Phœnicians".

⁵ *Native Steamboat Companion*, p. 190. *Eph* or *Ev*, by transposition of the vowel-sound, becomes *Phe*, *φ*. *Ev* or *Eva* was a word of adoration to the serpent god. The sound would be reversed by the Welsh Britons. *Vide* n. 3, p. 48.

⁶ Herod., bk. vii, ch. 73.

may have acquired this in Phœnicia. Had we the sources of migration, it would be found that geography and philology have as close a relationship as chemistry and geology. We here find the *b* and *φ* are mutative, but with the Cymru the *b* and *v* and *b* and *f* are also mutative, as in the Welsh *bara* and *vara* for bread, and the mountains Gabenna or Cevennes in Gaulish, while in the very locality we are considering we have the bay called equally Biscay and Viscaya.¹ I need hardly point out how much the *φ* and the digamma or *f* represented each other in different dialects. But the Bryges passed over to the Galli, or people of Galatia, who had, it appears, a common custom of mutation of these consonants with our modern Welsh, the descendants of the Cymru. This seems a strong indication of the geographical locality of the people who came to the west of Europe, and were known as the Kimbrie branch of the Gauls. I will not rest on the similarity of the names Phœnicia and Venetia,² although the Latins, by dropping the *h*, thus making Pœni, hence Punic, showed that out of Phœnicia even the Phœnicians lost the *ph* or *φ*.³ The reason of this is at once apparent; the Latins had no equivalent to the Greek *φ*, and the adjustment of the *p* and *h* had not yet taken place. This is evident from our own language, which, having a large element of Latin, has not a single word in it beginning with the *ph* from *phacoid*, appertaining to lentils, to *phyto*, a plant, and its followers (and the same argument applies to French and German); but every such word is Greek, and the initials borrowed from the Greek *φ*.

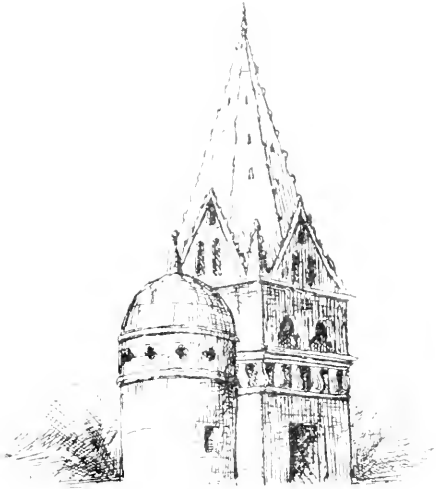
The Phœnicians have the credit of inventing letters, but even their earliest or Kadmean alphabet had not the *φ*.⁴ It

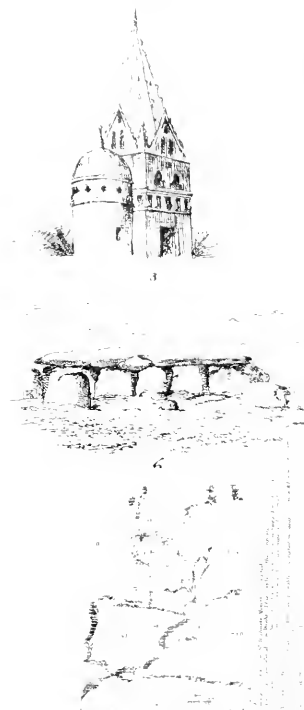
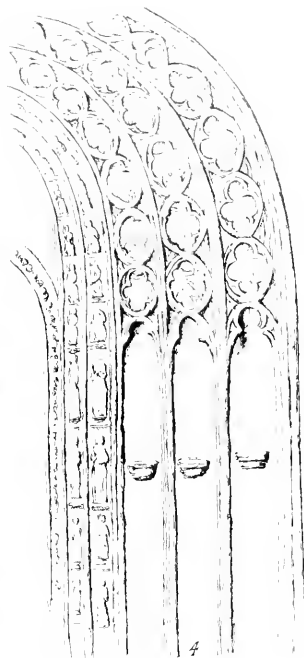
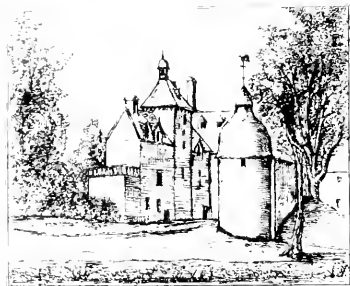
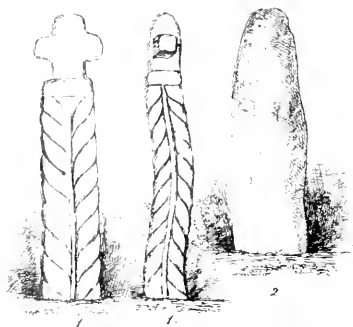
¹ The modern Greeks pronounce the letter β (*b*), *v*.

² The modern Greeks often put τξ to represent the difference between *c* and *t*; the Italians, the *z* only in the latter word. Difference of *quantity* would seem at once to counterbalance anything that might be claimed from the similarity of the names; but when we find quantity often quite ignored by the modern Greeks (from the language being debased, if that argument be preferred), there is nothing surprising in the "*barbarians*", whether Phœnician or Gaelic, adopting phonically a false quantity also, which in the case of a proper name would then be so written. Sir G. F. Bowen, an extensive traveller in the Levant, shews, after a careful study of comparative treatises by various professors, that the classical English reader also uses false quantities, as in Miltiades, and the "short syllables of θεὰ and ἀνελόμενῃ" in the first two lines of the *Iliad*.

³ In Erse, *h* is always a secondary form of *f*. In Welsh, *h* is the primitive, and *f* the secondary. (*Quarterly Review* for 1836, Sept., on Dr. C. J. Prichard's *Comparison of Dialects*. This again points to the Welsh as Galli of Galicia.

⁴ Astle.

[illegible]



appears to me therefore that the people I have referred to on the Euxine, the Henetans or Venetans, or rather the Heneti or Veneti, retained the earlier name. The Greeks had no actual letter *h*, nor indeed *v*, the sound indicated by ϕ was clearly that of a double letter, which they seem to have acquired in the Baltic, where the double *u* or *v* (*uu* or *vv*), still often pronounced by the Scandinavians and Teutons *v*, was first used. On their return they had to coin a letter to meet this sound in Phœnicia, hence ϕ .¹

I will take a stronger, because a historical course. Adjoining the people to whom I have referred as living on the Euxine, and who were called Heneti, were the people of Colchos,² whose customs were the same as the Phœnician and Egyptian, and whose products bore a name likening them to those of either Sidon or Sardis, the one in, the other near, Phœnicia. The Greeks stole the daughter of the king of this people, and, on the king sending to demand reparation, the Greeks replied, "We shall make none, as the carrying off of Io has not been atoned."³ But Io was taken away by the Phœnicians. The Greeks therefore thought they were justified in looking on these people, the Colchians, the Heneti, and their neighbours as the same as the Phœnicians, as shown in this retaliation. There are certain constructions in Phœnicia which are found equally abundantly in the Euxine, in the country of Colchos, showing that the same custom was in use among the Colchians and Phœnicians, tending strongly to their identity as of one origin.⁴

The Persians looked on these various nations of Asia Minor as one body, and Mr. A. S. Murray, of the British Museum, gives the race of Agenor as spreading over Phœnicia, Cilicia, and on to Thebes in Greece. If it be thought I am trespassing by identifying more than one nation of Asia Minor with the Phœnicians, it must be borne in mind that in the time of Homer, Greece was equally divided. There were Danaans, Argives, etc., but no name classing them

¹ It is from their geographical positions, pursuits, and traditional emigrations, that I identify them with the Phœnicians. Still it must be borne in mind that ϕ was originally expressed by the Greeks, who had no letter for it, by the labial π followed by the aspirate, and it was the aspirate that distinguished the Heneti. The difference between the Heneti and Veneti is not so apparent. π and β are mutative, so are β and ϵ , and ϕ is really an aspirated *v*. Ptolemy writes it *Ovvetoi*, for the Venetians. See *Gaule Romaine*, p. 290.

² Herod., bk. ii, ch. 104, 105. Sardonian or Sidonian? ³ *Ibid.*, bk. i, ch. 2.

⁴ See map in *Rude Stone Monuments*, by James Fergusson, D.C.L., F.R.S.

nationally or generally as Greeks. The above and the Pelasgi seem to have been the ancestors of all the people of Asia Minor and Thrace ; and it would be difficult to shew a different origin to the occupants of the islands, or, as it seems, to various nations of the Greeks ; in fact, the Ionians seem to have first excelled in naval exploration, and were followed by the Phœnicians ; or perhaps the latter were engaged on the east of Arabia at that time, and by their superior experience took the lead on their coming into the Mediterranean. I need hardly touch on the opinions of Mons. Bertrand or the Baron de Bonstetten, that the dolmen builders came from the Baltic to Britain and Brittany, and so on to the Mediterranean, because, as Dr. James Fergusson has pointed out, it involves the question of superior navigators, and we know that the Phœnicians stood alone in that position ; and we have also historical commercial evidence that it was they who visited the Baltic, and not the people of the Baltic them. Indeed, there were no people but the Phœnicians from whom information as to the Baltic, its amber, and its river Eridanus, could have been obtained except the Phœnicians.

If, then, we may assume the Heneti to be of this people, and the evidence is strong, it perhaps clears up a point never yet explained, viz., where the Phœnicians came from. Given the position in the Euxine, it is just the spot for an exploring people to have done that on their own account ; and which, indeed, agrees with their traditions, which, from their own boasted achievements, probably led Pharaoh Necho to despatch them on their celebrated voyage round Africa ; and subsequently Darius to send sailors *overland* to the Indus, and so up the Red Sea. I mean they were probably the first who navigated down the Persian Gulf and up the Red Sea by the very plan subsequently adopted by Darius, viz., going overland ; working up the river Halys first south, then east, till they approached the Euphrates, and crossing overland to that river, and down it to the Persian Gulf. They seem to have passed through rather than emigrated from the Persian Gulf, or they would have brought the Accadian letters. There they would hear of sounds being represented by signs ; and the idea being given, so ingenious a people would readily adapt signs or letters to words. The course of the Bryges indicates a

stream of migration southwards, as also of the Pelasgi from Epirus.

I find several references to these people, the Heneti, coming with Antenor to Northern Italy; and Dr. Littleton, quoting Livy, says the names Heneti and Veneti referred to the same people; that the Heneti and Trojans became mixed, and the word Veneti embraced the whole of those who built Padua and settled around. If so, as a large number of recruits would join the Phœnicians, I think there is sufficient evidence to shew that the Veneti of the Morbihan were Phœnicians:¹ indeed, they might almost be *geographically* distinguished; for whether we take the Veneti of the Baltic, the Heneti of the Euxine, the Venedotæ of North Wales, the Veneti of Bretagne, the Pœni of Carthage, the Phœnici of the Sinus Persicus mentioned by Hesychius, those of Hyamia in the Peloponnesus, or the more modern occupants of Venice, and all Phœnician colonies, we find the same maritime geographical features so strongly commented on by Cæsar, by means of which they baffled for a long time the Roman arms at Carthage and in the Morbihan, and which necessitated the same mode of approach by

¹ The difficulty arising from quantity is reduced when the collaterals are noticed. Thus *φοῖνιξ*, a Phœnician, red, crimson, seems related to *φαινός*, blood-red; *φόνος*, murder; *ποινή*, blood-money; *φένω* (Liddle and Scott's *Lex.*); and may possibly have relation to the root *οἶος*, astonishment at something unusual or vast; and so *οἶνη* and *οἶνζω*, Lat. *unus*, alone or separate. *φένω* is found as a root not actually in use. But here we have a different quantity; and as the name seems to have been given by the Greeks altogether as a *sobriquet*, probably intended to unite the natural colour of the men, as it includes the colour from that of a bay horse, or, as we should say, "sandy" (Il. 23, 454), to that of flame, or like flame, as in *φοῖνισσα φλόξ* (Pindar, P. i, 45), with the act of murder. Homer identifies them as kidnappers, etc. It may have been so changed from the usual name of these people, by a witty turn, to accommodate these meanings; opposites, or double, or multiplicity of meanings being aimed at. That it simply meant red, without any apparent reason, except that as mariners they were sunburnt, as Mr. Kenrick thinks; or was only complimentary to the people coming from the east, or region of Aurora, as Mr. Cox indicates, I cannot agree with, though I would accept these as among its many meanings. The Greeks had a taste for this sort of satire: thus those Phœnicians who worked the soil, as at the demarcation of Carthage, when they applied their labour to building bridges, received the *sobriquet* of Gephyreans; and as a commemoration of the contempt implied, amongst other reasons, the abuse at the bridge became a popular proverb. (Herod., book v, 57, 58; Hesych, Plut.) *φωνίκες* seems to be a witticism as used. All words compounded of *φοί* indicate movement, physical or mental: *πολεῖν*, fighting, conquering, hence blood-stained; and really equivalent to our term red rover, which would describe them exactly. In the same way the Greeks nicknamed another roving people by a term that described alike their complexion and habits. *Πελαργοί*, or Pelasgi, which means equally storks and dark-haired people with fair skins.

Alexander at Tyre, Scipio at Carthage, and Cæsar in Brittany. They were, in short, great colonisers. They were like the modern Hebrews—found in every market; had command of the precious metals in the same way; held a religion from which more recent nations—the Greeks and Latins—in a great part drew theirs; and resembled them in all but their physique and maritime pursuits.

Their connection with the Vandals and Ostrogoths, an opinion which has eminent supporters, was that arising from *position* and *alliance* in the turmoil of later times; but their retirement to Venice shews they had no part with, but rather sought a refuge from, those nations.

The letter *h*, in south-west of England Gaelic, becomes often *ch* or *k*; in Scotch Gaelic it is not recognised, though a high authority states that it is made up for, as the Highlanders place it before *every vowel*. In short, *h* has been a stumbling-block from all time. The Greeks indicated the aspirate merely by a comma (') to the right, and the soft sound by the reverse, just as the French turn the hard *c* into the soft by the cedilla (*ç*). There was no way, therefore, to express the *ϕ* but by the *f*, in this country, in early times; and I find in the small Keltic work I have mentioned, the Fingalians described as Pheni, and Loch Fyne as Loch Pheni, while the larger cromlechs and lithic arrangements in Ireland are called, locally, *Leaba na Feinè*, which, it is stated by Fosbroke, signifies the beds of the Phœni or Carthaginians.

No satisfactory definition has yet been given as to the meaning of the term "*red*", implied by the name. Herodotus attributes it to their coming from the Red Sea, others to the Tyrian dye, others from their extracting red from a particular fish; but I believe it to have been *personal*. Some have attributed it to the red hand, from their slaughtering the inhabitants of the coasts. If so, this would have strengthened the personal view. Colour, which still exercises no slight influence, was with the ancients an object of reverence, and gave the indicative names to nations. Mr. Cox, in his Aryan myths, describes the word Ionian¹ as meaning violet, while *φοινίκη* was certainly red. The first clearly means the deep blue of heaven at midday, hence leading to Helenes or sun-children; while *φοινίκε* refers to

¹ G. W. Cox, M.A., vol. i, p. 230.

the rosy hue seen towards the east at dawn.¹ Mr. Cox sees no difference ; but had it been this alone, they would have changed it on going to the west, just as the Ionians became Helenes, children of the sun ; and Graikoi, or Greeks, people of the grey west, or sun-setting. It therefore seems to denote the personal colour also.

We have seen that the Phœnicians worshipped the white, horned cow. In Indian mythology the cow and Aurora are one.² Here are both the Phœnician colour and worship. The horses of the two Aëvinau, *i.e.*, the two twilights, are described as ambrosial, with *golden* wings which waken the Aurora. Ambrosia is described as the luminous, sun-lit wave, the yellowish milk of the heavenly cow,³ and as the yellow honey : hence ambrosial hair is golden hair. Such hair was then probably the distinguishing feature of these people. I have found it myself abundantly in the Troad. Collating, then, the facts that the goddess from whom Æneas was supposed to have descended was always described as “fair” and “rosy”, and her hair as ambrosial and delicate ; and the miraculously golden or fiery appearance of the locks of the boy Iulus during the sack of Troy, Virgil’s beautiful poetic fiction having, of course, some meaning well recognised in his day by tradition ; and being a compliment to Cæsar’s race, who, from this fact, would appear to have had fair or golden hair ; the name Cæsar being derived, as some think, from his hair. Arthur’s hair, described as gleaming with the splendour of the golden locks or rays of Phœbus ; the name given by the Greeks, as well by Strabo as Herodotus, to the Heneti of the Euxine, or some people close to them, who were termed the *White* Syrians, together with the white or fair-haired cow as their goddess ; and those among the Gauls, mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, who wore their red hair thrown back, and long ; Diodorus and Cæsar not discriminating the races in Western Gaul, except by name, any more than the Persians did in Syria and Lesser Asia, where we find the white Syrians, or Cappadocians at least, adjoining the Galli,—a people of Galatia, a locality, apparently, from which some of the Gaelic western emigrations originated. From all these evidences it seems to me that they were of that brave, daring, light-haired race still seen in the north, a good type

¹ G. W. Cox, M.A., vol. i, p. 237.

² *Rigv.*, x, 67, 3.

³ Vedic hymns.

of which is exhibited in a noble house which the Keltic people to this day distinguish by the title *Mor*. Their nationality has been merged in the country, and the wisdom, shrewdness, maritime supremacy, and commercial enterprise, of the Phœnicians have settled amongst us, and are our principal national characteristics at the present day.

The national stories of a people often mark their migratory course as definitely as the most graphic features, and when Antenor and his fugitive followers settled in southern Europe, they brought with them, of course, their national myths and tales, which acquired a poetic beauty in Germany, the fair-haired Germans at once adopting them. Thus the rosy maid, Aurora, is told by her stepdame, Night, to pasture the cow (the moon). If she tends her well, the cow spins gold and silver from its horns for the maiden, who appears in the morning on the mountains with the gold and silver yarn¹ (or hair), and in the gold and silver robes given her by the good cow : in short, Aurora clothed with the rays of the sun and moon at rising. This is pure Phœnician. So much for the East. The West is introduced by a violent effort.² Night kills the cow (the moon sets); the fair girl Aurora sows the bones of the cow in the garden, and from them springs an apple-tree bearing gold and silver apples, by plucking one of which, and giving it to a prince, he marries her (the sun, of course). The Phœnician story would not be complete without the Hesperides; but the mode of introducing the subject is original.³ We have all this in Brittany. The churches are crammed with distaffs of the blessed yarn, which is woven in the wedding-clothes; and from the bones of dragons sown in the sea have sprung up innumerable blessings. Nor is it only there. The colours are the same now geographically. We still speak of Turkey red, Venetian red, Venice blue; and the glorious British flag, on its white Saxon field, is composed of those colours.

But we have more than legend. I have made drawings

¹ One of the stories of *Santo Stefano di Calcinaia*.

² In Babylonian myth the seraph or serpent (night) receives the bull or sun, Ser-apis (grave of the bull). Bunsen, paper, July 31, 1877, *Biblical Archaeology*.

³ Also the stories and ceremony of burning Frau Holle, in Thuringia, on the Berchten-Nacht, the night preceding the Epiphany. Here Berchta is "the luminous cow", and Holda, or Holle, the dark witch. Both spin. Berchta, like the cow, spins silver and gold; the other, the dark weft of night.

and casts of an astronomical stone,—a *planetarium*, in short; and from the local tombs have been obtained purely Phœnician or Astarteian relics.¹ The peculiar carvings of the sun-face and the moon on celts are found, and I believe found only, in Europe, on the high-road of these people from Marseilles to Vannes, viz., at Puy, at Clermont Ferrand, and at Vannes, while there is sculpture clearly Carthaginian or Sicilian in the celebrated figure at Quinipili. It is apparent that in the simple article of the celt we have examples of a rude and also of a polished people holding the same religious faith. The celts at Vannes, found in the larger tumuli, are finished pieces of lapidary work; jade and chalcedony attest their value, and their exquisite proportion and delicacy an oriental refinement. On coarser ones are rude carvings of the solar and human visage, of a Nubian cast of countenance, belonging apparently to a people I shall presently refer to. On one of these the moon indicates Astarte. On the sculptured figure we have a luna-fillet, and on the terra-cotta a series of luna-figures round the sun. Astarte was the heavens; and this figure is clothed with heaven as a robe. Astarte was a protector of commerce,² and she is here shewn guiding and protecting a youth clad in the garments of peace or commerce. The carvings on the celts appear peculiar to the people I shall presently refer to, and also to the Malays, as on the crease.

From this point I shall assume that the Heneti, Veneti, or Venetans, of Bretagne were descendants of some of the earliest colonists of the people subsequently taking the initial V in Scandinavia, and the Φ or *Ph* in Palestine and Syria. The Phœnicians were really leaders and commanders, their crews and colonists being impressed from all they met with. It is sufficient for the argument that these were colonists led by, and acting with and for, the Phœnicians. Just as many

¹ Parallel with the legends runs an imitation of the great Indian sacrifice of the white horse, the Aswamedha. In Sicily, Dionysius sacrificed annually a white horse (Strabo); and we find the horse sacred in Brittany and Britain (the white horse). The whole district of the great stone of miracle (Breton, *Men Marz*) is sacred to St. Eloi (*ἄγιος Ἐλίας* of the modern, *Ἡλίας* of the ancient Greeks); and in this district of the former worship of the sun, as the presence of this saint shews, on his day of worship all the horses in his district still make a grand procession, which is terminated by innumerable *feux de joie*, bonfires. See *infra*, Penmarc'h.

² Murray's *Myths*, p. 84.

of the Roman legions had no Romans in them except the commanders.

It will, perhaps, bring the matter into a condensed form to recall the fact that the earliest nations we have knowledge of were the Chaldæans, Syrians, Phœnicians, and Egyptians, and that they all bordered on each other; and thus, no doubt, had a *lingua franca* language in common; for Herodotus, at the outset of his history, says the Phœnicians transported the produce of Egypt and Assyria to Greece. These nations are recorded to have been all of the same stock; and if so, their great distinguishing features arose from their localisation and the pursuits which such localisation engendered. Thus the Syrians would be pastoral, the Phœnicians mercantile, the Egyptians constructive and artistic, and the Chaldæans, from some cause or other, astronomical; and from the latter would then have emanated the primitive solar myth to which the mythologies of all the others can be traced, and from which the later ones of Greece and Rome were clearly constructed.

I find this idea supported by the character of their respective writings; the Chaldæan or Babylonian, and even the antecedent Accadian, the original of this writing and of sun-worship, being of arrows or arrow-heads or rays; the arrow being used to indicate the sun's rays, and so described by Greek and other writers; and the Cymru claim to this day the three rays as indicating that the knowledge of language came down from heaven; that of the settled Egyptians being formed of the plants and animals located on the Nile, which they venerated; the Syrian being apparently the expression of a pastoral people,—to quote *aleph* standing for an ox, *gimel* for a camel, *heth* for a field, and so on; but which at once lost such special signification when used commercially by the Phœnicians, though re-read by students of to-day.¹ The visible indications of their mythologies bear this out exactly. Thus the sun of the Chaldæans is

¹ There is a hieroglyphic writing of this kind still existing in Brittany, and retained to within the last few centuries. It consists of various figures which are in reality emblems standing for signatures, and known as mariners' and merchants' marks, on floors and walls of churches at Penmarc'h and elsewhere in Brittany, as at St. Marie at Méné Hom, and on documents in archives at Quimper, which explain in a measure the marks on the stones in chambers at Locmariaquer; so far, at least, as to shew that the designers used them to convey a meaning, though the clue to it is now difficult and obscure.

represented by Asshur as an archer, clearly the original of Apollo; the sun of the Egyptians by the orb clothed with the wings of the Ibis; Osiris' incarnation by the bull Apis; the moon of the Syrians and Phœnicians by the white-horned cow, Io or Astarte, the cow answering to the pastoral Syrians, the moon to the guiders of ships, or mariners,—a fact that smoothes down very much of what was considered important by former antiquaries in the arkite myth, and yet shews that there was some ground for admitting this species of naval freemasonry.

The Bretons are still identically the same. With no manufactures but those for their own use, yet those producing excellent articles; in other respects divided simply into a marine and a pastoral population, they keep themselves exclusive, and aloof from general intercourse, though kind, affable, and highly interesting.

One word more on the Phœnicians. The *tau* was an object of reverence with them. Alexander crucified a multitude at Tyre to degrade this figure, the three-membered cross. We find it prominent on the dress of Astarte in the terracotta, and on the forehead of the figure at Quinipily, and in a great variety of decorated forms on the sculptured chambers of Locmariaquer. It is of a gigantic size on the ceiling or roof-stone of "the Table of the Merchants". This emblem was one of the forms indicating Osiris; and tradition being a most persistent thing, I have no doubt that as Astarte was the protector of merchants, this was the Exchange, or place where contracts were made. If we may assume as much as this, the explanation is clear. They would have to swear truth and fidelity in the valuable trusts confided to their care. Such oaths to be taken here, either in the chamber or over it, either by pointing heavenwards to the emblem invoked; or what to them would be still more solemn, the great oath, By Him who lies buried at Philæ.

The Veneti.—Caesar¹ informs us that the Veneti had great influence,—more, indeed, than any other nation along the whole sea-coast; because, he says, they had not only a very great number of ships in which it was their custom *to sail to Britain*, but by this means they *surpassed* the other nations in nautical knowledge and experience. He describes well the dangerous sea and open coast; the risks of which,

¹ *De Bello Gallico*, l. iii. c. 8.

together with the scarcity of ports, gave such power to the Venetians that they were enabled to hold as *tributaries* almost all those who entered into traffic with them.

In this passage we have evidently the secret of their wealth on that otherwise unproductive coast where they were located ; doubtless from the Morbihan,¹ even in their day, offering to vessels of small draught and size as complete a natural defence as any in the world ; while its terribly rapid currents, sandy shoals, and winding channels, would have caused destruction to any not bearing a native pilot. Diodorus Siculus refers to the traffic in British metal, it being carried to an island on the British coast by carts at low tide, and then conveyed by merchants to France (Gaul), and through France to the mouth of the Rhone, evidently towards the great market of Rome.

With the statement of Cæsar before us, it seems clear that the Veneti were these transporters of this article of commerce, and even perhaps the land-carrying merchants to Marseilles. Be the latter point as it may, though quite consonant with the marketing customs of the ancient Phœnicians, the more interesting point to us is this, that the British seas were from the earliest history commanded by Breton or British fleets, and that Britons were the carriers of the world then as they are still.

We learn further, from Cæsar's statements, that these people, though apparently distinct from the Gaelic nations around them, were in communication with all the coast-

¹ Mons. Ernest Desjardins, in his valuable work on the *Géographie de la Gaule Romaine*, very correctly points out the geological as well as geographical fact that the sea of the Morbihan did not exist as it now is in the days of Cæsar. I have myself compared many of the soundings with those on the hydrographical chart designed by M. Edmond Bassac, and from these and very careful observations made during several successive years I can attest the probability of this statement. But allowing it all the merit of correctness, it is evident, even from M. Desjardins' own map (Plate x of vol. i), that there must have been, even in Cæsar's time, many intricate channels and even dangerous shoals. His own soundings go to indicate that the *Ile aux Moines*, *Ile d'Arz*, *Ile Longue*, and *Gavr' Inis*, were islands, all of them being, to a great extent, surrounded by deep channels scooped out by the fresh water outlets of the district ; and he places the grand port of Venetia at Locmariaquer, which is a considerable distance inside the mouth of the Morbihan ; so that, although the vast tract of water we now see did not then exist, there was sufficient, so far as the security of their port was concerned, to agree with Cæsar's description, that estuaries separated the passes by land, and that the approach by sea was difficult (*Bel. Gal.*, L. iii, c. 9): "*Pedestria esse itinera concisa astuariis, navigationem impeditam propter inscientiam locorum paucitatemque portuum sciebant.*"

tribes, and able to bind them, by their influence, into a confederacy against Cæsar.¹ They were, therefore, well acquainted with the curious religious customs of the Samnites in the Isle de Batz, at the mouth of the Loire,² referred to by Strabo and Ptolemy of Alexandria; or may, indeed, have instituted them as agreeing with the original mysteries of Samothrace; while on the north their influence included, as we still further learn from Cæsar, the Lexovii, and so on eastward up to the Morini; so that they embraced in their maritime alliance, when in conjunction with Aquitania, the whole of what is now the French sea-board, even including, it would seem, that in the Mediterranean, and also that of Belgium. And as he goes on to say they sent for auxiliaries from Britain, they would, by friendly compact, have exerted the same influence over the people of this country also; and not improbably southward, along the Atlantic coast, even to Gibraltar itself.

The Morini are placed by ancient geographers as far east as the Rhine, so that all the commerce of the Channel was under these fleets; and as the Veneti were too enterprising a people to permit much competition, and, as Cæsar states, held all the traders as tributaries³ (for we fail to find any excepted), it is not too much to assume that the whole metallic commerce of Britain was in their hands, as their collective influence would be the great guarantee for security of goods to merchants of the staple article, whom Cæsar mentions. So much, even in modern history, turns on the destruction of their fleet by the Romans, that I must devote a few words to this remarkable naval fight. Before doing so, however, I must pause here to relate the most striking tradition of this locality, if not of the whole of Bretagne,⁴ that of King Grallon and La Ville d'Is. It will be apparent that we have arrived at the secret of the *capability* of these people to erect the wondrous monuments, the very fragments of which startle the modern traveller; though not,

¹ L. iii, c. 9.

² Or, as M. Desjardins suggests, L'Ile Noirmoutier, more to the south. The locality would not affect this question.

³ "Quos tenent ipsi, omnes fere, qui eo mari uti consuerant, habent vectigales," (L. iii, c. 8.)

⁴ Extracted from a collection, *Des Traditions, Mœurs, Coutumes, Chansons, Légendes, Ballades, de la Bretagne*. Paris, 1872. Also see a very interesting work by Mous. Le Mens, Archiviste de Quimper, on the beautiful cathedral of that city.

perhaps, altogether, yet at those ideas which led them so to devote their strength ; but the two are inseparable.

The same characteristics at once appear which distinguished the Egyptians and the people of Tyre, viz., an exhibition of wealth and power by gigantic solidity and ponderous construction ; and while little beyond the unwieldy monoliths remain to attest the fact, these are so emphatic in expression that there is no room for doubting *magnificent settlements, wealth, and civilisation*. The Ville d'Is is represented to have been a superb and beautiful city. Indeed, the grand means of their communication with the wealth and philosophy of Greece and Rome was through their own great port, for centuries prior to our era a seat of learning and science, Massilia, now Marseilles.

These remains have, in short, no analogue for ponderosity of lithic chambers and monoliths, except the chamber for the shrine of Latona at Buto, formed out of a single block which, according to Savary's quotations, took several thousand workmen three years to convey to its destination, and except the obelisks of Egypt. As the sojourning people in Egypt were made to provide the labour for her vast erections, so the tributaries to the Veneti from all parts, as Cæsar describes them, would by act or impost have helped to a magnificence, the very grandeur of which was displayed in utility, for these vast monoliths acted as landmarks by day to their ships, and many a one as a pharos by night, if we may judge from the statement of Orosius, who in the fifth century described such a pharos, of Phœnician construction, at Corunna¹ in Spain, which was reputed in his day to have been erected to aid Phœnician ships on their passage to Britain.

I have made a careful examination of all the larger monoliths in Brittany, from the mouth of the Loire westward, and thence round the coast to Mont St. Michel in Normandy, and found in every case that the great menhirs occupied sites well seen from the sea, and were superseded in almost every case by a modern *phare*—*pharos* or lighthouse. In many cases there were two, which *came into line* with the

¹ This is strongly corroborated by the names of such localities. It is said Corunna takes its name from this very column ; and the present lofty pharos is still called the "Tower of Hercules". In Brittany we have "*La Torche*", at Penmarc'h ; and "*La Clarté*", near Trégastel, etc., etc.

most dangerous rocks, being thus capable of acting as beacons both by day and night. I examined, at Brindisi in Italy, the two vast columns which terminate the Via Appia. They had projections upon them for ascending to fix lights, some of which still exist on the remaining column. We appear to have no actual record of the fact, but the natives of Brindisi affirm that these columns were used as fire-beacons; and in Brittany I found, in the mural decorations of a *château*, such a column represented with fire burning on the summit, and continually kept alive by an attendant. Nor are we without existing examples of monoliths as vast, and still erect, in the Basque provinces of the north of Spain, as at San Michel in Arrichinaga, while my own residence, for two summers, on the Spanish and Portuguese coasts, enables me to attest examples of dolmens of the same character as those of Brittany, which are found along the whole coast of the Atlantic from France to Gibraltar. Amongst others, those of Cintra and Evora, or Eborá, where we have not only the mutative *b* and *v* again, but identity of Gaelic or Phœnician names; the Evora of Portugal, and the Eborá of our city of York, being the same name.

On the fall of this great power, the earthen tumuli only in part protected the abodes of the dead. Can we imagine, then, that the constructions of the mighty men, all of whom were sold by Cæsar into slavery after the senate were, without exception, put to death, would have been respected? What these constructions were, it is not easy to arrive at. I have endeavoured to restore Locmariaquer from examples still intact, and to give a tent as shewn on the sculptured stones of Gavr' Inis; but what the grander constructions were, it is useless to conjecture. All their possessions were surrendered to Cæsar; and the remains of the mighty works of Carnac and Locmariaquer, the salt-sown and pulverised foundations of Penmarc'h, and the huge fragments of what appears to have been a stupendous pier or break-water at the extreme point in the Bay of Douarnenez, attest great commercial traffic in the hands of the Veneti. The ruins of these evidence that inundation of *destruction* which seems poetised in the tradition of the Ville d'Is, shewing that the mighty general swept away the great and wealthy even beyond the furthest promontory,—a view that the very destructive Christianity of Bretagne would have con-

sidered exactly suited to the deserts of their pagan ancestors. I look on the date of this legend,—the fifth century, as of no consequence, the tradition being one that would certainly have been appropriated by the Christianity of the middle ages. Mons. Emile Souvestre, commenting on the massive art-remains found in the sea on the north of the promontory of the Corisopiti, which tradition asserts were sunk there through a terrible catastrophe, and consequent submergence, says, “*C’est un de ces mille problèmes que le passé semble proposer par ironie à la science du présent.*” The wonder is not apparent with Cæsar’s statement before us. It appears probable that the lithic constructions of the temples, that were not worth transportation, were removed by the Roman ships, and they and their remembrance sunk in the depths of the sea. There is no geological evidence of such a convulsion, but the reverse. Knowing, as we do, the custom of ancient warfare to raze cities to the ground, and with the reasons Cæsar puts forth for the most unsparing measures, what more probable than that the first acts of the new slaves were the dismantling their own buildings, and sinking them in the ocean, under Roman supervision? Cæsar distinctly states that they surrendered themselves and *all their possessions to him*. Any personal observer will admit that the remains of the Morbihan, indeed of the whole of Brittany, exhibit but a faint outline of former works; and these have only come down to us in consequence of the enormous labour their destruction would have entailed.¹ The above would quite accord with the later

¹ This faint outline of former works it has been my endeavour, for some years past, to trace out. While for the purposes of geographical science it is impossible not to admire M. Desjardins’ work on *Gaule Romaine*, I cannot conscientiously agree with his archæological views; e.g., it matters not, for most arguments, whether the female Samnites, or by any name which he prefers to designate them, occupied the *Ile de Batz* or the *Ile Noirmoutier*; but tradition, being a very persistent thing, the *Pierre Longue* in the Bourg de Batz (for it is no longer an island), which has retained around it for centuries remnants and traditions of mysterious rites, seems to indicate that locality. Again, I think he takes too confined a view of the Roman operations. Cæsar sent three legions among the Unelli, the Curiosolitæ, and the Lexovii; and while he thus kept their military in check would, it appears to me, attack the towns of those people. Now it is exactly in those localities that *oppida* are found on promontories and peninsulas, with guarded approaches from the land, and having in them remains of dolmens, etc. I have visited a number of these round the coast, from Cap Sizun to the north coast. Many are very remarkable, that at Kermorvan, near Le Conquet, having still the mound cast up against the citadel by the besiegers, and answering minutely to Cæsar’s description. These tactics went on a long time before the fleet came up.

Breton habits, for I find all the obnoxious things, dragons, and others, were thrown into the sea,—not a few dragons, by the way,—just as the crosses at Iona were at a later date.

If the foregoing be admitted as probable, the good old King Gralon would represent the primitive happiness of the inhabitants; his dissolute daughter, Dahut, the money-seeking, and no doubt licentious, Phœnicians, who holding, as they literally did, by a golden chain the silver key of the waters, by their injudicious rupture with the Roman army flooded the land with death and destruction; and who, in the person of the Princess Ahès, King Gralon was ordered to deliver to the demanding waters. In other words, the people had to surrender the wealthy settlers all along the coast, up to the Point du Raz, to the torrent of Roman punishment. The purple or Tyrian cushions on which Ahès reclined, covered with massive golden ornaments and oriental pearls, as figured by the brilliant pen of Mons. Raoul Ferrere, seem to me to convey this allegorical meaning of an otherwise unexplained and inexplicable story, which throughout bears, not only by Ferrere's, but by Souvestre's depicting also, a purely oriental impress.

The name of the Princess Ahès, which was Dahut, appears to have been local, and, as far as I have been able to ascertain, is composed of the words *dar*, an oak, and *hut* or *huth*, affliction. Taking the account allegorically, therefore, Gralon, the king, would represent the original possessors of the country; and his luxurious and gold-covered daughter, the subsequent intruder who appropriated his wealth and introduced a new religion. Beguiled in folly by a distinguished and powerful youth (the Roman general), she despoils Gralon of his silver key, and, as a consequence, of his city. His life is saved, *i.e.*, he still lives in the country; but she is ordered by the voice of the gods to be surrendered to the waves, which by her instrumentality have flooded the land. Taking Gralon as the figure of power under the original

When Cæsar speaks of the islands of the Veneti he refers to the whole coast in the waters of which their fleets were, and on which they levied their tribute. The very tradition of King Grallon bears out traditionally the water encompassed towns of the west. It is remarkable that in Isaiah xxix, 3, we find a description of attack adopted by Phœnicians, identical with that used by Cæsar and others against Phœnician *oppida*. It would seem, therefore, that Cæsar adopted the tactics of the locality against the Veneti: such tactics, in short, as became imperative from their geographical positions, and which probably were first used by Phœnicians.

Druidic religion, Dahut was, indeed, the affliction and despoiler of their emblem, the oak.¹

The word *Is* is frequent in our own insular shores, in the neighbourhood of ancient Phœnician traffic, as *Is-ca*, the river *Ex* ; *Is-car Legio*, *Caeleon* in Monmouthshire, on the *Usk* ; *Is-chalis*, *Ilchester* ; *Is-urium*, *Aldborough* in *Yorkshire* ; *Is-amnium*, now *Portmuck* in *Ireland* ; and the *Is-etis* or *Ictis*, which has somehow or other contracted that extraordinary *v* or *vv* which the Phœnicians also seem to have contracted in these parts, and which, therefore, has been called *Veetis* or *Wight*. It has clearly been mistaken for an island nearer the river *Is*, while that near the *Lizard*, or *L'Is-ard*² (the exalted *Is*), answers the description exactly. Whichever it was, as *Diodorus Siculus* states, it was the great emporium for tin. It might as readily have been called *L'Isle d'Is* as the city we are speaking of *La Ville d'Is* ; for the Phœnicians, who appear to have first imported tin from the coast of *India* (which bears out my previous suggestion that they went there first from *Asia Minor*, and, no doubt, by their merchandize suggested its conquest to *Darius*), found it there called *kastîra* in Sanscrit, the Arabic being *kasdîr*, i.e., the shining : hence, when they found it in the British islands, they named them *Kassiterides*, from *kastîra*. Hence it was also, probably, that some authors looked on the *Britannic* islands as the *Fortunate Islands* of the *Hyperboreans*, applying the meaning (brightness) to the islands rather than to their produce. But the white and shining—and the Greeks so used tin for plating their shields and greaves, and not as a solid metal, nor in bronze alone—the white and shining were the special features of their goddess, whether by the name of *Astarte*, *Isis*, or *Io*, to whom they would attribute their success, and, therefore, to whom they would consecrate their treasure procured from such distant sources, and under the beneficent shining of whom they would secure safe voyages by taking their

¹ Her title, *Ahès*, seems Phœnicio-Hebrew, as *Aház*, the meaning of the latter name (possessor), would exactly apply to her.

² So long ago as eight centuries before our era, the Phœnicians were accused of kidnapping, and taking to foreign lands, Jewish youths (*vide Joel*, *Amos*, etc.). This accounts for the early settlement of Jews at *Marazion*, the strong and ancient Jewish element in *Wales*, the local traditions of Jews formerly working the tin-mines of *Cornwall* (*Romances, etc., of the West of England* by *R. Hunt, Esq., F.R.S.*, p. 82), etc., without having recourse to the extreme ideas lately promulgated in reference to their early settlement in *Britain*.

marine *luna*-observations.¹ The abstraction of the silver key from Grallon, which involved his destruction, is clearly the removal of the silver emblem or object of his former sway, the silvery goddess, the moon, which, suspended round his neck, recalls the Iodan Moran.

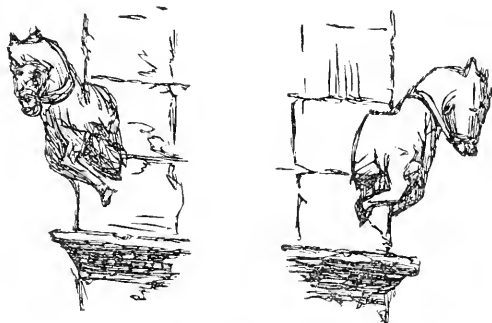
Dropping the *k* from *kastira*, we have at once the Greek *aster* (ἀστήρ), a luminary or illustrious person, from which the transition to Astarte is facile. But Isis and Astarte were one. I therefore look on the word *Is*, not only in Britain, but in Brittany, and its multiplied application wherever these people went, as *Il-is-sus* in Attica; *Is-ara*, or *Is-ere*, in Savoy; *Is-auria* in Asia Minor; the *Sinus Is-sicus*, close to Phœnicia itself,—in short, throughout the Phœnician settlements,—as closely allied with the *Is-iaci* or priests of Isis. *Is-apis*,² in Umbria, the locality I have already pointed out as visited by the *Heneti* or *Veneti*, gives us at once the key, by the names of *two* of the Egyptian deities, while the derivations of *Ex*, *Ouse*, *Ox*, *Is*, *Es* (flowing water), as in our own rivers *Isis* and *Tham-es*, all from one source; together with the river *Isis* in the *Euxine*; a river *Isis* in South Germany, where the *Heneti* migrated to; and the *Is*, near *Babylon* itself; point to the same conclusion; and for that source I find no more probable origin than the name of that deity of the ancients, under whose influence, then as now, the rivers seemed to burst with abundance in this country; in a less degree, it is true, but in the same way as the *Nile* did under the *Isis* or moon of Egypt. At all events it seems a better way of viewing it in these matter-of-fact times, than by giving any place to the enormous and terrible Red Demon who is gravely asserted to have been seen by the whole population of *Quimper*, lay and clerical, descending on the leaden tower of the church in that town, and enveloping it in flame,—a legend which is mixed up with the legend of the *Ville d'Is*,

¹ Astronomy was quite sufficiently advanced in Babylon to justify such a statement. I am informed that in the engineering works executed at *St. Nazaire* an object was found amongst some neolithic implements which led the finder to suppose it was a prehistoric chronometer. As it did not come under my personal observation when there, I can form no opinion. Homer, in the eighth book of the *Odyssey*, apparently refers to the use of the compass in ships moving, without the aid of the usual means, as easily in darkness and cloud as in day; and Fuller gives the Phœnicians credit for using the magnet. The excavations at *St. Nazaire* are referred to in the *Revue Archéologique de Paris*. Mars, Avril, et Mai, 1877.

² Strabo and Ptolemy use the popular abbreviation, "*Sapis*".

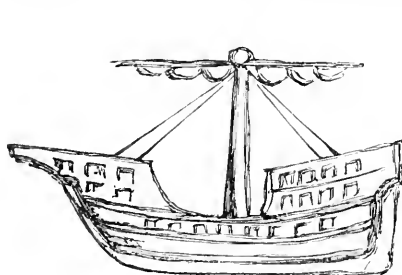
though it is not quite apparent why, except that on a close examination of the entry by the *curé*, this demon appears to have been the Phœnix. He describes it (a grudge against the Phœnicians) as a large bird in the midst of the flames.

I assume, then, that the mysteries of Osiris and Isis were celebrated in, perhaps, the once vast city of *Penmare'h*, the horse being always connected with the sun and moon, and the head of a sacred animal always assumed in such worship by the Egyptians; and as *Penmare'h* means the horse's head, and the city was named from a vast natural resemblance to a horse's head, which still exists, no spot could have been more strongly indicative to Phœnicians of a site for such worship. The great parish church of St. Nonna, at *Penmare'h*, has part of its square tower decorated with well-sculptured horses' heads,—not as fanciful gargoyles, but in positions

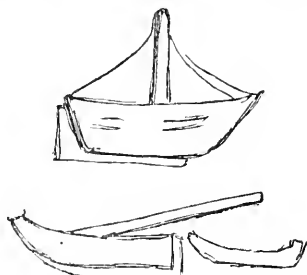


Horses' Heads, facing N. and S., in granite.
Tower of *Penmare'h* Church.

simply decorative. Inside and outside, the church has elaborately sculptured ships with all details of sails, etc.; and



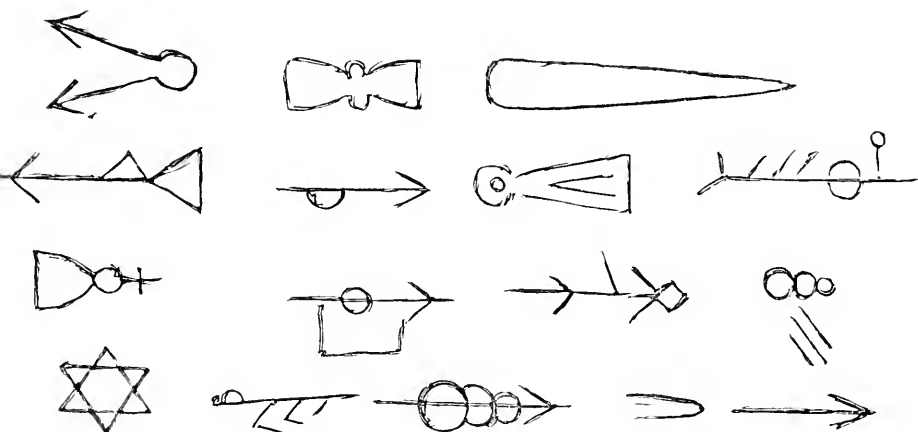
Ship, in granite, on the external face of a wall of *Penmare'h* Church.



Votive Boats on the inner face of walls of *Penmare'h* Church.

the extensive stone flooring is, as I have already pointed out, covered with emblematic and votive marks made by mer-

chants and captains from the coast, as far down as Gibraltar, who thus supplicated the powers of the place on their adventures. The horse's head asserted to have been found by the followers of Dido in excavating for her new city, Carthage, was said to be a sign of good omen.¹ The Phœnicians being on this coast, and the acknowledged sanctity of the horse's head by the ancients, seem to explain why this spot was selected by merchants for propitiating adverse deities for the safe conduct of their ships. The mysterious



Votive Marks by Mariners, etc., from the coast of Spain. Size, from 1 foot to 3 feet each.

meanings connected with the horse's head are so tremendous, and yet so applicable, that they agree at once with all the other associations of the locality. The horse's head² is a Hellenic emblem, and was adopted by the Germans probably from Trojan introduction. It had equally solemn purposes as the heads in the Hindoo myths. To quote one sentence: "He who enters into the head finds death and hell : he who comes out of it rises again to new life." The mysteries of Isis and Osiris were purely those of the dead : the passing onward to the western or Fortunate Isles, always an emblem of a new and happy existence.

All the surroundings support the idea of such worship as well on the islands, *e.g.*, on the *Ile des Sorcières* with its mysterious monuments,³ as on the promontory terminating

¹ Virgil, *Æn.*, li, 443.

² *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie*, p. 375, etc.

³ Although, as I have stated above, the large menhirs appear to have served the useful purpose of the modern lighthouse, yet those acquainted with Phœ-

in the *Point du Raz*. The Egyptians carried their dead westward, over water, to their final resting-place. The priests of this locality, Druids or Phœnicians, conveyed the bodies of their sacred ones from the promontory westward to the *Ile de Sein*, which the wild waves only occasionally allowed them to visit. The dead were frequently delayed in the *Baie des Trépassés*, which leads to the supposition that some process of temporary preservation or embalming must have been practised in a semi-Egyptian fashion. Here we find, in local tradition, the classical and Egyptian Hades completely revived; the souls of the dead wandering along the shores of the beautiful but sometimes terrible bay, in various conditions of distress, waiting for the boat of Charon to waft them over.

The above traditions seem to be a peculiar Keltic way of representing history, for we find collected into a single spot in Britain all these traditions and their accompanying features, with the substitution of another but still royal culprit, whose sin of causing *inundation* by a foreign army was identical.

The grand Roman power sweeping away the great ones of the British priesthood, and with them, of course, the nobles on the Isle of Mona, does not stand alone. The Bay of Cardigan (the Venedotia we have referred to) matches that of Douarnenez in its traditionary remains of a causeway upon a scale so vast that it is said to have reached from Harlech to the opposite promontory. Mysterious legends are connected with this place,—a king not being overcome, as Canute was, by the waves of the sea, but mastering them, his followers having made his regal chair of wax, which floated on the waves as they approached, attained thus supremacy over the native chiefs,—a legend savouring strongly of the floating Phœnicians.¹ Certain it is that a remarkable dyke, in a great part natural, but which, it is affirmed, has large remains of art upon it, like that near the *Point du Raz*, goes from the shore in the

niecian rites will at once see that this fact made them emblematic; and some ceremonies of an occult religion are secretly practised to this day by the peasants, as at the mammilloidal menhir at Kerloas, Finistère. (M. de Fréminville.)

¹ This legend is preserved in the old Welsh laws referring to the kings of the line of Dyfi. See Mr. W. F. Skene on the *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i, p. 64.

direction of the western promontory.¹ The tradition is that the country secured by this dyke was inundated through a countryman who, having charge of the sluices, neglected to close them; that of the Ville d'Is, that King Grallon was robbed by his daughter Dahut of the silver key suspended round his neck by a golden chain, which he used personally each month² to lock and unlock the sluices towards the ocean. The parallel does not stop here, for, leaving the extreme point of the western promontory, the Druids used to convey their holy dead to Bardsey Island for sepulture.³ The same cause of delay, from the boisterous ocean, often prevents now in each case, as it prevented then, intercourse with the shore; and a hospice still exists near Yr Eifl Mountain, where the wayfarer to the sacred cemetery of the Druids has refreshment without cost.

The natural physical features are curiously the same. In Brittany there is the triple-peaked mountain, Méné-Hom, the extreme western spur of *Les Montagnes Noires*, looking down upon the scene. The three peaks of this highly celebrated mountain of Druidic ceremonies are decorated, two with dolmens, and the other with a great *enceinte* of earth known as Castel-Douar. Near Pwllheli, the also triple-peaked mountain, Yr Eifl,—the extreme western spur of the Snowdon range,—looks down on a precisely similar scene, wanting only the story of the Princess Ahès's evil deeds; but in lieu of it is supplied the terrible catastrophe (though without the Red Demon) that overtook Vortigern, who was destroyed here in a deluge of fire from heaven, for inviting the stranger (Saxon in this case) to the land. The three peaks of this also highly celebrated mountain of Druidical occupation are decorated,—the two minor peaks with lesser monuments, the grand one with a British city, the most perfect in this country. It is not probable that all these parallels could be the result of accident. I have collected a great variety upon other traditions. The customs of the

¹ That this, as well as that near the *Point du Raz*, were adapted to the purposes of breakwaters by the Phœnicians, to form harbours, is probable; that they enclosed these vast bays is simply popular wonderland.

² Clearly the lunar influence on the tides.

³ This custom seems to have had its origin in Ceylon, and was apparently brought thence to Delos by the Phœnicians, but was quite misunderstood by the Greeks. Parallel with it runs another, at Adam's Peak in Ceylon, in Greece, Brittany, and Wales; persons healed by the waters of holy wells, etc., leave, attached to some object in the vicinity, votive pieces of rag or cloth to the local deity or saint.

people of the coasts of Bretagne are as much identified here as the physical features visible to the eye are parallel.

In my paper on King Arthur, before another Society, I have shewn the similarity of traditions on that subject in Brittany and Britain. I cannot repeat them here ; but the foregoing form striking *addenda* to the Arthurian parallels. Still, as it is almost impossible to pass over that portion of the subject, I submit one or two illustrations of the grand Arthurian district between Tréguier, with its rich yet peculiar cathedral, and St. Pol-de-Léon, including the reputed place of his birth, the site of the present *château* of Kerduel, the seat of the Marquis de Champagni ; and of his burial in the Isle of Avalon, where the remarkable dolmen surrounded with an extra or royal enclosure, or peristalith, exists. It is one of three grand dolmens, the others being at Ile Melio and Tregastel, *i.e.*, three castles,—a name which I have no doubt originated in these three dolmens, all of which were once on semi-insulated territories such as Caesar describes.

We have not in Wales the tradition of wealth or licentiousness which marks the tale of Brittany, and the reason is clear. Although the Phœnicians traded with, and no doubt, where it answered their purposes, colonised our shores, they must have done so to a much less extent than on their own highway between Marseilles and Vannes : hence their remains are not so stupendous. The British religion was not of Phœnician origin, though the Phœnician features were introduced into it at a later date. It was the fact of the primitive religion of Britain being less affected by contact with differing opinions, from its insular seclusion, that led to the Gauls sending their youths here for religious instruction.¹ The religion of the Gauls assimilated to that of the Britons ; but the religion of the people we have been considering did not ; and if my arguments appear fallacious to any on the point of nationality between the Phœnicians and Venetians, I must point out that we have, in the remains in Brittany, a stronger argument than any of the preceding, *viz.*, the remains of Phœnician worship and custom on a magnificent scale ; while the greater monuments of Britain, though megalithic, are quite distinct ;² and even those in Ireland, as exemplified by the

¹ *De Bello Gallico*, l. vi, c. 13.

² Since the date of this reading I have made still more minute searches in Brittany, and have found temples agreeing in so many local points with one

tumuli of the Boyne, though distinct from those of Britain, are of the Greek and Milesian types; while those of Brittany alone give either the solidity, scale, or character, of structures by the Phœnico-Egyptian labourers, who at once recognised the syenite of Brittany. But this opens a tremendous question. I do not put it absolutely; but so far as my observations enabled me to form a conclusion, based, I must point out, on personal survey, and not on a geological study of the case from books, the largest monoliths of the south coast must, I think, have been brought across the country from the *Côtes du Nord* or Finistère, or floated, with great tediousness, along the coast.

No granitic material in Britain, nor, as far as I could find, in Southern Brittany, would produce such. It is beyond question that the great menhirs of *Belle Ile en Mer*, one of which is of quartz, must have been conveyed there, as no source from which to obtain them is on the island. When a monolith was wanted, some years ago, as a monument to the late Prince Consort, it was found *impossible* to procure a British one of the desired length; but Messrs. Freeman of Cornwall said that for £5,000 they would place one of rather more than half the required length on the pier at Truro, but would not undertake to convey it to London for £20,000.¹ That such dimensions could not be procured in this country may appear to militate with the foregoing so far as the *size* of monuments goes; but my answer is, that the *style* as well as the dimensions differ, and that the works, as at Avebury and Stonehenge, are totally unlike anything in Brittany, as those in Brittany are unlike those in this country, except in some remarkable and highly interesting instances, as, for example, the great hill of Silbury overlooking the great lithic temple of Avebury, which has its analogue in the tumulus of Tumiac, overlooking the tombs and temples of Locmariaquer and the distant heights of Carnac. Nor can this be accidental, as in every case of such stone avenues, or serpentine stone ways,—Carnacs, in short,—a grand spot of observation is at hand.²

or two of the most remarkable of the primitive sites in Greece, that I propose to make them the subject of a special publication.

¹ This information was given me by one of the most scientific geologists of Cornwall.

² See note on megalithic monuments of Brittany, *suprà*. I have since found also two grand examples assimilating in form, the one to Stonehenge, the other to the Botallek monuments, but they form solitary exceptions.

And now a few words on the destruction of this great people. We cannot pass abruptly to so grand a naval action without one glance at their still erect monuments which, from their remote distance, the wave of battle spared. The huge pedestals for their pharoi (*φάροι*), monoliths 40 and 50 ft. high, as at Locmariaquer, Dol, Plounéour-Trez, where is the Men Marz, or Stone of Miracle; and at Kerloas, where the electric, fractured fragment is still nearly 40 feet high; each of the two latter being described as "*le symbole d'une des grandes divinités Celtiques*", are sufficiently impressive. That they were surmounted by frameworks for lights of perhaps 20 additional feet, is not improbable, as many are now surmounted by crosses, some of which, like that near Dol, are very lofty. They are all worked uniformly to apices, apparently to receive the bases of external frameworks placed over them after erection. It may be thought one so far inland as that near Dol could not be used for such a purpose; but I ascertained that Mont St. Michel was visible from the top of it, and it appears to me to have been so placed as to be seen from a part of the coast, or neighbouring estuaries, from which Mont Dol would screen, or else compete with, St. Michel. That these objects, on which their lives and commerce depended, were also worshipped, probably as the Egyptian Neph in his character of Khem, I make no doubt. Indeed, at Kerloas in Finistère, rites are described by Mons. de Fréminville as still existing, which could have no other meaning; and in the *Ile de Batz*, near the Loire,¹ made singular, not alone from the worship being peculiar, but by its being exclusively directed by priestesses who permitted no man to enter the island under pain of death, the general ceremonies have been preserved to the present time, and were till recently practised with probably no more modern meaning than attaches to the now fast dying out Maypole dances in England. In the sixth century, at the Council of Tours, the Church censured the people of Armorica for the worship of the upright stones in Brittany.²

¹ Desjardins thinks the island was further south, but also quotes an author to show that several of these islands were occupied by the same people.

² There is a statue at Quinipili, brought from one of the most romantically placed old sites of worship, evidently of Phœnician work, and so traditionally admitted. To it the same rites were performed. The priests have had it thrown down repeatedly, but it is always found restored. The peasants have now, it appears, compromised with the priests, and agree to perform no rites if the statue is unmolested. The appearance of these stone objects of worship have their counterparts in Sardinia, a great Phœnician settlement.

These monoliths help me to one more coast-station which I purposely omitted, to avoid crowding my subject or resting on a similarity of names,—often a fallacious measure; but in the Baltic, close by the Venedi whom I have mentioned, are found the Vindili, one of the titles of a tribe of whom was the Pharodeni. If Herodotus was right in stating that the name of the river Eridanus indicated a Greek origin, we may conclude the same in this case; and whether the term refers to the dress of the people, or their lighthouses, the same Greek word (*φάρος*), being used for both, it is clearly Greek or Phœnician; and as fashions were not in vogue in those days, I think we may put it down to the lighthouses, the locality being one where they would be much needed, and the geography agreeing exactly with that always selected by the Phœnician colonists; the more usual term for such people being *Pharitæ*. The Pharusii, who occupied a colonial station of the Phœnicians, opposite the Canary Islands, evidently derived their name from the pharos.

The Fight.—I shall only dwell, for the sake of brevity, on such points of the naval engagement between the Romans and Veneti as throw light on our subject. The whole of Aquitania remained neutral, as Crassus appears to have been sent to wage war there without cause, after the success over the Veneti.¹ Two tribes, however, submitted to Cæsar's demand for building ships in the Liger or Loire, of course according to the Roman model.²

It is apparent that but for this split in the Gallic nation, Cæsar could not have succeeded, as he would have been entirely without a fleet, and his land attempts on the *oppida* of the Veneti had signally failed. The ocean was untried to Roman arms, and to have brought ships from the Mediterranean without a single friendly port on the whole coast, without local pilots, and in unknown seas, would have been disastrous. It appears that in addition to the ships built in the Liger, he ordered those of Aquitania to be supplied also,³ rather by coercion than desire on the part of the suppliers. Dio. Cassius says that Decimus Brutus, who acted as admiral, brought galleys from the Mediterranean,⁴ though

¹ *Bel. Gal.*, L. iii, c. 11, 20. Cæsar dealt with them by anticipation, but they do not seem to have rebelled till aroused by the hostile attitude of P. Crassus.

² He pointedly refers to the rowers, L. iii, c. 9.

³ L. iii, c. 11. ⁴ Dio. Cas., xxxix, 40. Probably as models for the builders.

I do not find this in Cæsar; but it was such ships, whether the actual galleys of Rome, or imitations of them alone from the Loire, that, through panic created by their power of rowing, turned the fortune of the day against the Veneti, as they subsequently did against Britain.¹ But for this the Romans would have had little chance of success.

The Phœnicians as well as the Veneti were sailors *par excellence*, the Romans, warriors in rowed galleys; the winds failing, the Veneti were at the mercy of the rowers. Cæsar admits that the ships of the Veneti were of the highest class of build; constructed entirely of oak, and formed to endure any force and violence whatever. "*Naves totæ factæ ex robore, ad quamvis vim et contumeliam perferendam.*"² Planks were fastened by iron spikes as thick as a man's thumb, the anchors had iron chains instead of cables, and the lofty poops were formed to bear the force of the waves. Till the introduction of the ironclads, this description would have suited the British navy down to the present age. In short, the first instructors in British shipbuilding were Phœnicians.

We now, however, come to a singular feature which strongly bears out my previous position, by proving the antiquity of this colony of sailors. In the first place Cæsar was as unprepared to find such ships, as the Veneti were to see Roman galleys on the Atlantic. From this it is clear that the ancient Phœnician maritime traffic had been quite abandoned in the Mediterranean; and this is explained by Diodorus of Sicily's account of the tin being conveyed on horses through France to the mouth of the Rhone. If so, we should be taken back to the style of the old Phœnician ships, of which, except as to the *long* war-ships and the *round* merchant-ships, I believe we have no exact description; but that they were of good build we may be certain. It is simply incredible that so vast a maritime power, which struggled to exist at every one of its ports successively, would not have retained its original maritime commerce in a place where it had no enemies to contend with, and which had been throughout the grand source of Phœnician wealth.

But Cæsar says the sails of the Venetian ships were made of skins³ and thin-dressed leather. Perhaps many of the old classical stories of bulls and dragons and dolphins carrying away persons, as Europa, the musician Arion, etc., may

¹ *De Bel. Gal.*, L. iv, 25.

² L. iii, 13.

³ *Bel. Gal.*, L. iii, 13.

be made one step more simple if we imagine the material stretched to catch the wind, as being the hide or skin of such animal merely dried. A vessel would be a vessel, and nothing more; but here were ensign, name, and figure-head, all in one. Nay, the horse Arion itself, which carried Hercules in his travels, and which was the reputed offspring of Neptune, as well as the ear of Demeter, drawn by serpents, her ensign, were very probably so understood.¹

In the Breton ballad of *Gwenehlan* we read of the victorious white horse of the sea, "*le blanc cheval de mer*", which represents a sea-roving Breton prince; and going back to the Carthaginians we find a probably similar application of skins of animals, for when Agathocles attacked them by *land* (not their ships), they spread leathern hides on the forecastles of their ships,—a custom, says Diodorus, which they always adopted when misfortune seemed to threaten the Carthaginian commonwealth; *i.e.*, they lowered what in former times constituted their sails and colours, in humiliation to their deity; which, with a nation of sailors, was equivalent to saying "our God of the winds is against us", which brings us back to the helpless navy of the Veneti, when their *skin* sails were useless. It will be apparent that the preparation of these sails would be an all-important matter.

In the Corisopiti,² who were clearly not a distinct tribe, but a section of the Veneti, who no doubt occupied the beautifully silvan districts near Quimperlé, surrounded by the grand coast scenes, even to the extreme of the *Point du Raz*, and which name has been shown by French writers to have been from the *Cori-oppida*, we have, I think, clearly the tanning towns and sailmaking towns of the

¹ In the Florentine Museum is an antique model of a vessel with wings for sails, the prow is a swan's neck. The Pharosii, a Phœnician colony, dressed in the skins of serpents.

² In the *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Redon, en Bretagne* (par M. Aurélien de Courson, MDCCCLXIII. Eclaircissement xiv. *Des Curiosolites de César et des Corisopites de la notice des Provinces*, f. cccx). in commenting on "*cette étrange substitution*", words applied to the various arguments for asserting and proving that the word "Corisopites" is an error in writing for "Curiosolites", "*sous un nom mal écrit*", it is shown that such a view presents a grave difficulty, "*des documents d'une incontestable valeur attestent que, dès une époque très-reculée, les évêques de Kemper portaient le titre de Corisopitenses episcopi. Pourquoi ce titre, si Corisopitum n'avait pas existé ?*" says he. Old Bertrand d'Argentré made, in 1588, the assertion that Corisopitum was the country of the "*Curiosolite de César, Curiosolite de Pline*", and others have followed his suggestion; but he appears to have given this merely as a matter of conjecture of his own. Compare Tacitus with Cæsar, Agricole, xi.

Veneti. The name is Latin, from *corium*, a skin or hide, and *oppidum*, a town, and would have been given by the Romans to places where they found this peculiar art carried on ; and I need hardly point out that, while being a source of great wealth, where everything depended on the sailing of their ships, these places would not have been *overlooked* but destroyed by Cæsar when surrendered to him.

The name Cori or Coris has been called in Breton Keris, and some have thought the Latin Cori to be taken from Keris, but it seems probable it was the reverse, if Keris is, as asserted to mean, "low", for not only is it quite local in that sense, but not, I think, improbably subsequently applied on the reduction of the oppida to their foundations, or the low levels at which the tan pits were placed. "Cori" runs through all Gallic dialects, and from the ancient Cis-Alpine, or Phœnico-Asiatic Galli, the Latin word really may have been derived. In Breton, *kere* stands for the material; *kerear* being a *cordonnier*,¹ or shoemaker ; *carrai* in Welsh being a thong ; and *cairt*, in northern Gallic, tan. The word *tan*, in Japanese, stands for a certain area of land measured by strips of leather ; and *cho* or *ko* for another. Tanning is still the great trade near Quimperlé.

In the hides so cured we have probably the ordinary tent coverings of the people, as shown in the sculptures at Gavr' Inis ; and the cordage for tents and ships, and for the removal of the monoliths, which inflated skins would have floated. The iron ship-cables show these people had a good knowledge of the powers of tension. This manufacture exhibits a high condition of art civilisation, while the fisheries of the Bay of Douarnenez and the North Sea, so like those of Tyre, Venice, and Massilia, give an additional link in the nationality. Although the Romans had subsequent settlements here, it by no means follows that the coins, and Samian and other pottery, found in the district were all brought by them, as the trade of the Veneti with the Mediterranean would have introduced to this wealthy people all the luxuries of Rome and Carthage.

The fleet, as a matter of course, and as is seen from Cæsar's subsequent difficulty in procuring ships, he having to send to Spain for the materials,² must have been entirely destroyed³ by the Romans, as the allied states would not

¹ Williams.

² *Bel. Gal.*, L. v, 1.

³ *Ibid.*, L. iii, 16.

have been allowed to reclaim their ships taken in hostile arms, and the most momentous results to this country were soon apparent. The Ubii probably sent him ships for Britain.

I cannot leave this naval battle without entering my protest to the opinion given by the late Emperor Napoleon, founded, it is true, on the statement of a most reliable writer, Strabo, but who was in this case merely writing his *opinion* on history, while Cæsar wrote history. Cæsar gives the most urgent reasons for pressing war and immediate war on the Veneti, which he had clearly not premeditated, for he was, as he tells us, devoting his attention to quite other directions, Illyricum to the east, and the Alpine passes to the north of Rome, when news reached him from Crassus of the insults offered by the Veneti and other states to the military tribunes sent to negotiate for the purchase of corn and provisions. Notwithstanding this he refers to difficulties which were fully appreciated by him, and adds, "In spite of these many things urged to the war; the open insult to and detention of the Roman knights, rebellion raised after surrendering, revolt after hostages were given, the confederacy of so many states, but principally if these were overlooked, lest other nations should think they could offend with impunity, and the confederacy against Rome spread."¹ These reasons want no argument, the case was simply imperative to retain Roman power, yet Strabo, who was not on the scene, expresses a belief, in which the late Emperor appeared to concur, that Cæsar pre-intended this matter, whereas it was one of hurry, or the fleet would have been built in the Mediterranean long before, and suitably constructed, to oppose the more lofty ships of the Veneti; the reverse of which constituted a defect which might have ended in disaster to the Romans, according to Cæsar's own account, but for the dropping of the wind rendering the fleet of the Veneti powerless to resist the Roman galleys.

The late Emperor certainly saves himself, by saying, "If we may believe Strabo". But the latter must clearly be supposed to state it as an opinion rather than a fact, for he had no data but Cæsar's, and that was quite contrary to his views. If indeed such positive statements as these, on grounds so solid, are to be set aside, and that without other evidence, we may as well throw Cæsar aside altogether.

¹ *Bel. Gal.*, l. iii, 10.

It is seldom we find so terse a writer, and seldom indeed any actor having such powerful reasons for action, the very risk he ran proving the urgency of the case. But further on, when he describes his reasons for invading Britain, we find, as an exception to the style of his commentaries, a string of statements, not one of which is a necessity, nor is there one which bears the probability of its being the *real* reason for that invasion,¹ yet, so far as I can find, none of these have ever been questioned.

One point of great interest to us arises from Cæsar's history of this war, for it proves (Pliny to the contrary thereof, notwithstanding, who also misled the late Emperor) that Britain had a fleet of admirably constructed ships just upon two thousand years ago. I do not pretend that the so called Gaulish Britons had; indeed I very much doubt the higher classes of priests and nobles Cæsar mentions having been Gauls, though the presence of the Belgæ and other Gaulish tribes gave an appearance of occupation by those nations; and that, too, where Cæsar first came in contact with them, and so led him to class them all as one. But I repudiate the idea as staunchly as any Breton, noble or peasant, of to-day would repudiate it in his own country. Though neither to the priests or nobles would I assign the possession of such a fleet, but to nationalised colonies of merchants, as much Britons in that sense as the settled Saxons, Normans, or Danes, or as the Hebrews of to-day settled amongst us and born in our land are Britons.

To arrive at this we must look at Cæsar grammatically. He says, "They collect in Venetia as many ships as possible, '*naves in Venetiam*'² *quam plurimas possunt cogunt.*" They rally to themselves as confederates for that war, the Osismii, Lexovii, the Nannetes, the Ambiliati, the Morini, the Diablintes, and the Manapii, all the tribes off the coasts (the Corisopiti, it is observable, are not referred to, showing that they were not a distinct tribe), and, he adds, they send *for auxiliaries from Britain*.

But it will be found that all these coast allies were possessors of ships, though no doubt in a very inferior rank to the Veneti, for Cæsar says, "They excel the rest of the coast states in nautical affairs", and he himself borrowed the ships of the Pictones and Santoni.

¹ *Bel. Gal.*, L. iv, 20.

² *Bel. Gal.*, L. iii, 9.

The accusative, "in Venetiam," says an able commentator,¹ implies that they (the ships) were brought to the country of the Veneti *from other quarters*; those of the Veneti would of course form the nucleus of the navy, those other quarters clearly being the allied states; and though it is usual for Cæsar to use the word *auxilia*, in the sense of auxiliary forces (*i.e.*), military, simply because all his previous wars were not naval, yet, as it is clear that the Veneti neither made nor intended to make a *military* stand, but simply to fortify their land positions, and decamp from them when untenable, it follows that there would be no exception in the case of the Britons, who only differed from the rest by their *country* being beyond the sea, so that these auxiliaries, like the others, were *naval*.

Moreover, as all the ships were at once collected into the Venetian waters on this *deeply urgent occasion*, it is most improbable *that they would send away a fleet* to bring such auxiliaries; and, as it is clear, from their universal custom, that the Phœnicians would have tested the productive capabilities of Ireland and the Welsh coasts, the probability of there being colonies, or British Venetians with their maritime habits and well built ships, is almost beyond question. Venedotia, a name for North Wales, seems to indicate this. Thus there is every reason to assume that the British auxiliaries were British Phœnician sailors, and came in British ships.

I do not think we have heard the last of the Veneti, when they were sold into slavery. They were men of courage, daring, and ability, and would have been most valuable slaves to their purchasers. It was a custom often to repose confidence and trust in slaves of such a stamp; and, as the bulk would be carried to Rome, except those purchased for release by neighbouring states, that is the locality, if any, where they would reappear. The most natural thing would be that they would renew communications with such remnants of their nation as remained, as well on the coast of Africa as in northern Italy. To understand this more completely we must examine their highways of commerce and travel, and trace their nationality by their still existing monuments.² We know that they had such highways, from the minute description by Diodorus Siculus, already men-

¹ Dr. Chas. Anthon. ² See map in Dr. Fergusson's *Rude Stone Monuments*.

tioned, of the route for the transit of British tin. And when he further states that it took horses, on which the tin was packed, thirty days to convey it to the mouth of the Rhone, after being landed from Britain, we shall see that the course must have been an overland road, and not, as would otherwise have been supposed, by river traffic. With this before us, we see clearly the meaning of the broad road through Gaul,¹ marked by rude stone monuments. We see, moreover, a direct communication with the Carthagenians, and hence that the Veneti were in direct communication with the Phœnicians; nay, more, that the same features, whether of the Phœnician, Milesian, or Druidic (for want of a more distinguishing name) style of constructions (the works of people all, no doubt, in direct or indirect intercourse with each other), mark in the most graphic way the courses and colonies of such people. So that, in addition to like geographical localities, indicating the same defensive tactics, the same evidence of mercantile pursuit, and the same maritime and religious customs, we have identical constructions, which are not thrown broadcast over the globe, as generalists imagine, but in spots where only such persons went, and hence such monuments are evidence of the location of these people. To give one example for all. The Phœnicians, although in constant communication with the Greeks and the Romans, were antagonistic to both. What do we find? Well, hardly any evidence of such monuments in Greece or Italy, by comparison with these routes; but wherever we trace any of the nations I have enumerated as having a similar name, or commercial intercourse without warlike antagonism, there are these monuments, from India to the Baltic.

The Veneti would be quite at ease with their former correspondents at Marseilles, although these would now be treating with Roman officials; and it is to the powerful influence of such men within Rome as slaves plotting with her enemies, the Goths and Visigoths, that her ruin must be attributed. The enslaved of Carthage and Bretagne, and the Tyrian fugitives dispersed by Alexander, revenging themselves (without honour, for they were slaves, and, as such, rebels in arms) on the destroyers of their cities and traffic, produced its result. The outcome of all the turmoil

¹ See map in Plate at end.

was the establishment of a second Carthage, a second Venetian fleet, and a restored commerce of Tyre in the Adriatic, by the modern Venice, and in Tyre itself.¹

But if such a powerful element were really seething in Rome, would there not have been some concession in that remarkable way Rome had of softening the offences she offered by her arms, complimenting the vanquished by providing a pedestal in the Pantheon for their native deities? Well, about this time a new goddess came on the scene, one in name, attributes, and accompaniments (except as to some cloudy relationships of an anachronistic kind) in every way agreeing with the people we are treating of; not under her old names, which would have revived ancient animosities, but under the altered name of the very people in question. The goddess Venelia, a goddess of the *winds* and *waves*, a species of Tritonis, represented with a dolphin; but the lake Tritonis was closely connected with these people, as other customs shew; and from it came also one of the titles of Minerva, "Tritonia". Venelia was said to be the wife of Faunus; but Fauna was often represented as Fatua, and from her we have got the Fatin or Fays,—an expression you cannot travel a day in the Morbihan without hearing, under the title of its dolmens and *allées couvertes*, as *grottes aux Fées*. Here, then, it seems we have a deity bearing the name and characteristics of Venetia, to wit, the goddess Venelia.

The accounts which trace a portion of these people from, or rather assert that those of them who settled on the Danube before going to Venice came from, Scandinavia, are, no doubt, so far correct. What I contend for is, their previous settlement in Scandinavia and the Baltic, from Asia, by way of the Atlantic; and their being led there by trade with the British Isles, the Cassiterides.

Cæsar's Invasion of Britain.—The greatest point in the

¹ Tyre was saved, in the twelfth century, principally by the energy of the Venetians of Venice, and was restored by them to an almost pristine glory. They obtained from Baldwin II a third part of its dependent territory, the right of being governed by their own magistrates, and tried by their own tribunals, and various commercial privileges throughout the extent of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Venice was at that time the greatest European holder in Greece and Ionia; but having obtained her prime wish, in her possession of Tyre, ceased to aid the Crusades, turning all her thoughts to the restoration of Tyrian commerce in true Phœnician fashion, being in possession of all the old Phœnician ports in the Levant. (Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreuz.* 2, 496; 7, 370.)

history of Britain is the invasion by the Romans, as from it—although the higher classes were certainly not the rude barbarians some have supposed—emanated the foundation of that civilised progress in law, arts, and arms, that has kept this country in advance of other European powers for a lengthened period. Upon a careful review, this great event appears not to have been one of premeditated effort, but of almost accidental circumstance. To arrive at this, a very brief statement of the preceding acts of Cæsar is necessary, and it will be found that the events in *Bretagne la Petite* really precipitated this all-important event in *Bretagne la Grande*.

After the destruction of the Venetian and allied fleets in the Bay of Quiberon,¹ Cæsar, suffering heavy loss in his cavalry from the cruel artifice and bad faith of the Germans,² demanded that the refugees of those people who had acted so treacherously should be surrendered by the Sigambri;³ and this not being done, as well as for other reasons, he determined to cross the Rhine,⁴ and chastise the offending people and their protectors. To accomplish this he spared neither trouble nor expense. He built a bridge over the Rhine in a masterly way, crossed, destroyed some deserted cottages and fields of corn⁵ of his enemies, threatened the Suevi, and then, although he was trifled with by the Sigambri, and the Suevi had ranged themselves in battle array, turned back, destroyed his splendid piece of engineering,⁶ and started for Britain without provocation, having made no peace; and preparing to leave with an enemy, the Morini,⁷ in his rear. Is there any parallel to this in Cæsar's acts? Had it been any other than Cæsar, would not the retreat, after all the engineering and labour, have been attributed to cowardice?⁸ In Cæsar it seems, at first sight, a sort of

¹ I find myself obliged, from my own practical observations, to hold to this view, in spite of the clever though rather limited local surveys on which M. Desjardins has formed an opinion in favour of St. Nazaire.

² *De Bel. Gal.*, L. iv, c. 12.

³ *Ibid.*, c. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, c. 17, 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, c. 19.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Bel. Gal.*, L. iv, c. 20. He had ordered his fleet and made all his arrangements prior to receiving ambassadors from the Morini, which event, he admits, occurred most fortunately for him, as he did not wish to leave an enemy behind him; and further admits that, with his purpose as to Britain, he had no prospect of carrying on war with them,—“*Hoc sibi satis opportune Cæsar accidisse arbitratus, quod neque post tergum hostem relinquere volebat, neque belli gerendi.... facultatem habebat*” (c. 22).

⁸ An eminent critic actually uses these words, “His true motive for retreat-

madness. All his reasons, so cogent with respect to other warlike acts, betray in this case a weakness which shews that they were mere masks to screen the real cause of his retreat. He even departs so far from his usual calmness as to call destroying some deserted corn and huts, *vengeance* on the Sigambri for murdering his bravest knights; and speaks of leaving the enemy in his rear as a trifle compared to his going to Britain, showing that all depended on the moment. Cæsar was a logician and a pleader,¹ and could have seen no comparison in the offence of a people sending aid to their continental allies, and the murderous treachery under which he had lost so lately some of his noblest knights, and seen the Roman cavalry put to a shameful rout; yet he turns, like an enraged and wounded tiger, from his proper enemy that was in array against him, the Suevi having determined to give him battle,² and unprepared with proper ships, and at the end of the season, risking the customary storms, and throwing away every consideration, he set sail for Britain. He had nothing to guard against from Britain, for even the auxiliaries could not now be sent thence to the Gauls, as the ships were destroyed;³ and to build more, and that suddenly, would have been to court the hostility of Rome, so lately able to sweep the seas of their navy.

But Cæsar was no madman, except in his lavish personal expenditure; yet great as that was, he would hardly have risked defeat of the Roman arms to accomplish the only reason ever advanced at Rome for this hurried and unprepared expedition, that of desiring to dedicate some British pearls⁴ to his very great, great grandmother, Venus.⁵ Dion.

ing was the fear entertained by him of the Suevi." This, in face of his undertaking a still more dangerous expedition, is absurd. Cæsar had no sense of fear, and his engineering works over the Rhine shew that he intended to make a great effort for the chastisement of those who harboured his enemies. Had it been fear, he would have retreated into winter quarters.

¹ Valerius Maximus, VIII, ix; Tacitus, *Dialogue on the Orators*, 34; Plutarch; Cæsar, 3; Asconius, *Commentaries on the Oration*, "*In Toga Candida*", pp. 84, 89, ed. Orelli, etc.

² *De Bel. Gal.*, L. iv, c. xix, "*Hic Romanorum adventum expectare atque ibi decertare constituisse.*"

³ *Ibid.*, L. iii, c. 16.

⁴ "*Britanniam petisse spe margaritarum, quarum amplitudinem conferentem, interdum sua manu exegisse pondus.*" (Suetonius.)

⁵ He carried this explanation to the extent, as we learn from Pliny, of presenting a breastplate decorated with British pearls ("*ex Britannicis margaritis factum*") to that goddess, from whom he claimed descent. (l. ix, c. 57.)

Cassius, Plutarch, and all the great writers of his age, agree in urging that the conquest of Britain could bring advantage neither to the general nor the empire;¹ and in expressing wonder at his intention, at a time, too, when he ought to have been closing his military movements for the season instead of extending them. All his contemporary and the subsequent writers credit him only with self-glorification. There must, then, have been some powerful and sudden reason for this. Plutarch records that Cato² expressed himself so strongly in the senate against Cæsar, in consequence of his action towards the Germans, that it amounted to a charge of dishonour. The news must have reached Cæsar just about the time of his having crossed the Rhine, and so powerful an attack would have led him seriously to review his late action with the Germans. In that action one fact stands prominently forward, viz., a barbarous horde of savages unprotected by any defensive armour, and only partially clothed, and that with the skins of beasts, and not even having bridles, etc., to their horses,³ had slaughtered many of his best and completely armed knights, and put the whole of his remaining horse into a panic and disgraceful flight.

Was it possible that, while mentally reviewing the action, this could have escaped him. "If my horse, in their complete armour, were worsted by these unprotected men, eight hundred of whom put to death or flight *five thousand* fully armed Roman cavalry,⁴ what would have been the position of the Roman horse, had they been as unprovided with defensive armour as the Barbarians were?" He would then, of course, review his resources for carrying on the war in Germany and Gaul, and these would necessarily include his commissariat and supply of arms. At this point he would be astounded to find what would probably not even then have occurred to him, but for the necessity of guarding himself against Cato's censure, and but for the late disastrous fight. *He had stopped the supply for making defensive brazen armour for the Roman legions*, by the destruction of the British and Venetian fleets. He must have

¹ Dio, Cassio, *Hist. Rom.*, s. 53. Plutarch.

² Cæsar informs us of a personal hatred towards himself by Cato, but that might not have made his accusations the less dangerous. (*Bel. Civ.*, L. i, 4.)

³ *Bel. Gal.*, L. iv, c. 1, 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, L. iv, c. 12.

perceived, indeed, in this review, that he had destroyed a commerce that could only be immediately resuscitated by an expedition to Britain.

Strabo, unaware of this difficulty, which Cæsar, having provided against the dearth, was too prudent ever to reveal, pointedly says that by his going to Britain he really effected "*nothing*"¹ in particular ; but continues, "he brought over hostages, slaves, and *much other booty*".² It is difficult to imagine what this booty was, if it were not the coveted metal, which the Britons would be quite willing to supply him with, and which was really the only article they had that was valuable to the Romans. Strabo points out also that he quickly returned,³ showing some other object than conquest.

The dearth of British tin in the Roman market would, in short, have produced a panic equal to what a dearth of that which still facetiously goes by that name would produce to-day on the Stock Exchange ; and the difficulty had to be met at once, and at every hazard.

It must be admitted that this article was of all important value to Rome for purposes of warfare,⁴ and consequently that it could not have been dispensed with during the interval between the destruction of Carthage and the invasion of Britain by Cæsar (*i.e.*) about a century ; and the Romans clearly had not the traffic prior to the destruction of the Veneti. It has been already shown, from their jealousy of the Romans, that the Phœnicians would never have allowed a rival naval power to supplant them in their trade in British tin. They had no enemies on the Atlantic seaboard ; nor could a power gradually growing up have dared to oppose, much less altogether supersede them.

Strabo informs us that the *Phœnicians alone* carried on the traffic in British tin before the Romans did.⁵ This im-

¹ Strab., *Geogr.*, L. iv, p. 278.

² *Ibid.*

³ L. iv, p. 278, Strab., *Geogr.*

⁴ I find it stated that bronze, *i.e.*, an amalgam of which tin was a component part, was used in the construction of ships by the Romans ; and this is probably the real explanation of Cæsar sending to Spain for the necessary materials for completing the ships in a warlike manner. "*Ea que sunt usui ad armandas naves, ex Hispania apportari jubet.*" (*Bel. Gal.*, L. v. c. 1.) "*Armandas*" here, generally translated equipping, probably has only the primary meaning, armed ; *rostra*, the beaks, being often formed of bronze ; and to obtain this it was now necessary to send to the former depôts of Gadeira and elsewhere on the coast of Spain, tin not being procurable from Britain.

⁵ It is clear that the traffic was conducted by the Phœnicians alone, also that

mediately identifies the Venetians of Brittany with the Phœnicians, as it is clear the Veneti carried on this trade after the Phœnicians, so called, of the Mediterranean were subdued. Nor does his information stand alone, but agrees also with the statements by Posidonius and Diodorus Siculus, as to the continental travel by which British tin was conveyed to Massilia, as already pointed out. Hence its entire suspension by the act of Cæsar was clear, not only from the destruction of the Veneti, but also because all the channel fleet were destroyed; for he expressly says, "This battle concluded the war with the *whole sea coast*, for all (mariners) both in the flower of youth and even of advanced age, all, indeed, possessed of any discretion (maritime knowledge) or rank were in the battle; and that, whatever naval forces they had *anywhere* were lost,¹ all being collected into the one locality".

Short of Cæsar's visiting Britain, therefore, and indeed providing a new fleet for transport, which it is evident he did, much time, energy, and new methods of transport would be necessary to restore the traffic. Once that far-seeing mind was concentrated on the subject, what a spirit of interest, apart from the exigency of the case, must have arisen in him! On this point, the source of British tin,

it was formerly by way of Gadeira; by that route, in short, up to the time of the suppression of Phœnician power in the Mediterranean. The tin traffic, no doubt, originally extended no further than where Spanish tin was procurable, until, by visiting the Cassiterides, it was found with little labour in the hands of the Britons. The persistency of the Roman endeavours to find out the Phœnician source of tin (Strabo, *ibid.*), and the suppression of Phœnician ships, no doubt led to the institution of overland traffic after the British tin had reached Gaul. Strabo has, it seems, confused an expedition by Publius Crassus, a lieutenant of C. J. Cæsar's (see *De Bel. Gal.*, L. iii, c. 7), for an expedition by the same person to the Cassiterides. But whether P. Crassus went there or not, Strabo intimates that he was the first who procured the information for the Romans. He says the passage was longer than to Britain, *i.e.*, than to where Cæsar landed, as the latter clearly did not at first know the position in Britain where the tin was found. The course of traffic carried on by the Romans after the destruction of the Veneti, was by the Seine and Rhone, the overland part lying only between these rivers (Strabo, *Geo.*, L. iv, p. 261), whereas the original overland traffic was by a thirty days' horse-road to Massilia, before the Roman traffic as stated by Diodorus Siculus, who apparently here refers to the time before the new traffic was established. Travelling by *land* thirty days, the burdens were conveyed on horses to the *mouth* of the river Rhone. The Romans had not the power of safe conduct by either of these routes previous to the destruction of the Veneti, the only state in Gaul found to be trading with Britain. Nor was there traffic by the Rhine, from its proximity to the Germans, who, Cæsar says, habitually devastated the whole districts around them.

¹ *De Bel. Gal.*, L. iii, c. 16.

Rome had been ever baffled by the Phœnicians. No new barbarian fleet must be allowed to restore or take up this traffic. Rome must be no longer subject to foreigners for this all-important article : the commerce must be Roman, and recommenced in Roman ships. But apart from Rome, what would not be his personal interest ? Every sportsman, every true traveller, every enthusiastic unraveller of the secrets of nature by the aid of science, will at once appreciate the charm of the pursuit, in which the apparent rashness became an unavoidable element ; and in which, to a mind like Cæsar's, success was a thing that must be achieved.

The conquest of Britain, or the possession of hostages sufficient to insure tribute of a kind most easily paid by the Britons, and most welcome to the Romans, was thus imperative ; and that at once, and while its naval force was paralysed ; for had the Britons discovered that Rome was dependent on them for armour, they could have dictated their own terms, if supported by naval armament.

It is an interesting fact to record, that the metallic products of the British empire have governed the world at all times, and alike in peace and war.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE.

INTERESTING OBJECTS IN THE ARTHURIAN DISTRICT OF AVALON, BRITTANY.

1. 1. Menhir sculptured in a serpentine form, in the neighbourhood of Tre-gastel.
2. Rude Menhir in the direction of St. Michel-en-Grève.
3. Spire of St. Michel-en-Grève. Date, 1614.
4. Reticulated Sculpture, in granite, in the porch of the ancient Cathedral of Tréguier. Edifice, thirteenth century ; porch, fifteenth.
5. Kerduel ; Breton, Karznel. Chapel of Château of the Marquis de Champagni, built on the reputed castle where King Arthur was born, and held his court.
6. Remarkable Dolmen with double peristalith, forming an enclosed court surrounding the tomb of King Arthur.
7. Map showing (though much reduced) the ancient route from the Cassiterides and Cornwall, through Bretagne, to Massilia (Diodorus) ; and that from the Isle of Wight, by the Seine and Rhone (Strabo). The first has megalithic monuments, like those of Africa, the whole way.

British Archaeological Association.

THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING, LLANGOLLEN, 1877,

AUGUST 27TH TO SEPTEMBER 3RD, INCLUSIVE.

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Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, AUGUST 27, 1877.

THE Annual Congress of the Association commenced on Monday the 27th of August, under the presidency of Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Bart., M.P., of Wynstay. From an early hour in the morning the heavy clouds betokened rain; but as the day advanced the sun broke forth in summer rays, giving delusive promise of fine weather, and revealing for a brief moment the surpassing beauty and loveliness of the scenery which girdles the town. Towards the afternoon the rain began to fall in copious showers, and it was soon too evident that all hopes of more sunshine on that day were vain. Despite, however, the unpropitious weather, the number of visitors increased, and at half-past five, the hour of the opening meeting, a large and representative company assembled in the County Hall, among whom were noticed Lord Harlech; General Yorke; Rev. D. Howell, Vicar of Wrexham; Mr. Osborne Morgan, M.P., and Mrs. Morgan; Mr. Yorke and party; Mr. J. F. Edisbury, Wrexham; Colonel Cluffe; Colonel Tottenham; Professor McKenny Hughes; Mr. W. W. Wynne, F.S.A.; Mr. J. S. Tanqueray; Mr. M. H. Bloxam, F.S.A.; Mr. Thomas Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer* to the Association; Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., of the British Museum, and Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretaries*; Mr. G. G. Adams, F.S.A.; Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A.; Mr. W. H. Cope; Mr. R. Horman Fisher; Mr. Stephen I. Tucker, *Rouge Croix*; Mr. Lambert, F.S.A.; Mr. Merriman; Rev. Moses Margolionth, M.A.; Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A.; Sir R. and Lady Cunliffe; Mr. Whalley, M.P.; Mr. Theodore Martin; and Mr. Matthews. A number of ladies were also present.

Mr. Theodore Martin, C.B., Chairman of the Local Committee, took the chair, and said: "Mr. President, ladies, and gentlemen,—A very pleasant duty has devolved upon me, that of giving you a welcome to our locality. I give it most heartily. The residents of this neighbourhood have long looked forward with much anxiety to your selecting this as the scene of one of those pleasant and instructive gatherings you have organised for so many years; and the tidings that you had

fixed upon the town of Llangollen as the centre of your operations for the week was received by all my friends, as well as by myself, with the liveliest satisfaction. I hope that the arrangements which the Committee, whom I so very inadequately represent, have made for your reception here will be found satisfactory. I could have wished that the weather had been kinder to you on the first day of your appearance here. Wales, like other froward beauties, has frowns and tears for her admirers; but as smiles are sweeter after tears, so I hope you will have reason to be grateful for this little incident of the bad weather which has awaited you on your first visit to this part of the Principality. I see by the programme you have sketched out that you have a very busy week before you, in the course of which you will see much that is extremely beautiful, and much that is very interesting; and we who live in the locality expect much instruction from the result of your researches. For myself, I wish I were a good antiquarian. I confess it with some shame, that I know much more of the antiquities of other countries than of my own. The scanty leisure for such researches, which has been given to me, has been expended in very different directions. I cannot, therefore, address you with any words of instruction, because most of you know much more about the subjects which will be canvassed in the course of this week than I myself do. We, however, who live here shall look forward to reaping the benefit of those researches, and gaining instruction about many of the scenes of interest, with the external features of which we are already familiar. There is here a fine old castle, and also a magnificent ruin. There are numbers of relics of antiquity, about which unfortunately I have not been able to obtain much accurate information. I trust that after the able and learned researches of gentlemen here, in reference to these antiquities, I shall for the future not be merely in the position of

‘An idler in the land,
Who can enjoy what others understand’;

but that I shall have a more accurate knowledge of those features of our district than I have hitherto been able to acquire. I see that in the course of the afternoon you are to pay a visit to a spot which at one time attracted no small amount of attention in England. In days when this region was not very easily reached, almost everybody of any distinction, whether male or female, was in the habit of making a pilgrimage to the abode of the old ladies known as ‘The Maids of Llangollen’. They were remarkable women, and collected about them a great many remarkable things. I understand that many of the objects of more permanent value are still to be seen there; and under the guidance of General Yorke you will, I doubt not, spend a pleasant time in that very interesting spot. I again, on behalf of my brethren

of the Committee, and most strongly on behalf of myself, proffer you a most cordial welcome here. I hope that when you go away from us you will carry away with you associations which will enrich all your recollections of the beautiful locality traversed by the sacred Deva, and that even in after years you will think with pleasure of what the week now begun will have brought under your immediate notice."

Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Bart, President of the Association, who was received with loud cheers, said: "Ladies and gentlemen,—I have been requested to take the chair to-day. I am afraid I am not a good archæologist, though in other ways I have had the advantage of seeing a great deal of this neighbourhood. You will be curious to see different descriptions of fortresses which have sprung up in the earliest times. There are to be found near here several ancient British stations. There is one belonging to my friend there, Lord Harlech, which you will see close to Oswestry. You will also see a castle at Oswestry of later date. When you go to Chirk you will see a fortress which was very much injured in the wars of Cromwell, but is now restored, and changed from a place of war to a very comfortable gentleman's house. As you start off for the source of the Dee, you will see the very old Castle of Carnochan, under which was left a gold mine, of which I can show you some products; and near which was found a gold torque, which unfortunately is at the South Kensington Museum, but I will try and have it sent here before you leave. At Wattstay, near where I live, you will see the curious old Wat's Dyke. You will also see Castell Dinas Bran, which is also a very early fortress; and Valle Crucis Abbey, which was founded in the thirteenth century by Madog ap Gruffydd Maelor. Maelor itself is a very extraordinary place. It is a hundred of Flintshire, although separated eight or nine miles from any other part of the county. Madog ap Gruffydd Maelor was persuaded by the Cistercian monks of the thirteenth century to build Valle Crucis Abbey. An old friend of mine has told me that those monks not only performed their religious duties, but also took care of themselves. They had possession of my lake of Bala; and when they could not get a sufficient supply of fish out of the river here, they got it from the lake. He also tells me that they were very remarkable for their love of *cwrw da*. They had a great many songs, and in one of them each stanza ends with 'Come and drink the Abbot's ale.' When you go to Bangor Iscoed, you will find there the site of one of the earliest monastic buildings. It is curious that although there are very few remains of the ancient buildings, the name of "port", *i.e.*, gate, is applied to certain farms there, thus showing where the gates of the town formerly stood. It is, I believe, supposed that 1,200 monks who lived there were murdered by the Saxons. The church which was formerly the monastic church has been altered and improved and

restored until hardly any of the old building is left. It is supposed that the monks all dwelt in small buildings round the church, which have been swept away by time. Round there, within a distance of two or three miles, are some old remains of British encampments, one called Castletown, in Cheshire; another, called the Old Castle, close to the boundaries of Maelor and Cheshire; and a third, called Bryn-y-pys. These ancient tumuli are, I am afraid, more often visited for the purposes of sport than for the pursuit of the science of archæology. I might also draw your attention to the supposed residences of Owain Glyndwr. I have always heard that he resided where a tumulus now is at Sycharth, on a farm of mine very near the most southerly part of this county. There is close by it a small farm called Pentre-cwn; and there, where the kennels are, close by the side of the hill, the district all goes by the name of Park Sycharth. This tends to show that there was once a very fine house there, but it is all swept away. Some of you, I believe, are going to Llangedwyn, to see a house of the date of the beginning of the last century, an older mansion belonging to the Vaughans having been destroyed about that time. It is very near where Owain Glyndwr's castle was; and if any of you are inclined to see what remains there are, I shall be, of course, happy to give you the facility of doing so. With so many learned antiquarians before you, I shall not venture to enter upon the subject of archæology. I will only say that I trust that when you have arrived at the close of your visit to Llangollen, you will not regret having come here, but that you will find in the exploration of ancient places of this neighbourhood that which will repay you for the trouble you have taken."

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., said he must congratulate them upon having the advantage of a gentleman like the honourable Baronet of Wynn-stay to preside over them upon that occasion. Their President had sketched out a good programme for them, and there was little doubt that when they went to Llangedwyn they would find that Sir Watkin's good ale would outrival the old abbot's, and that they should all receive a cordial reception.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., the Hon. Congress Secretary, explained that through the kind invitation of their President, an additional day, Tuesday the 4th of September, had been fixed upon for a visit to Llangedwyn, *viâ* Oswestry. It was proposed that on their way they should, by the permission of Lord Harlech, visit Old Oswestry, where there was an exceedingly fine British fort with a triple vallum.

The company then proceeded to Plas Newydd, a cottage *ornée* situated on a hillside, about half a mile from the town, and were conducted over the house and grounds by General Yorke. The general explained the points of interest attaching to the place, contrasting its former

desolation with its present appearance and complete restoration by himself. During his remarks, General Yorke referred to the homage paid to the "ladies of Llangollen" by all classes. It was here that Lady Eleanor Butler and the Hon. Miss Ponsonby, known as the "ladies of Llangollen", lived during the close of the last and earlier years of the present century, in retirement from their friends. The elder Mathews describes them as dressed like men, with starched neckcloths, black beaver hats over crop heads of hair, and the portraits bear out this character. With many eccentricities of dress and manner the ladies appeared to have earned the goodwill of all, and were frequently visited by members of the aristocracy on their way to and from Ireland, as the London and Holyhead road ran through Llangollen till Telford's day. Lady Butler died in 1829, aged 91, and Miss Ponsonby two years afterwards, aged 76; and both together, with a faithful servant, Mary Carroll, rest under one tomb in Llangollen churchyard, marked by a triangular pillar. The ladies had been disappointed in love, and had made a vow never to sleep out of Plas Newydd. On one occasion, however, they were on a visit at Wynnstay, and the weather was so rough that they could not be permitted to return, and the ladies resolved, therefore, to sit up throughout the night.

The front of the house is covered with open woodwork, which gives it the appearance of a framed house, so common in Kent and in many of the north midland counties. The windows and porch are enriched with the spoils of many a carved bedstead, old oak chests, and, in more than one instance, part of some ecclesiastical fittings have been pressed into service. The staircase and many of the rooms are gloomy, from the prevalence of this dark oak carving, which is put over every point of advantage in the most incongruous manner. The carvings have evidently been collected from old English chests, church doors, and pews, and mansions, with some choice specimens of Hindoo, Cingalese, and Chinese workmanship. The walls and ceilings of the low, dark little rooms are veneered and wainscoted with their unique collection of woodwork. In some of the rooms are portraits of Lady Eleanor Butler and Miss Ponsonby. In the principal room is some sculpture in marble and ivory, and wood-turning, executed by General Yorke, also a number of relics of the ladies, and other curiosities; and the windows of the house are filled with ancient Flemish and other stained glass. Some of the cups, miniatures, and articles of vertu are peculiar and interesting. The visit, however, was not productive of any great result, for, apart from the *rococo* style of the collections, there was nothing more archæological to be seen than a few miniature portraits of some beauties of the Stuart period, and the oak and ivory carvings already mentioned. In the

grounds is the fragment of a carved tombstone, probably of the twelfth century ; but the attention of the meeting was not specially directed to it, on account of the heavy rain which was falling at the time. It is possible that it originally came from the abbey of Valle Crucis, or once covered the remains of the head of one of the many religious houses that are in the immediate vicinity. In the garden in the front of the house are two octagonal fifteenth-century fountains, said, in like manner, to come, the one from Llangollen parish church and the other from Valle Crucis Abbey, the latter statement must be received with much caution. Probably the most interesting relic in the grounds is the weather-worn shaft of the market cross of Chester, which was conveyed here many years ago. It is of red sandstone, perfectly plain.

A vote of thanks was heartily accorded to General Yorke for his courtesy and kindness.

In the evening a public dinner, admirably provided by Mrs. Edwards of the Hand Hotel, took place in the Assembly Room, which was brilliantly decorated for the occasion, under the immediate superintendence of Captain Best and Mr. Gregson Fell. The drop-scene, representing a view of Llangollen, painted and presented to the town by Mr. T. S. Robins some years ago, was erected at the back of the platform, the front of which was adorned with a choice collection of ferns and ornamental foliage plants from Plas-yn-Vivod. The walls were also hung with numerous flags and various devices, representing the royal tribes of Wales. The chair was occupied by the President.

After dinner the President, in proposing the toast of "The Queen", expressed a hope that her Majesty might ere long be induced to seek the benefit of the mountain air without the fatigue of a long journey to Scotland, by paying a visit to her loyal Welsh subjects.

In proposing the health of the Prince of Wales, as Patron of that Congress, and of the Princess of Wales and the other members of the royal family, Sir Watkin said he wished His Royal Highness had been amongst them ; but all they could do was to regret his absence.

The President, in proposing the toast of "The Army and Navy", coupled the toast with the name of General Yorke, who had so kindly received them that day, and said that he (Sir Watkin) recollected having been taken, when a child, to see the "ladies of Llangollen".

General Yorke, in responding to the toast, referred to the quartering at Wrexham Barracks of that gallant regiment, the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, and said it was the achievements of that noble regiment in the Peninsular war which led him to make up his mind to join the army.

Captain Best also responded to the toast on behalf of the Navy.

Mr. Osborne Morgan, M.P., in proposing the toast of "Prosperity to the British Archaeological Association", said it was their privilege,

upon occasions like that, to be able to throw politics to the wind ; and he believed he was speaking the sentiments of his hon. friend and colleague, as well as his own, when he said that they wished to be Liberal in their reception of that society and Conservative in their veneration for those ancient monuments, for the elucidation of which they looked to its members. A bill had been before the House of Commons, in which he was sure they all took a deep interest—the bill of his valued friend Sir John Lubbock, for the preservation of ancient monuments—for which he (Mr. Osborne Morgan) was partly responsible, and which he hoped, if Mr. Parnell and Mr. Biggar would allow it, would next session become the law of the land. In the course of the debate upon that bill, he had the misfortune to hear a noble lord decry archæology as a barren and useless study, and denounce their forefathers, the ancient Britons, as savages, who lived upon grain, and who went about dressed in a light airy costume of blue paint. He believed that the answer to all these silly theories was that nothing which concerns the history of our own land, however remote, ought to be a matter of indifference to us. Those lines of Wordsworth, beginning “The child is father to the man”, were quite as true of the nation as the individual. He hoped he might congratulate them—he was sure he might congratulate Llangollen—upon the choice they had made in coming there. He believed they would find that neighbourhood a rich mine of archæological wealth. Perhaps (continued Mr. Osborne Morgan) you will pardon me for saying that to us, the inhabitants of the land you are about to explore, this country has more than an archæological interest. We honour it as the home where our forefathers made their last stand against Saxon invasion. You are proud, justly proud, of your Anglo-Saxon descent ; you are proud, justly proud, of the strength of will and firmness of purpose which has enabled you to conquer and colonise one-half of the civilised world. Allow us to be proud of our ancestors, the ancient Britons, and of their virtues, though they were virtues of a somewhat sterner and ruder kind—a generous thirst for freedom, and an undying love for their country. It may not be out of place to remind an assembly, which is so largely composed of ladies, that the ancient Briton was a worshipper of the fair sex. I do not mean to say that he appreciated women’s rights in the sense in which Miss Lydia Becker would have us appreciate them. But we have it on the highest authority—that of Tacitus—that the ancient Briton felt an almost mysterious reverence for female loveliness—a reverence which I could wish to see reproduced amongst some of his supposed descendants. After quoting some lines from an old poem on the subject, Mr. Osborne Morgan said he was sure he could appeal to at least one-half of his audience in support of his contention—that the men of whom such things could be said could not be very far sunk in the social scale.

I hope (he continued) that when you visit some of the scenes in which our ancestors carried on their great struggle against your ancestors, we shall prove that there is some truth in that old Greek proverb, that the sternest foes are those who make the best friends; and that we shall be able to give you, though in an entirely different sense, as warm a welcome as our ancestors gave your ancestors on the heights of Castell Dinas Bran. In conclusion, Mr. Morgan said he had to couple the toast with the name of the distinguished and learned treasurer of the Association, Mr. Thomas Morgan.

Mr. Morgan, having responded to the toast,

Professor Hughes, in a graceful and humorous speech, proposed the health of "The Ladies".

The toast of "The President" was then proposed by Mr. Osborne Morgan, and was enthusiastically received.

Sir Watkin, having responded, the company separated soon after ten o'clock.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 28TH.

This morning there were a few breaks in the leaden clouds, a few bright gleams of sunshine, which lighted up the valley and gave us a sign of rainbows in most unlooked-for places. Early in the morning, undeterred by the continuous rain, the members of the Association and their friends ascended the steep of Dinas Bran Castle soon after nine o'clock, to inspect the ruins on the summit, situated at an altitude of 1,000 ft. above the level of the sea. From this high point of observation the scene around is magnificent. Encircled by a mountainous range of historic hills, the visitor sees Llangollen far down in the valley, and the echoes of its happy modern life seem to break upon his ear. Above, he finds nothing but the bleak and dim traces of ages long passed away. By way of encouraging the exploring mind, a few ladies bravely accompanied the archaeologists. There was much speculation as we went up as to the derivation of the distinctive name "Bran", some holding that it was the name of the original chieftain, who caused his stronghold to be built like an eagle's nest on a lofty crag, others that it was simply the fort of the Raven, whilst others inclined to the idea of Brennus, who has been associated with so many "Brans" and Brandons. The castle consists of a number of walls and arches, roughly masoned, of slates quarried from the surrounding moat, and arranged around a central oblong space. All the freestone dressings have been taken away for building purposes, and therefore no mouldings exist to suggest a date, but the characteristic pointed archways, each with the spandrel of a lower curtain wall appearing through the head of the arch, appears to give authority for fixing the period of erection within the thirteenth century. The long dark vaulted passage yet remains in

a nearly perfect state, and the stones in which the grooves for the draw-bridge and portenllis were cut are still set in the wall outside. After a short pause, the sound of the horn summoned the company to a sheltered nook in the ruins, where a paper was read by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A.

Mr. Brock, in describing Dinas Bran, said : The history of this castle cannot be considered except in relation to its local surroundings, since we find that it is but one of a series which appear to have been always in close connection, the one to the other. Chirk Castle, at the distance of but a few miles, is evidently a supporting fortress to this, and this to Chirk, while higher up the valley, at Corwen, is another fortified post, remaining in its original condition, and not obliterated by a building of antiquity, it is true, but of moderate age, in relation to the original occupation of the site. There are also other old castle works of remote antiquity, which more or less support these more important fortifications of the valley of the Dee. It will be observed that Dinas Bran and the Corwen "Gaer" are on the Welsh side of the Dee, while Chirk Castle stands as an outpost at a certain distance on the south side of it. All, however, have the peculiarity so common in similar places of strength in the principality, of commanding a view down the valleys, so important for defensive purposes. Very little is known of the founder. I am disposed to ascribe very high antiquity to the occupation of the site by an earthen or rude stone enclosing wall, with an external ditch, probably of but little larger area than that now occupied by the ruined castle, which is of thirteenth century work. We must, however, dismiss from our minds the old tradition that this was the abode of the Brennus, who made successful war with the Gaulish armies against the then youthful city of Rome. This is not capable of proof, and must be rejected from the domain of history. Nevertheless, the story is worthy of a passing word, since it points to some indication of the remote foundation of the fortress. We need not either occupy ourselves with consideration of the derivation of the name from bryn (a hill) ; almost all castles were founded on a hill, and the latter would be no distinction. Bran (a crow) is perhaps nearer ; and I can attest to the truth of Mr. Tregellas' statement, that the ruins are still called "Crow Castle". However, I am inclined to agree with Pen-nant, that the little streamlet, now all but dry, and called the Bran, gives us the most probable derivation of the name. The stream is now but a hollow bed, but its appearance after a winter's storm is that of a well marked watercourse. Mr. Tregellas has attached to a capital description of the ruins a carefully executed plan of the whole site. The walls enclose a parallelogram 296 ft. from east to west, and 133 ft. within the walls, with an extension on the east side in addition. The entrance has been at the north corner, where the bases of two semi-

circular towers can be clearly traced. This position is remarkable, and the more so when we consider the skilful way in which the approaching path was carried in an ascending spiral form, from the base, up the steep conical hill (about 1,000 ft. above the sea level) on which the castle stands. Before the invention of artillery this ascent must have been one of certain death. Indeed there is no record of this castle ever having been taken by an enemy. The approach, after passing through the entrance, which once, doubtless, had its drawbridge across the moat, its portcullis, and firmly barred gates, is a long passage, arched over with a barrel vault, which still stands firm, but rent and ragged with the storms of more than six hundred years. The vault is pierced with three circular holes through to what was the floor above. These were, doubtless, for throwing deadly projectiles upon an enemy beneath, supposing that the portcullis and gate had been forced. This passage is probably only one of two, for it appears, by the jambs still remaining, that the approach had the peculiarity of two parallel passages and two entrances. The keep, if such a term can be applied to a building of the age of this, was in the projection already spoken of. It was probably a massive square tower, divided from the main enclosing walls by an inner block of buildings, which appear to have extended from a bold semi-circular tower, projecting from about the centre of the south wall. This is square on the inner face, and a large hall appears to have extended from it on the east side. There are several large gaps in the ragged masonry on the south side, looking into the ditch, but little or nothing is left to indicate their form, since they have been robbed of their freestone dressings. There are indications of a chimney on the south-west corner, but a peculiarity of this part of the building is the staircase between the thickness of the walls on the east side, beside the connecting tower. Beneath the stairs is a deep trap or well, now of but little danger, since the stairs are open to the light of day, but a serious obstacle to approach when, as was probably the case, the stairs were only lighted artificially. Mr. Tregellas indicates a deep hollow, very apparent, within the site, on the east of the enclosure. This was probably the base of some demolished building, and it is to be regretted that it has never been cleared out. Two wells have been spoken of, and there are the usual stories of subterranean passages of great length and extent. Many memorials of the later owners of this castle are on record. It was the seat of the lords of Yale. The founder of Valle Crucis Abbey resided here. Later, in the time of Henry III, it was the sorrowful retreat of its master from his subjects, furious at his having made common cause with the English, the enemies of the soil, through the instigation, perhaps, of his English wife. There may be some truth for the supposition that he died of grief and shame, since there is the record in

the *Brut-y-Tyrcysogion*, that he died on the 7th December 1269, and on the same day died Madog the Little. They lie buried in the ruined abbey, in the valley below the castle. Pennant relates the sad history of the fatherless children thus left to the teaching and tender mercies of their English guardians. He evidences the truth of the old legend, that they were drowned by them beneath Holt Bridge, and couples it with the legend of small fairies being seen sometimes by belated travellers hovering over the spot where the deed of evil was done. I must refer to Pennant also for the more pleasant record of the fair Myfanwy Vechan, and for the beautiful poem composed by her despairing lover. The castle at present, as well as that of Chirk, belongs to Mr. R. Myddleton Biddulph. The rough material of the walls forbids our being able, with very great certainty, to assign the date of their erection, nevertheless, it may not be amiss to indicate that the mode of construction—a rough slaty stone, with dressings of capital freestone—agree almost exactly with that of Valle Crucis Abbey. It is reasonable to suppose that Madoc ap Griffith Maelor, either before or after the foundation of that abbey, would have thought of the rebuilding of the castle. We know his wars with the English and common prudence would suggest that his own castle should be as strong as skill could make it. The peculiar rectangular arrangement of the plan is unlike the English type or castles of a little later date, which favours the supposition that it was derived from a different source; but it must be borne in mind that the so-called Edwardian castles owe much of their peculiarities to those of France of contemporary date. Mr. Tregellas adduces evidence of a castle here having been burnt in the tenth century. Before reading his description, I had noticed that most of the mortar of the walls now standing is mixed with small fragments of burnt slate. Are these the *débris* of the fire? The moat, which is around three sides only, is much filled with particles of the stone, and should be cleared. In the Llangollen Temporary Museum is a curious stone reel of great antiquity. It was found here.

A burial place is known to exist between the base of the hill and Llangollen, and faint traces still remain of earthworks, supporting those of the castle, of great antiquity, on several of the adjacent hills, as well as on the side of the approach from the town. These have had no connection with the works of the mediæval castle, and are of much greater age. Some of these indications go to show that the original entrance was on the west side, instead of on the east, as at present.¹

¹ I am indebted to the Rev. E. Henland, Prebendary of Lichfield, for an extract from the family records of Sir G. Meyrick, that Bledlyn ap Cynfyn, Prince of Wales, 1053-73, had his principal fortress in Powys-land, at Castell Dinas Bran; also, from the same source, for the following note so characteristic of Welsh family records. The reference to the name of the Castle (Bran) favours Mr. Tregellas' supposition; but can all Welsh heraldry be depended upon for its real antiquity? "In 1212, when the county was threatened with

At 12.30 the company proceeded by train to Wrexham Church, where other friends joined them. The graceful and octagonal turrets and the groups of pinnacles by which its lofty tower is crowned, and its cathedral-like size, being much admired. As it stands, it is a magnificent specimen of the Perpendicular type of church, and the carved and panelled roofs over nave and aisles, octagonal piers, without break or mouldings, and spacious windows, each contribute a share to the effect of the church. This ancient and venerable edifice contains monuments and effigies of great antiquity; and, before the reading of the paper on the church, these were described in turn by Mr. Bloxam and Mr. E. W. Wynne, especial notice being drawn to the chancel arch, originally the east window of the nave, and even yet showing the remains of open tracery towards the top. The south aisle has been by some erroneously attributed to the age of Elizabeth, and the tradition of the brass eagle, which forms a reading desk, having been brought from Valle Crucis, to which abbey the church formerly belonged, was seriously disputed by Mr. Brock. Perhaps the most interesting feature here was the effigy of a late sixteenth-century bishop, in pre- and post-reformation vestments—an almost unique circumstance in the history of English monumental costume, that of Archbishop Grindal at Croydon being compared with it by Mr. Bloxam, as will be noticed further on, who also pointed out the peculiarities of an early fresco in the north porch.

A paper on Wrexham Church had been prepared by Mr. Ferry of London, the architect for the restorations, but, in his absence, Mr. G. G. Adams read it. The church, he said, was rebuilt, with the exception of the tower, in the reign of Edward IV. The plan consists of nave, north and south aisles, and chancel. It is remarkable as one of the very few choirs of the Perpendicular period having a chancel with an apse. It originally terminated with a square end, where the chancel arch proves, by the remains of its ancient tracery, the old east window to have been. The present roof to the apse is of a later period than the walls; it was probably intended to be groined. The windows and sedilia are handsome. The nave consists of six bays, and is separated from the north and south aisles by octangular pillars, carrying handsome and boldly-chamfered arches of two orders. These are singularly fine in proportion. The north and south aisles have good Perpen-

an English invasion, Cydafaël, lord of Cydewain, seized a firebrand, with which he ran from mountain to mountain, and collected the people and repelled the invaders; for which service his kinsman, Llewelyn the Great, granted him a coat of arms, viz., *sable* (to indicate the night), three firebrands *or*, fired proper. The Meyricks of Bodorgan (his direct descendants) still bear this coat, with certain augmentations since granted, together with a crest, viz., a castle *arg.*, surmounted by a chough (or bran) proper, holding in his dexter claw a fleur-de-lys *gu.*, in allusion to Castel Dinas Bran, where Cydafaël, who there distinguished himself, held his court."

dicular windows of four-centred arches, and are roofed in the usual low-pitched manner; they have been subject, unfortunately, to modern innovations. The clerestory and aisles are of later date than the arcade itself, which latter probably formed part of the earlier chancel, said to have been burnt in 1457. Corbels of the earlier church are still remaining on the spandrel walls of the nave, considerably below the stone brackets of the present roof. The effect of the earlier church, with its pointed roof, must, in the lecturer's judgment, have been far superior to that of the present building. Further improvements are said to have been made in the time of Bishop Birkhead, 1513-18. A subsequent Bishop Parfew or Wharton resided much of his time here, and endeavoured to procure a license to remove his see or cathedral church to Wrexham, of which Leland wrote about the same time, that it had a "goodlie churche collegiate, one of the fairest in North Wales", but there were no prebends attached to it. In Elizabeth's reign the church was enlarged, by the addition of the south aisle, the roof of which is said to have been formed out of the timber of a gallery, which ran along the north side. During the Commonwealth it was desecrated by being used as a prison, or a stable according to some authorities. The piscina of the Puleston chapel yet exists at the east end of the north aisle. The external architecture of the church is of the usual Perpendicular type, having roofs of low pitch, the clerestory and aisle walls being surmounted by embattled parapets, separated by buttresses and pinnacles. Inside the porch, at the west end of the north aisle, is the effigy of a mailed knight, probably removed from the earlier church. The revestry under the apse, approached by a winding stone staircase, is somewhat novel. No doubt it was caused by the fall of the ground at the east end, to which this undercroft gives external height. The great feature of this church is the western tower, justly celebrated for its beautiful proportions and details. It is styled one of the "Seven Wonders of Wales". When it was commenced is not known, but it was completed in 1506. Amongst the numerous examples of grand Perpendicular towers which abound in Somersetshire, there are none to be compared with that of St. Giles's, Wrexham, for massiveness and good proportions. The defect in the Somersetshire and Gloucestershire towers is the overhanging character of the perforated parapets and pinnacles, giving them a light and somewhat insecure effect. This is obviated in the composition of St. Giles's tower, where the graduated angular buttresses rise and unite with the octangular turrets at the four corners of the summit in a graceful and beautiful manner. The manner in which the lower stage is covered by traceried panelling, in low relief, somewhat detracts from the simple massiveness which should belong to the foundation of such a lofty structure; and it is doubtful if the faces of the buttresses would not have been better without the

panelling. The subsidiary buttresses dividing the sides of the tower containing niches still furnished with slates, are not successfully arranged. There are few towers which can boast such a number of niches still filled with unmutilated statues as that which you have just been examining.

Mr. Loftus Broek drew attention to the splendid brass eagle lectern, which he was glad to point out, by its inscription and date, 1527, as prior to the dissolution. It was made for and presented to this church, and not (as popular tradition asserted) brought from Valle Crneis Abbey.

Mr. H. Bloxam, F.S.A., next addressed the company from Bishop Bellot's monument, on the south side of the chancel. He said there were only two monuments in the church of which he need take notice, therefore he would not detain them long. One was a monumental effigy, hardly discernible, in the porch, and the other was a very much abraded effigy, beside which he stood, yet it was a very peculiar effigy, and there were only two others similar to it that he had found throughout his explorations, and he had visited every cathedral. This was the effigy of Hugh Bellot, Bishop of Bangor, and afterwards Bishop of Chester, who died in 1596. One peculiarity of this monument was that it had some bearing on the vestarian controversy of three hundred years ago, and which had been again aroused in these days. They might remember the celebrated vestarian controversy that arose in the reign of Elizabeth, in 1564. The effigy represented the bishop, clad partly in the pre-Reformation vestments, in rochet, chimere, and lawn sleeves, which were properly called vestments, but over that he wore the academical habit of a Doctor of Divinity of Cambridge. He also wore a fur or ermine tippet, falling down behind the shoulders, and round the neck a short ruff. There were only two other effigies similarly clad. One was that of Archbishop Grindal, in Croydon Church, which was destroyed by fire a short time ago, the other that of Bishop Carey, in Exeter Cathedral; and if they referred to Speede's *Counties of England* they would find among the illustrations a doctor of divinity exactly so depicted. These were the only three episcopal effigies, represented partly in vestments and partly in the academical habit. There was, in the porch, a recumbent effigy of a knight, bareheaded, with curling locks on either side of the face. The armour was not well defined, but there was a shield in front of the body. This was peculiar to the effigies of Welsh knights; for, whilst effigies of English knights of the fourteenth century had the shield on the right of the body, the Welsh effigies generally had the shield in front of the body, and covering it, as they saw there. The right hand grasped the hilt of a sword. He (Mr. Bloxam) first visited that church forty-four years ago, in passing through Wrexham, and saw that effigy for the first time. He was solemnly assured by the person who showed him over

the church that it was the effigy of Owen Glyndwr; and when he ventured to observe that Owen Glyndwr must have been an extraordinary long-lived man, inasmuch as this effigy belonged to the fourteenth century, the attendant looked at him with an air of incredulity. Before leaving, attention was drawn to the date of the niche and canopy at the end of the south aisle. It is of fourteenth century work, and a relic *in situ* of the former church.

Having partaken of luncheon in the County Hall, Wrexham, the company was conveyed in carriages to Gresford Church, there to hear a description of the historical features of the edifice by the Rector, Archdeacon Wickham, who was followed by Mr. Brock and Mr. Bloxam, both of whom touched on the subject in their usually able and lucid style. This interesting church is said to have been founded by "Ithyl, son of Eunydd, son of Gwenllian, daughter of Rhys ap Marchan, styled the heiress of Dyffryn Clwyd." The church also contains some other very interesting old monuments. One of these is the effigy of a warrior of the fourteenth century, with the legend on his shield of, "Hic jacet Madoc ap Llewelin ap Griffin." He died in 1331. The knight's armour differs remarkably from English armour. It appears to be composed of square-headed studs. At this church the beautiful stained glass over the altar, a pictorial representation of the "Te Deum Laudamus", and the equally fine glass in the east window of the north aisle, dated 1498, was much admired.

Mr. Brock drew attention to the elaborate screens, and pointed out to the meeting very evident traces of the earlier roof, as seen by the arrangement of the stones in the west wall of the nave, in which is indicated also a small window, now blocked up. It was grievous to see here the mutilated state of the earliest register and churchwardens' account books, both of which are in a very dilapidated state of binding, and have their leaves loose. It is to be hoped that the visit of the Association, whose chief end is the preservation of ancient relics, to this church may result in the rescue of these two MSS. from the fate which is impending over them unless quickly and judiciously repaired; for it is to be borne in mind that while five pounds will save a register from decay, that sum of money so laid out will be of more benefit to the community than five hundred pounds laid out in new pews and modern tilework.

The church was chiefly rebuilt in the Perpendicular style. The mass of pinnacles and statues upon the top of the lofty tower give a rich appearance, but are too nearly of one height to be altogether satisfactory. The panelled work below, and the buttresses, with niches still occupied by statues, add greatly to the effect, and, with the long, unbroken ranges of clerestory and aisles, surmounted by embattled parapets, make Gresford noteworthy amongst the fine churches of the

immediate vicinity. At the east end of the churchyard is an enormous yew tree of great girth, and presumably of very remote antiquity. On entering the church, the fine proportions and unbroken lines of nave, chancel, and aisles, are at once apparent, and the eye rests on the carved woodwork and stained glass. The roof is in one span, and affords an example of a flat yet effective treatment of the ceiled surface by breaking it up into panels, the squareness of the intersections of principals and crossbeams being taken off by cross-shaped applied ornaments in oak, having prolonged foliated extremities. The chancel is divided from the nave by a large screen of oak, and both this and the panceloses striking off the east ends of the aisles into chapels, are very elaborately, and indeed delicately carved, with free, pierced parapets. The five columns supporting the arcades are not, as at Wrexham, plain octagons, but deeply fluted so as to form clustered shafts,—a treatment indicative of a much earlier period of erection for these piers. The windows of the aisle-chapels and the great east window contain some ancient stained glass; that in the last-named window was repaired, and completed where destroyed, with great skill by Clayton and Bell a few years since, when the church underwent restoration at the hands of Mr. G. E. Street, R.A. This window, which is of great size and width, is divided into seven lights by perpendicular mullions of the Perpendicular period. The superior half contains representations of the Trinity and the Virgin Mary enthroned; the lower portion is occupied by angelic and saintly figures arranged in groups of three to a light in five tiers, a portion of the “Te Deum” being inscribed under each. These are supposed to have reference to the dedication of the church, which is to All Saints. In the representation of these half-length figures, more than a hundred in number, a great deal of nearly clear glass has been employed for the faces and drapery. While this throws up the richer tints of the upper part, the result is not altogether pleasing, as the normal relative positions of light and shade are thus reversed. Still, as a whole, Gresford east window is a fine specimen of glass-painting, to be borne in mind when designing in fifteenth century style. Beneath the chancel is an undercroft, now utilised for the storage of hot water apparatus.

Mr. Loftus Brock gave an address in the church. When they drove up to it (he said) they were no doubt prepared to find, within, a fine example of one period of work, the fifteenth century; but a little closer inspection had already revealed that in this edifice they had preserved records in stone of the common history of a church,—a small structure built at a remote period, gradually enlarged, and at last almost replaced by a much grander building. As they looked at the tower-arch, they could see distinct traces in the masonry of the steeple-pointed gable of a smaller building, re-used as the inner wall of the tower. The tower

arch below exhibited another change of style, and showed that the base of the tower was built as it stands, about 1350. Then the south aisles were thrown out, and the west window of the south aisle had still beautiful flowing tracery of the fourteenth century, and the arcades are of the same date. About a hundred years (perhaps rather more) afterwards, all these aisle-windows, except that south-west one before noticed, were taken out and replaced by large four-light ones, the old mouldings and buttresses being left as witnesses of the change. Why good windows, only a century or so old, should be removed to make way for others of a different shape, is one of the problems of church history. In order to separate a ritual chancel from the nave, the very fine screen was subsequently raised, and the aisle-ends were converted into chantry-chapels, that on the south being known as the Trevor, the north one as the Madox chapel. The great east window, dating from the fifteenth century, was one of the most magnificent in the kingdom; those in the chapels were very fine, although defective specimens of Perpendicular work; and in the small tracery lights of the aisle windows—the greater part of which had been now filled with modern glass—might be seen other fragments of old work. The peal of twelve bells in the tower were another of the “Seven Wonders of Wales”. Mr. Bloxam then explained the monuments in the church. The most important is a sadly-battered figure of a knight in chain armour, placed in a recess in the south aisle. An inscription, now almost effaced, is said to have recorded it as that of Madoc, illegitimate son of Llewelyn ap Griffith, who aspired to the principedom of North Wales, and died in 1351. A mural monument of marble in the Trevor chapel, at the end of the same aisle, is divided into three compartments. In the centre is a slab, stating in Welsh that it is to the memory of one Trevor Trevellyn, lord lieutenant under Henry VIII, and that he died in 1589. The end compartments are occupied, the one by a sculptural head and bust, the other by the feet, as if of a recumbent figure, partially concealed by the inscribed stone. Under the tower arch are two images of a priest and female saint, said to have been brought from a church eight or ten miles away.

After recording their thanks to Archdeacon Wickham, for the visit they had made to his church, the party continued their journey through some beautiful country to Caergwrle—a village on the banks of the Alyn, in the parish of Hope or Estyn. Here, on the top of a steep and lofty hill, from which grand views of Chester and other parts of the country were obtained, are the massive remains of a mediæval castle of roughly squared stones, laid with the peculiarity of junction of small thin stones for their beds, said to have been built on the site of a Roman station, that of the “Giant Legion”, which exists, so some philologists aver, in the present name “Caergurle”, the “gur” of that

word signifying "giant", and the termination "le" "legion". There are no remains of Roman masonry in the present walls—an opinion pronounced by Messrs. Brock and King, after a careful survey of them; but the site is believed to have been originally a walled Roman *castrum*, repaired, added to, and altered in mediæval ages. Nothing now remains of the Roman work, the existing ruins being of the thirteenth century, but of very massive style, and in many parts quite inaccessible. Some excavations might be conducted on this site with good promise of success. At the top of the castle Mr. Edisbury read a description of it, and pointed out that the site was undoubtedly that of a Roman building, or probably an earlier British one, pavements, hypocausts, many Roman coins, and other evidences of Roman occupation having been discovered, from early in the seventeenth century to the present time. Moreover, evidences of Roman smelting works abound in the district, and many roads of the same people lead to and from Caergurle.

At the Assembly Room in the evening, which was well filled by the members and townspeople, to whom facilities for attending had been given, R. Horman-Fisher, Esq., in the chair, the following papers were read and commented on. Mr. Thomas Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, read a paper of an historical character on "North Wales, as shown on a Map of the Thirteenth Century", in which he showed how much light was thrown on the history both of England and Wales by a map drawn in the reign of Edward I, and contemporary chronicles. This paper will be found printed in the *Journal* hereafter.

Sir Watkin Wynn kindly placed at the disposal of the Association his ancient muniments. Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., of the British Museum, *Hon. Sec.*, went over to Wynnustay to select the most valuable and interesting among them. These were exhibited at the evening meeting on Tuesday, August 28. Among them were a fine charter, with seal of King John, two with fine seals of King Henry III, and one with a seal of Llewelyn, Prince of North Wales, and about twenty early deeds of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, connected with the abbeys of Valle Crucis, Strata Marcella, Dore, Cymmer, Conway, and the other numerous Cistercian abbeys which are in the immediate neighbourhood. Mr. Birch pointed out that Wales was peculiarly the home of the Cistercians, who were attracted by the rugged wildness of the scenery, and the opportunities it afforded to carry out their austere vows. In the 12th century nearly 100 houses of this order were founded, and the 13th century found them progressing; but the date of their foundations was not known until he was fortunate enough to discover in the British Museum a document showing the dates of the foundation of every Cistercian abbey in Europe. This document¹ is

¹ See *Journal*, xxvi, pp. 281-299, 352-369.

useful alike to historians and to architects. Mr. Birch also described at some length the palæography of the charters, their interest centering in the fact that they have, nearly all of them, the date of the year in which they were written. The writing of many is very beautiful. One of them is dated by the regnal year of Richard I—an almost unique circumstance in Welsh manuscripts of the period. Mr. Birch also showed a fine fourteenth century copy in Welsh of the laws of Howel Dda, the great Welsh law giver. This MS. contains at the end some curious Welsh verses in a later handwriting. A book of painted arms, mostly fabulous, with the Salesbury pedigree, was also described, and some remarks upon it were made by Mr. S. I. Tucker, Rouge Croix.

Mr. J. Tom Burgess, F.S.A., read a paper on “Offa, and Offa’s Dyke”, opening by remarking on the numerous footprints of our forefathers which remain on the hill tops and in the valleys of the land—the only witnesses of a past which has no written history, and on the fact that these rude earthworks and rough mound-and-dyke fortresses have proved more substantial and permanent memorials than more finished types of architecture. He considered it a mistake to ascribe all mounds and hill defences to an invader, for the early chieftain would naturally take the strongest and most secure position in a district, and one from which he could best defend his territory from enemies. Passing on to his more immediate subject, Mr. Burgess related Offa’s life history, and showed the course of the dyke attributed to him, which can yet be traced pretty completely across one hundred miles of border country, from Chepstow-on-Wye to near the estuary of the Dee. Parallel to this, at the northern end, was another similar ditch and mound, known as Wat’s Dyke, and separated from Offa’s sometimes by five hundred yards, at others by an interval of three miles. These converged towards the sites of Roman cities on their route, whereas Offa reigned but a century antecedent to Alfred the Great, and ages after the Roman occupation. The lecturer, therefore, argued at considerable length that the dykes were probably parts of the great system of military entrenchments, thrown up, as is well known, in all parts of England, but nearly effaced in cultivated districts. Offa probably repaired and strengthened the western dyke on the Marches, and subsequent generations gave him the credit of having designed the work. This paper will be printed hereafter.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 2ND JANUARY 1878.

THOS. MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A., TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following associate was announced : H. R. Hughes, Lord Lieutenant of Flintshire, Kinnel Park, Abergele, North Wales.

The following presents were received, and thanks ordered to be returned to the donors :

To C. Roach Smith, Esq., V.P., F.S.A., for a work "On the Mayer Collection in the Liverpool Museum, considered as an Educational Possession", by C. T. Gatty. Privately printed. Liverpool, 1877. 8vo.

To the Society, for "The Archæological Journal", vol. xxxiv, No. 133. 1877.

„ „ for the "Archæologia Cambrensis", October 1877. Fourth Series. No. 32.

Sketches of the ancient cross with interlaced patterns, at Coplestone, near Crediton, were exhibited by Mr. R. S. May ; and of the ancient cross at Llandough, near Penarth, by Mr. Stothard. These will form the subjects of separate notices hereafter.

Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, exhibited several portions of Roman red ware for decoration of wall-surfaces, probably internally. When whole, they were about 18 inches square. They are $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, and have rough clay stubs on their surface for facility of fixing. The whole surfaces are covered with wavy lines. They were found in Newgate Street, on the north side, during excavations for the new shops now being erected east from the termination of the area opened in 1875, when the curious arched passage recorded in vol. xxxi, pp. 76 and 210, was found. Two mediæval walls, 3 feet thick, and about 8 feet apart, traversed the whole of the site, almost, but not quite, parallel to Newgate, etc. The tiles were found in excavations elsewhere on the site ; and it was worthy of note that the mortar still adhering to them was precisely similar to that observed in the passage.



in 1876, having soft rents of unslacked chalk lime, and no pounded Roman brick.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., described the result of a visit made by some members of the Association and himself to the Roman villa at Abinger, reported at the last meeting. This paper will be recorded, with a plan of the remains, at a future time.

An animated discussion followed, in which several members took part. Attention was called to Mr. Roach Smith's remarks in his paper on "Stone Street",¹ with respect to the probable presence of Roman remains near Dorking. It was resolved that all efforts should be devoted to the continuance of the researches; and Mr. T. H. Farrar, of Abinger Hall, was specially thanked for the excavations already effected.

Mr. Thos. Blashill exhibited a small silver Venetian coin, bearing date 1501, found within the church of Much Dew, Herefordshire, during its restoration. Also two small white glazed earthenware pots, for toilette purposes, of sixteenth century date, recently found in Cheapside. He exhibited also, as a warning to archaeologists, a forged "antique" of cast lead—the work of the well known firm of "Billy and Charley". The article, however, is not of recent fabrication, and the hope was expressed that the firm's operations were at an end.

Mr. J. W. Grover, C.E., then read a paper on "The recently discovered Roman Fort at the entrance of the Aberglaslyn Pass, North Wales". This will be inserted in the *Journal* at a future time.

An extended discussion followed, and the importance of considering each discovery, in relation to other ancient remains in its locality, was pointed out by more than one speaker.

In the unavoidable absence of Mr. W. G. Black of Glasgow, his paper on "Folk Medicine", was read by Mr. Thos. Blashill. It will be printed hereafter.

A lengthy and animated discussion followed, in which many members took part. The chairman called attention to the proposed establishment of the Folk Lore Society, with which they would all sympathise, and, in welcoming the presence of Mr. G. Laurence Gomme, the Honorary Secretary of the new Society, called upon him to make some observations with respect to its aim and objects.

Mr. G. L. Gomme said that he was there by the courtesy of their Secretary, Mr. Loftus Brock, and, in reply to the kind invitation of their Chairman to say a few words upon Mr. Black's paper, he would wish to observe that the subject treated of by Mr. Black was one deserving of all attention from students of history. He did not wish to enter into further details; but he thought that the paper clearly illustrated the great need there was of a society to take up the

¹ *Journal*, 1877.

subject of Folk Lore as its special function. Mr. Black had professedly glanced only at the outline of his subject, very well entitled "Folk Medicine", but he had glanced at it in such a manner as to show something of the immense range of materials to be dealt with. It was not only for the amusing portion of folk lore that the Folk Lore Society was being started, it was for its historical and archaeological value. Folk lore might well be classed under the now famous term of Mr. E. B. Tylor—a survival. It represented, under the shadow of its capacious and insignificant name, what had survived to us in the present age of the mythology of our primitive ancestors, and even of some of their customs, which had the full force of law. We had to seek in our folk lore what the Greeks could find in Homer; what the Northmen could find in the Eddas and Sagas; what the Finns could find in the Kalewalla. It told us of an epoch in British history when Britons were the barbarians and savages of the Roman civilised world. It was for the preservation of these valuable historical memorials that the Folk Lore Society had been formed, mainly through the endeavours of Mr. Thoms, Mr. Ralston, and others. In conclusion, he had to thank the British Archaeological Society for their kindness in welcoming the formation of the new Folk Lore Society. It was a generous kindness, made in the spirit of true historical study.

These remarks were listened to with considerable interest, and much good will and hearty good wishes were expressed for the success of the new society, which would be cordially welcomed by this Association.

A paper "On the recently discovered Sculpture in Breadsall Church, Derby", by Mr. Alfred Wallis, was then read, in the absence of the author, by Mr. Loftus Brock. In the discussion at its conclusion, Mr. Brock pointed out that the perfect condition of the sculpture might be considered as evidence that its removal was in no way the work of fanaticism. In this case it would have been demolished, and not committed with care to the earth for preservation. He reviewed the authorities under which images were removed systematically from churches, the first being the injunctions of Edward VI (1547), under which all images "abused with pilgrimage, or offering of anything made thereunto, or shall be hereafter censured hereunto", were to be taken down and destroyed, but by "none other private person". Other images were to remain, and the clergy were to admonish "these parishioners that images serve for no other purpose but to be a remembrance....which images, if they do abuse for any other intent, they commit idolatry in the same..."

No class of images are excepted in the visitation of Edward VI (Cranmer's) of the diocese of Canterbury. The articles of visitation by Queen Elizabeth (1559) also enjoin an entire removal, "Item, whether in their churches and chappels all images, shrines, all tables,

candlesticks, trindals, and rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other memorials of feigned and false miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition be removed, abolished, and destroyed."

Some passages of the homily "Against Peril of Idolatry", referred to in the 35th article (1562), were also glanced at, to show the mind of the Church of England on the subject. The sculpture just discovered, therefore, might have been passed over in 1547, although it may be doubtful; but it would have been included in the enactments of 1559. The costume had been shown to Mr. J. R. Planché, V.P., who had expressed his belief that it was of the middle of the twelfth century. The style of the sculpture, however, appeared about two centuries later, and there may be nothing in its execution to show that it was not the work of a local artist. Rare as ancient sculpture may be in England, there are many examples, both of better design and execution than the interesting specimen under review.

Mr. Geo. R. Wright, F.S.A., in announcing the recent death of Mr. Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A., one of the founders of this Association, bore grateful testimony to the valuable services which the latter had rendered, and of the great loss the Association had suffered.

The usual votes of thanks to the exhibitors, the contributors, and readers of papers, etc., and to the chairman, closed the proceedings.

WEDNESDAY, 16TH JANUARY 1878.

H. S. CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associates were duly elected :

E. Brunt, Havelock Place, Hanley

James Fisher Edisbury, M.P.S., Belgrave House, Wrexham

A. Scrivener, Hanley.

The following Local Members of Council were elected :

W. Henderson for Salop

B. Hicklin for Surrey

J. H. Le Keux for Durham.

Thanks were ordered to be conveyed to the donors of the following presents to the library :

To the Society, for "Archæologia Cantiana", Transactions of the Kent Archæological Association, vol. xi. 1877.

„ „ for "Report of the Council of the Art Union of London" for 1877.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a silver badge found in the Old Kent Road, at the corner of East Lane; and a shilling of Queen Elizabeth, found in the same locality.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, exhibited an extensive series of early Greek fictilia, comprising many curious and rare forms of cyathi, aryballi, cylikes, spouted cups, pomegranates, ladles, etc.

The Chairman described some of these at length, and contrasted them with some similar objects formerly exhibited before the Association.

Mr. W. H. Cope exhibited a German cup mounted with silver, and two rare vessels of blue and white glass, also of German origin, one bearing the date 1590.

The Chairman read a paper on "Mistletoe", which will be printed hereafter. In the discussion which ensued, Messrs. Way, Birch, Blashill, and Phené, took part.

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, read a paper on the "Recent Discoveries at Hissarlik."

Dr. Phené, who exhibited a large collection of archæological objects from the region illustrated by Mr. Morgan's paper, said: "The only point on which I join issue with the Treasurer is his last remark, that the paper is not one strictly on British archæology. I venture to think it is, though I admit not in an absolutely direct way. But I think a careful observer, when he compares the whorls found all over the British islands with those found so abundantly at Troy; when he sees the same patterns on the pottery, notably in the case of the fragments of large terra-cotta vases now at South Kensington, and numbered 1376 and 1377 (though not figured in Dr. Schliemann's *Troy*), which are almost counterparts of British devices,—the latter (1377) bearing the same device as that found on the Marquis of Lothian's large urn exhibited here by me some time ago, and which is a piece of pottery of the same dimensions as that I am referring to; when he sees the same moulds for casting bronze celts, and the same devices in the stone celts as are found in the British isles,—can hardly fail to admit a strong chain of graphic though unwritten history, which points clearly to an early colonisation of these islands from the East, and is therefore British.

"In the same way I beg to draw attention to a very expressive link between the Troad and the royal residence of Agamemnon, Mycenæ. Dr. Schliemann figures, in his work on the latter place, a silver and a gold cup of the same device, that of rings in a gradually diminishing circumference. These I was fortunate enough to see at Athens, where I made a rough sketch. In making some excavations into the lowest stratum of the diggings at Hissarlik, I extracted a piece of plain black pottery, part of a cup of the same dimensions, and of the same design as the gold and silver cups found at Mycenæ. The presence of this terra-cotta cup at Hissarlik, the finding of which was recorded by me in the *British Architect*, April 27th, 1877, which indicates that this was

a Trojan pattern, and tends to the identity of the precious cups found at Mycenæ, as possibly parts of the rich spoil brought away by the triumphant Greeks.

"I have the pleasure of submitting for your inspection a large number of archaic objects from the Troad and from Mycenæ, as well as from Sparta, Messene, and other islands in the Archipelago. They include stones for the crushing of grain, whorls, and stone implements, various pottery, a bronze lamp, and one specimen of glass, from Hissarlik; portions of bronze and pottery from Mycenæ; encaustic and enamelled terra-cotta from Ephesus and the island of Patmos; old Samian ware from Samos, with more modern from Delos; a variety of sacred animals in terra-cotta, probably Phœnician, from Samothrace and other islands; portions of decorative marble sculpture from the former Temple of Ceres in Paros, and from the Temple of Apollo in Delos; archaic vases of great antiquity and elegance of design from Corinth; and some good terra-cottas of the human countenance from Sparta, etc.

"With the exception of the point of difference I have already referred to, I entirely concur in the expressions in the paper just read, which displays great care in arrangement, and gives us, in fine, a brief but useful summary of the finds at Hissarlik."

The Chairman, Mr. Cope, the Rev. A. Taylor, and Mr. Brock, took part in the discussion which followed.

WEDNESDAY, 6TH FEBRUARY.

H. S. CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following members was duly announced:

J. Romilly Allen, A.I.C.E., 34 James Street, Buckingham Gate
Reginald Thistlethwayte Cocks, 43 Charing Cross.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the presents mentioned below:

To the Society, for "Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire", 29th Session. 3rd Series, vol. v. Liverpool, 1877. 8vo.

To the Editor, for "Ulm Oberschwaben Korrespondenzblatt", No. 12.

To F. L. Scotcher of Holywell, for three Lithograph Drawings: 1, Inside of St. Winifred's Well, Flintshire; 2, Basingwerk Abbey; 3, Holywell Town.

To Miss Robertson of Llangollen, for Drawings of two Sculptured Stones at Llangollen.

Mr. J. Reynolds, of Bristol, forwarded for exhibition four very finely enamelled candlesticks belonging to the church of St. Thomas at Bristol, and an impression of the seal of the church.

Mr. E. P. L. Broek read the following notes by Mr. Reynolds upon these interesting objects :

“Through the kindness of the vicar and wardens of the church of St. Thomas in Bristol, I have the pleasure of offering for your inspection four of the most interesting examples of mediæval metal-work I have ever seen. I consider them to be a set,—four altar-taperstands, blue enamel upon copper, and of Limoges manufacture of the thirteenth century. I have shown them constantly to antiquaries visiting Bristol, all of whom thought them a set unequalled ; while one or two considered them to be English copies of Limoges, and if so, still more valuable and rare.

“We do not know from any real authority to what church they belonged, but judging from the fact that we find them in the strong room of our church of St. Thomas, and knowing that they have been familiar to all the vestrymen within memory, we may assume that they originally belonged to the high altar of our church ; and we can imagine that some good burgher of St. Thomas having made a fair bargain in France or the Low Countries with his wool, thought he could not testify his gratitude better than by buying the beautiful objects you have now before you, and depositing the same upon the high altar of the church in his native parish. But this and all other considerations as to their manufacture and age, I must now leave to your learned Society.

“I also send for your inspection our Vestry seal, ‘a post-Reformation seal dated 1566’, and will pass to a few observations which I hope I may be allowed to make on two dedications of our church. You will notice that the seal bears the inscription, THOMAS . THE . APOSTEL . OF . IESV . CHRIST . 1566. The early histories of Bristol have stated the dedication of our church to be St. Thomas the Martyr. These early histories, although most complete, are not infallible ; and I therefore thought, before committing myself on the question of the dedication, I would personally look over the deeds. With the assistance of my friend Mr. Taylor I spent some hours in inspecting those belonging to our church, and found the dedication was originally St. Thomas the Martyr. We have numerous entries in the name of the Martyr, viz. in the 15th and 18th of Henry VI, also in the 33rd of Henry VI and the 19th of Edward IV. In the 31st of Henry VI



'Martyr' is erased, and also in 16th Henry VI the same word is cancelled, while in the 24th Elizabeth we find St. Thomas the *Martyr*, and in the 20th Elizabeth, St. Thomas the *Apostle*. Lord Chief Justice Campbell, in his *Lives of the Chancellors*, p. 95, tells us why the name of Martyr was obliterated: 'Henry VIII, when he wished to throw off the authority of the Pope, thinking that as long as the name of St. Thomas should remain in the calendar, men would be stimulated by his example to brave the ecclesiastical authority of the sovereign, instructed his attorney-general to file a *quo warranto* information against him for usurping the office of a saint, and he was formally cited to appear in court to answer the charge. Judgment of *ouster* would have passed against him by default, had not the King, to show his impartiality and great regard for the due administration of justice, assigned him counsel at the public expense. The cause being called, and the attorney-general and the advocate for the accused being fully heard, with such proofs as were offered on both sides, sentence was pronounced, that Thomas, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, had been guilty of contumacy, treason, and rebellion; that his bones should be publicly burnt, to admonish the living of their duty by the punishment of the dead; and that the offerings made at his shrine should be forfeited to the crown.' A proclamation followed, stating that, 'Forasmuch as it now clearly appeared that Thomas Becket had been killed in a riot excited by his own obstinacy and intemperate language, and had been afterwards canonised by the Bishop of Rome as the champion of his usurped authority, the King's Majesty thought it expedient to declare to his loving subjects that he was no saint, but rather a rebel and traitor to his Prince, and therefore strictly charged and commanded that he should not be esteemed or called a saint; that all images and pictures of him should be destroyed, the festivals in his honour be abolished, and his name and remembrance be erased out of all books, under pain of His Majesty's indignation, and imprisonment at His Grace's pleasure.'"

Mr. Brock said the four candlesticks are identical in workmanship and execution, two being 12½ ins. high and alike in pattern, and the two others are 6¾ ins. high, almost identical. All are formed of a copper ground, which has been gilt, and covered with elaborate patterns, filled in with champlevé enamel. The sockets are of much later date, of latten, and they probably have superseded the old spike terminations. They have otherwise suffered by repair by no expert hand, the large box of one of the latter candlesticks being misplaced. The patterns are for the most part geometrical, with conventional foliage, but the tripod bases have quaint figures alike on all three sides, those to the two larger candlesticks being a mermaid, with tail and paws, defending herself with sword and shield against the attacks of a griffin.

The bases of the smaller ones have patterns of two eagle-like birds, with long tails and wings, confronting one another. The colours are for the most part deep blue, with a sparing introduction of white, yellow, green, light blue, and red dots, in imitation probably of jewels. The patterns indicate the date to be early in the thirteenth century, and the workmanship is probably Limoges rather than German.

Mr. Brock exhibited from recent London excavations an amphora, a lagena, and a mediæval candlestick of somewhat unusual shape.

The Chairman described a silver chased tobacco box and a lady's companion of silver, of late seventeenth century work, exhibited by Mr. S. I. Tucker, *Rouge Croix*.

Mr. C. Roach Smith, V.P., F.S.A., exhibited, from Mr. E. A. Burneys, of Her Majesty's Dockyard, a drawing of a remarkable pewter or leaden circular vessel, which has recently been dredged up from the banks of the river Medway, off Gas House Point, Rochester. It is $11\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in diameter, with upright sides $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. deep internally to its flat bottom. There is a lip or ring $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins. wide above, strengthened externally by fourteen flanges, double where the handles have been. The handles have disappeared, but the traces indicate that they were of iron. The flanges, which are irregular in position, divide the sides with twelve panels, and the latter are ornamented with elegant patterns of conventional foliage of late Norman character, cut out of the thickness of the metal. Mr. Roach Smith expressed no opinion with respect to the age of the vessel, but called attention to a somewhat similar one which was recovered off Felixstowe. It was pointed out that its form was not unlike Roman work, but that the character of the decoration was not conclusive with respect to its age.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited a collection of antiquities found (generally) in London, of much interest and rarity, ranging between its earliest history and the seventeenth century. 1, CELTIC:—A beaded bronze ornament, 2 ins. square; 2, a bronze fibula, resembling a butterfly, with wings expanded and head displayed; 3, two needles, the smaller with a "clip", for "taking up" a thread; 4, a bone instrument, with double point, 5 ins. long and polished. ROMAN:—5, The bronze stem of a lingula, 5 ins.; 6, a very elegant fibula, 2 ins. in length, of bronze and niello, cruciform; 7, a very beautiful and perfect handbell, round in form, $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in circumference, of golden bronze, finely patinated; 8, a pair of lamp trimmers (emunctorium), 7 ins. in length, of golden bronze, the squared and richly ornamented shafts are prolonged into thickened wires, bent to receive the thumb and finger; 9, a pilum of iron, 6 ins., the point of which has been blunted by a heavy blow; 10, two *manubria* of curved bone, one in likeness of the Egyptian hawk. EGYPTIAN:—11, Two beads of imitative lapis lazuli, and a third of selenite; 12, a finger ring of bronze, vesica-

shaped and nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in length; the centre is of blue enamel, with green leaves and golden flowers, the edging or exterior setting has been thirteen crystals, of which three remain *in situ*. This rare and beautiful specimen of ancient jewellery is ascribed by Mr. Cuming, V.P., to Egyptian art, and for London is unique; 13, a coin bearing the bust of the Saviour between the letters $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}$; and on the reverse, + IHSUS CHRISTUS BASILEON BASILEUS. This coin of the lower empire was found near St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, and gave rise to an interesting discussion, the Chairman referring it to A.D. 969, and considering it to be one of the earliest numismatic representations of our Lord; Mr. W. de Gray Birch thinking it might rather have belonged to Sicily; and Mr. Tucker, *Rouge Croix*, saying, from the place of its finding, it might have been brought to Britain by some returned pilgrim; 14, a Cologne jug (*grès Flamand*), adorned with white annulets on blue ground. A *Vitro di Trina* drinking horn of German art, seventeenth century. This specimen is 19 ins. in the curve, and fitted with a metal cover; 15, a very lovely specimen of Venetian art, in a cup and saucer of imitative red jasper, perfect in every respect and rare; 16, a finger ring, set with twelve small *aqua marina* stones of silver, and about the era of Elizabeth.

Mr. C. H. Luxmore sent for exhibition a remarkable and exceedingly interesting group of objects obtained in Spain, all of them wrought of steel, and several displaying considerable taste in design and excellence of finish. The following is a brief description of the most notable: Long, square-barrelled padlock, of the Moorish era of Spanish history, constructed on the same principle as the African and Chinese padlocks described in this *Journal*, xii, p. 118. Padlock with somewhat vesica-shaped barrel, with lateral buttresses to receive the ends of the shackle. The key exhibits a strong Moorish influence in design. The broad plate forming the handle may be compared with the example from Egypt, engraved in this *Journal*, xii, Pl. 13, fig. 1. Globular padlock with hinged shackle. Padlocks of this type were in use for two or three centuries. The present specimen may be assigned to the sixteenth century. In the Cuming collection are specimens of similar fashion, found in London. Lock-escutcheon from the front of a large coffer, or the door of an *armoire*, $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches high, and nearly $3\frac{7}{8}$ ins. at its extreme width, the keyhole being full 2 ins. in height. It represents the double-headed eagle of Germany, the broad crown resting on the head of each bird. It was fixed to the woodwork by five pegs or screws. *Temp. Car. I* (1516-1556). Lock from the front of a casket; the flat plate decorated with elegant scroll *appliqué* work, parcel gilt. Date, sixteenth century. Lock from the door of a cabinet, decorated with engraved and *appliqué* work, parcel gilt. Date, sixteenth century. Four variously sized girdle-swivels with round and

ovate bows, on which to suspend keys, pouches, etc. They are all more or less ornate in design. *Temp.* Philip III (1598-1621). Pair of snuffers with ovate bows and heart-shaped box, on the under side of which is stamped the letter I ensigned with a crown. Second half of sixteenth century. For an account of snuffers, see *Journal*, xxv, p. 74. Pair of nutcrackers of singular aspect, tastefully decorated with engraved scrolls, etc. The broad, flat, crushing portion is cut out to receive two-sized nuts; the upper and smaller opening being straight-sided; the lower and larger one representing a flaming heart, with the pointed base curved sideways. The bowed handles are closed with a clasp, in the manner of the old sugar-nippers; and on one is incised the name ZORRES. Date, *circa* 1600. Two spurs closely resembling each other, but not a pair. They have perforated, jointed shanks, with rather short, up-turned necks; the rowel of one having ten rays, the other six rays. Date, sixteenth century. Lock of a gun, for either pyrites or flint. The hammer represents a dragon's head, the tightening screw having a strong ring at top. On the plate is engraved the name of the maker of the piece, ARMANGVER. Date, seventeenth century. Hook of sword-carriage, the broad front pierced, chiselled, and parcel-gilt. Date, second half of seventeenth century. The carriages of the French and English court-swords of the first half of the eighteenth century were provided with hooks of similar character to the foregoing. There is a steel hook of an English sword-carriage in the Cuming collection, but the chains have been removed.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Secretary*, read the following notes :

ON A SCULPTURED EFFIGY IN THE EAST WALL OF THE CHANCEL
OF BATHAMPTON CHURCH, NEAR BATH.

BY THE REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH, M.A., F.S.A.

In the "Proceedings" of the British Archaeological Association for 1857, p. 149, will be found an account of an ancient effigy in the wall of the church of Bathampton, near Bath, on the outside, under the chancel-window. The church was visited by the Association on the occasion of their Meeting at Bridgwater and Bath. The figure, which is in a niche, is described by Collinson in his *History of Somerset* as that of a lady; but it was pronounced by very competent authority on that occasion to be the effigy of a Norman bishop of early date, the eleventh century. The design and execution of the sculpture are rude; but the monument is stated to be "of great antiquity and curiosity, and deserving to be engraved and recorded". After a lapse of twenty years this has at length been done by the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society. This Society visited the church in the summer of 1876, when attention was called to this memorial, and an

account of the opinions then expressed will be found in vol. xxii, p. 48, of the "Proceedings".

I have the pleasure to forward an excellent drawing of the effigy, which has since been executed, and is now engraved in the "Proceedings", with an account of the discussion which took place, when the old opinion was revived. To the record of this a long note has been added, written by Bishop Clifford of Clifton, who contends that the effigy cannot be that of a Norman bishop, as stated by the present Somerset Herald; but it is that of a female of still earlier date, carved on a stone belonging to a Roman tomb; similar in treatment to the sculpture now in the British Museum, which was found at Wellow, a drawing of which is given in *Aquæ Solis, or Notices of Roman Bath*, p. 114. The Bishop considers that there is much resemblance in the treatment of the dresses of the females, and that the supposed pastoral staff in the right hand of the effigy is only a *sistrum*. This opinion as to the staff, however, he has withdrawn in a note contained in the *Errata* of the "Proceedings".

I send herewith a copy of the engraving, and also the account given in the volume, with the note of Bishop Clifford, as I think the subject both interesting and important, and that it is very desirable that any doubt should be cleared up. I cannot myself say that any exists in my own mind; but that I regard it as a very ancient effigy of a Norman bishop, unhappily much mutilated, but giving a very good representation of the ecclesiastical dress of that date. For illustration sake I here send a brief statement of the ecclesiastical vestments, compared with those worn by the Jewish high priest.

Ancient Ecclesiastical Vestments.—These were—1. The long and close "coat", "tunic" or "vesture", called from its colour (as a ministerial garment) the "alb". 2. The broad "border" of this coat is often of the richest materials, which developed ecclesiastically into the "orarium" (probably from *ora*, a border) or "stole". 3. The girdle, combining easily with the "stole". 4. The "garment" or "robe", ecclesiastically the "chasuble" or "casula", covering the tunic down to the knees, and so allowing the ends of the "border" (or "stole") to appear. These were the ordinary vestments in daily common use in the East and West, see Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*, vol. ii, App.; *Directorium Anglicanum*, see on "Eucharistic Vestments"; Rev. James Skinner, *Plea for Ritual* (Masters); *Guardian*, January 17 and 24, 1866; Dean of Westminster's speech in Convocation, February 9, 1866, see also Archibald Freeman's *Rites and Ritual*, p. 64 and 65, who says, "There is no reason for doubting that they are, as to their form, no other than the everyday garments of the ancient world in east and west, such as they existed in the time of our Lord, and for many ages before."

Garments of the High Priest, see Exod. xxviii.—There was—1. The ephod, which was a rich under garment. 2. The long “embroidered coat or tunic of fine linen” (v. 39). 3. Curious girdle of the ephod (which seems to have girded both ephod and tunic). 4. The combination of the shoulderpieces and breastplates, which were among the most peculiar insignia of the High Priesthood, the name of the twelve tribes being engraven in costliest gems, both on the shoulderpieces and breastplate, as a means of making “memorial” of the people before God (vv. 9-30). 5. The outer garment or robe of the ephod (v. 31), all blue, of circular form, with a “hole in the top of it, in the midst thereof”, to pass it over the head. 6. The mitre of fine linen (v. 39), and upon it, on the forehead, the “plate of pure gold” (*πέταλον*). St. John at Ephesus wore the *πέταλον* or plate of gold as a priest. See Eusebius *H. Eccl.* iii, 31, who cites Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus (A.D. 198). Epiphanius says the same of St. James, Bishop of Jerusalem, *De Heresi*, 78. Eusebius (c. 320) addresses the priests on “wearing the long garment, the crown, and the priestly robe.”¹

It will be seen that in the effigy there is shown the cassock, reaching lowest, the albe, the stole, and, above all, the chasuble, which is short and has long sleeves, and though the headdress or mitre cannot be distinctly made out, yet the *infulæ* or *vittæ* are very clear. I am not aware of any sculpture on a Roman tomb which at all corresponds to that now exhibited. Such rude memorials of English ecclesiasties are indeed rare, and it may be difficult to point out another which precisely agrees with the present;² but the correspondence to mediæval ecclesiastical dress is much closer than to that of any heathen sculpture. I have thought it right to call the attention of the Society to this effigy, and to the opinions expressed regarding it, because to their former visit it owes much of the interest which has been awakened, and what I believe to be the true interpretation of the sculpture. Henceforth I trust it is likely to be preserved with more care, and regarded with more interest than it has hitherto been.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock exhibited some drawings by Mr. J. T. Irvine, illustrative of this effigy.

Mr. Stothard exhibited a water-colour drawing of a cross of elaborate carving at Llandough, in Glamorganshire, figured by Professor Westwood in his *Lapidarium*. Mr. Stothard's notes will be given hereafter.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a drawing of an ancient cross, and the paper, as follows, descriptive of this relic was read by Mr. Brock.

¹ *H. E.*, p. 307.

² I think I have observed one in Exeter Cathedral, but I have no work at hand to which I can refer.

THE ANCIENT CROSS AT COPLESTONE, NEAR CREDITON, DEVON.

BY R. E. WAY.

This venerable cross or monolith stands in the hamlet of Coplestone, about five miles from Crediton, on the Barnstaple Road, between four crossways, and at the junction of five parishes. It is a granite pillar, 10 ft. 6 ins. in height, 2 ft. square at the base, but diminishing a little gradually from base to summit. At the top is a square hole, in which, undoubtedly, a cross was fixed. The sides are rudely ornamented with saltier-shaped crosses, interlaced work of great beauty; and near the top, on the south-east side, is a niche (cut most probably after the cross was removed from the top, to receive the figure of some saint); while on the north-east side is a figure of a man on horseback, with two rude figures below embracing each other, which Mr. Roach Smith thinks denotes the salutation, "Greet one another with an holy kiss", thus bearing the stamp of early Christian thought. A chapel once stood near the cross. This cross is the most remarkable in the county, and antiquarians have been much puzzled as to its origin. The interlaced work is identical with many examples in Ireland, and it closely resembles the ancient Saxon crosses at Sandbach, Cheshire, and Ilkley, Yorkshire; and is almost a counterpart of one of the patterns found on the pillar at Forres, Morayshire, Scotland, known as Sueno's Stone. It is undoubtedly Saxon, and not later than the ninth or tenth centuries.

History is silent as to when these early crosses were erected. Some are strongly of the opinion that the crosses in the West of England might be attributed to the influence of the earliest preachers who came from Ireland. At any rate, the similarity between this example and Irish crosses is very striking. Cross-roads also were held peculiarly sacred in early times, and crosses might have been originally designed as guides to direct the pilgrim to the different churches. Crosses also marked civil and ecclesiastical limits, and probably served also for stations, resting places, or oratories, where prayer was said or a verse sung when the bounds were visited in processions.

Memorial and boundary crosses were in very early use as marking the boundaries of lordships, parishes, or lands given to monasteries, and some think this cross might have been set up for that purpose. There is an ancient deed at the Record Office of the time of King Edgar. It is a charter or deed of grant made by that king to one of his Thanes, Alfhere, in the year 974. The property granted consists of three hides of land at Nymet, in Devonshire, now forming the site of three villages called Nymet, near Crediton. The deed also mentions the land which the reverend priest Brihtric gave, for the relief of his

soul, to a monastery in Crydianton, adjoining the land of the Thane. After stating the position of the land it expresses a prayer that "anyone who shall take it away or diminish it may be stricken with a perpetual curse, and perish everlastingly with the devil, unless he makes atonement."

Now, as this cross stands at the boundary of the parish of Crediton, and near one of the villages of Nymet, it might have been erected at the period the Saxon charter refers to, by Alfhære, the Thane, or by the monks of Crediton, to mark the limits of their respective lands. But if it is a memorial cross, which I believe it to be, then we must assign it to the time of King Edward the Elder or Athelstan, 901 to 940 A.D., for it is recorded that Putta, the second Bishop of Devon, who held his see at Bishop's Tawton, while on a journey to Crediton, to visit the king (or Uffa, Earl of Devon), was slain by some of the Earl's followers. On what part of the journey between Bishop's Tawton and Crediton this occurred it does not appear; but as this cross stands on that very route, the sculpture agreeing with the period, and the emblems also proving it to be a Christian relic, I think we may fairly assume that the figure on horseback on the north-east side was intended to represent Bishop Putta on that eventful journey, and most probably marks the spot where the bishop lost his life; and that it was set up no doubt by a succeeding prelate.

Some years ago Sir Henry Dryden made a careful examination of this cross, and took a plaster-cast of it. The drawing I lay before you was copied from that cast, and kindly presented to me last week by Sir Henry. He thinks one of the compartments the most elaborate piece of interlaced work with which he is acquainted. It is at the left hand bottom corner, and composed of three bands.

Mr. Brock read a paper by Mr. J. Rouilly Allen on "Rubbings from Sculptured Crosses", which will be printed on a future occasion. The paper was copiously illustrated by a large variety of rubbings collected by the author of the paper from various examples throughout England.

Mr. Allen described some of these at length afterwards, and Mr. Stothard and Mr. Cuming took part in the discussion which ensued. Mr. Birch suggested that dated MSS. containing forms of interlaced patterns identical with those found on many of these crosses would furnish the clue to a very close approximation of the date of these ancient monuments.

Mr. S. I. Tucker, *Rouge Croix*, proposed a vote of congratulation to Prof. Erasmus Wilson on the safe arrival of Cleopatra's Needle in London. This was seconded by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, and carried enthusiastically.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20TH.

H. S. CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the several donors for the following contributions to the library :

To the Society, for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland", vol. xi, Part II, 1876; vol. xii, Part I, 1877. 4to. Edinburgh.

" " "Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire", 29th Session. Third Series, vol. v. Session, 1876, 1877. Liverpool.

To C. R. Smith, V.P., F.S.A., for a Treatise, "De l'Architecture Religieuse en France au xix^e Siècle." Par M. Lecoindre-Dupont, Président de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Onest. And for a Paper entitled "Fragment d'un Compte de Nôtre-Dame de Soissons, 1276." From the "Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Chartres", t. xxxviii.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, announced that the Mayor and Corporation of Wisbech had invited the Association to hold a Congress in their ancient borough, and that the Council of the British Archæological Association had great pleasure in accepting the invitation. Full particulars as to the time of holding this Congress, the excursions, and other matters, would be duly announced to the associates. (See cover of *Journal*.)

The Chairman exhibited a mediæval silver ring, sent for the purpose by Mr. Mould, containing a representation of the crucifixion of the Saviour. He also exhibited an engraved portrait of Joseph Pellerin, *ætat*. ninety-eight.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a steel cross in the possession of Mr. Luxmore. This cross has an oval medallion in brass, inlaid at the junction of the arms with the upright limbs. On one side of this medallion is a representation of the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary; on the reverse, a holy cup between two angels, with the date of 1620 in the exergue. The cross is covered with roughly stamped letters comprising the following inscription in Spanish, which sufficiently explains its object and use: IHS ALAVADO SEA EL S[ANTI]S[IM]O SACRAMIE[N]TO MARIA SANTISIMA CONCEVIDA SIN PECADO ORIGINAL. INRI. INDIG[N]A SOROR LUISA DE LA ASCENSION ESCLAVA DE MI DULCISIMO IHS MARIA.

Mr. H. Jenner referred the origin of this medallion to the mystical account of the Virgin given in the Revelation of St. John.

Mr. Worthington Smith, F.L.S., exhibited two hundred and fifty

worked flints of neolithic age, which he had recently found in the neighbourhood of Dunstable. The objects included scrapers, borers, knives, cores, flakes, etc. Mr. Smith stated that the open, cultivated fields had afforded the majority of the specimens; but that he had met with a considerable number upon the hills where the ground had been disturbed by moles, rats, and rabbits.

The Chairman and the Rev. S. M. Mayhew testified to the interesting nature of this exhibition.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a medallion of Ignatius Loyola, with an uncertain bust in profile on the reverse.

Mr. Brock exhibited two late Celtic urns of dark-coloured earthenware, and a Roman jug of rare form and colour, from London excavations. One of these Celtic vessels indicated traces of pounded flint incorporated with the terra-cotta. Both of them had their bases somewhat convex.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, M.A., in the discussion which ensued, alluded to the mention of similarly compounded pottery in the Epistles of St. Paul.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, placing upon the table a number of interesting objects, said, "Three epochs are here distinctly represented, although the comparatively modern third may not strictly fulfil the conditions of archæological exhibition.

"1st. An oval dish of Wedgwood's Queen's ware, scalloped and painted in colours, with a transcript of a picture of world renown, Paul Potter's 'Young Bull'. Wedgwood ware is sometimes seen adorned with small groups of flowers or fruit, from the pencils of the Dresden artists brought to England by Mr. Wedgwood; but a specimen such as that now exhibited may well be pronounced of the choicest and rarest.

"2nd. An oval dish (15 ins.) of Savona pottery, in the fashion of Palissy, adorned in colour, accurate drawing, and exact modelling, with ferns, oak leaves, and ivy. On the border the butterfly spreads its wings, and the snail makes progress from leaf to leaf. A coiled and 'spotted snail' lifts its head, and the bright green lizard darts upon its prey. Carelessly scattered are marine and freshwater shells. Within lie a group of fish, perfect in form, life-like in colour, the principal being a young pike, accurately modelled after nature. The period of this work of art is probably the close, or nearly so, of the last century.

"3rd. A cup (9 ins. high) of opal glass, tulip shaped, richly gilded and beautifully hand-finished, with a wreath of ribbon, grapes, leaves, and Cupids. An Italian element doubtless appears in the treatment of the stem and general form, but the gilding and painting assign it rather to France, and the celebrated artist Pavon.

"4th. A tankard of German stone ware, *cir.* A.D. 1600, moulded in three divisions, with a hunting subject, 'The Sportsman's Burial'. The fox, with service book, heads the procession, attended by the hare, as cross bearer; the wild boar carries a mattock, four stags support the coffin, whereon sit an owl and a weeping squirrel. The hunting horn and knife are laid on the lid, and following, with heads and ears depressed, are horse and hounds, amongst a numerous retinue of pheasants, rabbits, little pigs, and a greyhound. The legend above is, 'IHM IST WOHL, UNS IST BESSER.'"

The Chairman offered a commendatory criticism on this part of the exhibition.

"The second portion consisted in some fine vessels of pewter, *cir.* A.D. 1620, lately exhumed near Newgate Street.

"1. A paten, with corded edge, and the initials 'W.D.W.' The mark being a rose on its stem, and the letters 'C.S.'

"2. An upright vessel, circular, with a square projecting beak, 5 ins. by 5 ins. in diameter. The shape is a novelty, and, discussion arising, it was generally determined as an article for kitchen purposes. A fine seventeenth century spoon was found with the above, and a porringer of pewter of an earlier date, ornamented with fleurs-de-lys as handles (from Bishopsgate) was associated in the exhibition.

"The 3rd Division contained some choice specimens of Roman glass from the City, notably a large cylindrical bottle, similar to some from the Troad; a perfume bottle of large size, and dark green glass, coated or spotted with a friable enamel, to resemble a jasper. With these were found two metallic vessels for suspension. The first, a bowl of yellow metal, with dentated edge, which had been used as a lamp. Some unctuous substance still remained within when brought to light. The other, a vessel 6 ins. in diameter, of thin bronze, upright walls, and a turnover edge, with two iron ears and a small plate of bronze rivetted within to stop a flaw. In company, the cover of a cinerary urn was also discovered. The larger portion of a rare poculum, of light blue glass (3 ins. by 3½ ins.), dented, and ornamented with lines of raised enamel, found with a very fine Upchurch urn within the boundaries of the Roman wall, closed the exhibition; the exhibitor asking whether, from these intramural interments, some arguments for the gradual spread of Roman London, northward and north-westward, might not be gathered?"

Mr. Horman Fisher exhibited two examples of the *Couteau de Chasse*, one of which is believed to have belonged to Admiral Blake; but Mr. Cuming considered the date to be somewhat earlier.

The Chairman then read the following paper:—

SAINT CHRISTOPHER.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

Few legends in the middle ages were more popular than that of St. Christopher, and few effigies more familiar to the eyes of the populace than that of the gigantic Canaanite, who, before his conversion, was called Reprobis. The leading incidents of his exciting story have already been narrated in our *Journal* (iii, 85), so that it is needless to repeat them here, except so far as they may elucidate and bear directly on the representations of the saint, to which reference will now be made. When we think of the many advantages which flowed from the act of gazing on the likeness of holy Christopher, we cease to wonder at the frequency of his presence in sacred buildings, and in the form of signacula or tokens to be worn about the person, in the manner of Chaucer's yeoman, who had—

“A Christofre on his brest of silver schene”.

Pewter signs of the saint, of fourteenth and fifteenth century date, have been found in London; and I exhibit an oval medal of brass of the seventeenth century, on which he is portrayed, with the nude infant on his left shoulder, and holding in his right hand the miraculous foliferous staff; and to prevent doubt as to who is intended, the piece is inscribed S. CHRISTOFANVS. On the reverse of the medal is a figure of S. ROSALIA. Sir Thomas Browne, in his *Vulgar Errors* (v. 16), tells us, “St. Christopher, before his martyrdom, requested of God that wherever his body was, the place should be free from pestilence, mischiefs, and infection;” and therefore his picture or portrait was usually placed in public ways, and at the entrance of towns and churches, according to the received distich—

“Christophorum videas, postero tutus eris”.

In the porch of St. Mark's, Venice, is a bust in mosaic of St. Christopher, accompanied by the subjoined couplet:—

“Christophori Sancti speciem quicumque tueris
 Illo namque die nullo languore tenetur.”
 (Whosoever sees the likeness of St. Christopher
 Shall that day feel no weariness.)

And in the same spirit speak the lines beneath the famous old woodcut of the saint, dated 1423—

“Christofori faciem die quacumque tueris
 Illo nempe die morte mala non morieris.”
 (The day that you see Christopher's face,
 That day shall you not die an evil death.)

Erasmus, in his *Praise of Folly*, records the popular belief that if persons paid their devotions to St. Christopher in the early morning

they were secure from death throughout the day ; and in his *Colloquy on a Soldier's Life* he alludes to the custom of soldiers drawing on their tents with charcoal the image of St. Christopher, doubtless with the hope of securing his protection. And in connection with military matters, it may here be mentioned that St. George and St. Christopher stand *vis-a-vis* on the magnificent sword blade engraved by Albert Durer (1495), and of which a copy is given in Meyrick's *Ancient Armour*, pl. cii ; and in the same work (pl. lxx) is a breastplate of the time of Elizabeth, on which is engraved a graceful figure of the saint, with the nude Saviour on his right shoulder. Under the head of *Helpers*, Naogeorgus, or rather his translator, Barnabe Googe, tells us in the *Popish Kingdom*, 1570 (fol. 99)—

“ Saint Nicolas keepes the mariners from daunger and diseases,
That beaten are with boystrous waves, and tost in dreadfull seas.
Great Chrystopher, that painted is with body big and tall,
Doth even the same, who doth preserve and keepe his servants all
From fearefull terrours of the night, and makes them well to rest ;
By whom they also all their life with divers joyes are blest.”

The most striking scenes in the career of St. Christopher were frequently crowded into one picture, as in that at Shorwell Church, Isle of Wight, but the crowning feat of his eventful life was the grand motive of every design, namely, his bearing the child Jesus through the river on his shoulder, and guided by the light of the lantern, held by the venerable hermit, who had previously illumined his mind regarding Divine truth and salvation. Delineations of the acts and deeds of St. Christopher must have once been abundant on the walls of our churches, as traces of them have been met with in fifteen different counties, and in over double that number of edifices, as the subjoined list will show :

<i>Berkshire :</i>	<i>Kent :</i>	<i>Suffolk :</i>
St. Lawrence, Reading	Canterbury Cathedral	Belton
<i>Cheshire :</i>	Rochester Cathedral	Fritton
Gawsworth	<i>Lincolnshire :</i>	St. James, South Elm-
<i>Devonshire :</i>	Barkston	ham
Cullumpton	<i>Norfolk :</i>	<i>Surrey :</i>
Whimple	Brisley ⁵	Croydon ⁶
<i>Dorsetshire :</i>	Crosthwait	Newdigate
Melcombe-Horsey	Drayton	<i>Sussex :</i>
<i>Essex :</i>	Fritton	Stedham
Feering ¹	Norwich {	<i>Wiltshire :</i>
<i>Hampshire :</i>		Ditteridge
East Meon	{ St. Ethel-	Salisbury, Hungerford
Shorwell, I. of Wight. ²		Chapel
Winchester {	Sedgeford	Somerford Keynes
	Stow Bardolph	Wilsford
	Wells	
<i>Hertfordshire :</i>	Wimbotsham	
Watford ¹	<i>Oxfordshire :</i> [bury	
	Horley Church, Ban-	

¹ *Journal*, ii, p. 190.² *Ib.*, iii, 85.³ *Ib.*, x, 80.⁴ *Ib.*, iv, 71.⁵ *Ib.*, iii, 324.⁶ *Ib.*, ii, 144.

Copies of the frescoes at Shorwell, Isle of Wight, St. John's, Winchester, and Newdigate, Surrey, have already been exhibited to the Association, and I would now submit for inspection a sketch by Mr. Watling of the painting of St. Christopher on the north wall of the nave of Fritton Church, Suffolk. This effective picture appears to have been executed in the fifteenth century, and presents some rather peculiar features that call for special comment. The effigy is, as usual, of gigantic proportions; the novelties occur in the details. The overwhelming majority of the figures of St. Christopher that I have inspected have been bareheaded, but this one at Fritton wears a cap, which might well pass for a royal crown. The upper part is of a red colour, the turned up and spreading rim yellow. The fresco on the south wall of Sedgeford Church, Norfolk, also represents the saint with a crown-like cap, but of a different fashion than the one under review. The lusty giant is clothed in a long-sleeved tunic, which descends but little below the hips, and fits closely about the waist, and varies altogether in mode from the flowing drapery with which he is commonly vested. It seems to be of various hues—blue, white, red, and brown. The saint grasps the upper part of a long stout staff with his right hand, and this said staff is a very odd-looking affair. Its ornamented globose head may be compared with that of the rugged stem held by Christopher on a sepulchral brass, dated 1499, in St. Mary's Church, Week or Wyke, Hants, but the base is of rare, if not unique form, being made like the forked tail of a fish, and certainly never intended as a representation of the root of a tree, as is the case in the fresco at Shorwell, and in the wood block of 1423. Turning from Christopher to the Holy Infant he upholds on his left shoulder, we shall be at once struck by the large size of the nimbus surrounding the Divine head. The field of this nimbus is blue, the cross, with its broad ends, brown. The child's robe is green. In its left hand is the royal orb, and the right is raised in the act of benediction. Floating in the blue river are several large red fish, that seem to play round the legs of the hero. The background of the picture is sprinkled with ermine spots and quatrefoils, and it seems to be surrounded by a border of meanders. There is a boldness and action about the whole design that renders it of peculiar interest, and distinguishes it from others of its class.

Attention has just been pointed to the crown-shaped cap of St. Christopher in the fifteenth century fresco at Sedgeford Church, Norfolk, but this is not the only curious feature in the picture which merits remark. The long and slender staff held in the right hand of the giant is surmounted by a cross, and instead of an infant of normal type being seated on his shoulder, a triple-headed child, or rather a group of tri-une children are pressed to his left breast. This group is clearly symbolic of the Blessed Trinity, the third member of which was

occasionally, from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries, represented in the human form. There is an engraving of this extraordinary fresco in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* for April 1843, p. 381.

Beyond the mural paintings above enumerated, the story of St. Christopher is shown in the stained glass windows at All Saints, North Street, York; Cossey Hall Chapel, Norfolk; and at West Wickham Church, Kent. In the latter instance, the giant appears as a decrepit old man, and lacking all the sprightly air and muscular vigour manifested in the Fritton limning.

Although the sculptor has not been as busy as the painter in illustrating the legend of St. Christopher, he has not been quite idle. A very curious and early carved stone image of the saint was discovered long since in Norwich Castle, and of which there is an engraving in the *Archæologia*, vol. xii, pl. 25. He also appears in bas-relief in a niche in Colchester Castle.¹ Christopher, wading through the water with his sacred burden on his shoulder, occurs among the bas-reliefs on the tomb of Henry VII at Westminster. But the most renowned statue of our great hero is the one of wood, formerly standing at the western entrance of the church of Nôtre Dame at Paris, and which was wrought at the cost of Antoine des Essars in 1413, and was in 1785 removed from its old resting place. Erasmus, in his *Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake*, makes *Menedemus* declare he has "seen Christopher at Paris, who is not merely a waggon's load, or a colossus, but just equal to a mountain". And the same author speaks again of this wooden giant in his *Colloquy* called *The Shipwreck*, when describing how one of the passengers promised St. Christopher "a wax image as great as himself" should he escape death. Other gifts than waxen images were occasionally brought to Christopher, for we read in the *World of Wonders*, 1607, p. 308, that a cork was offered to the saint in Tourain for the cure of "a certain sore which useth to be in the end of men's fingers, the white flaw", or, as it is now called, whitlow.

In the Roman church the festival of St. Christopher falls on July 25, and in our *Journal* (ii, 144) is printed a Latin hymn, composed in his honour. The baneberry or herb Christopher (*Actæa Spicata*) is sacred to the saint in question. And it is well to note here that there is an old conceit that the dory bears the marks of his finger and thumb, he having caught such a fish when wading through an arm of the sea.

A few churches in England are dedicated to St. Christopher—viz., Aylisbeare, Devonshire; Baunton, Gloucestershire; Willingate Doe, Essex; and Winfrith-Newburgh, Dorsetshire. And until the year 1781 there was an old church of St. Christopher in Threadneedle Street, which was then taken down to make room for the Bank of England.

¹ See Buckler's *Colchester Castle and Roman Building*, 1877, p. 53.

St. Christopher was adopted as a house sign in the middle ages. Stow enumerates the "Christopher" among the "many fair inns for receipt of travellers" on the east side of the High Street, Southwark. Taylor, the water poet, mentions the same sign at Eton, and there is a like one at Bath at the present day. St. Christopher has from old time been the patron of Brunswick, and he gives name to one of the Caribbee Islands, vulgarly called St. Kitt's.

But, after all, who was this famous St. Christopher of whom we hear so much? He who was so greatly honoured, so frequently invoked, so devoutly worshipped, and whose protection was so eagerly sought against pestilence, sudden and non-natural death, shipwreck, and terrors of the night, fatigue, and other human ills, and by those who engaged in country sports, hunting, fishing, etc. The *Legenda Aurea* describes this mighty warrior as twelve cubits high, and possessed of Herculean strength. There are circumstantial details of his resolve to serve the most powerful master he could find; of his employment, first by a heathen and then a Christian monarch; of his interview and journey with the prince of darkness; of his meeting with a wayside cross of wood; of his conversion to the true faith by an aged hermit; of his labours of bearing, not only pilgrims, but the very Saviour of the world across the turbulent river; and finally his martyrdom by decollation in Lycia about the year 250, and the preservation of a portion of his beard at Wittenberg, on the Elbe.¹ There are hosts of effigies of the gigantic Canaanite; his name and fame have spread over the whole earth, and are familiar to every ear. It seems almost cruel to shatter a treasured idol, to destroy an admirable story, so complete in all its parts; but if truth and justice may prevail, the legend of St. Christopher must be pronounced a mere myth, an allegory, a pious fable, a pure invention, baseless as the wildest dream that ever entered into a frenzied brain, and as illusive and unsubstantial as an Eastern mirage.

Mr. Brock, Mr. Birch, the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, and Mr. H. Jenner, took part in the discussion which ensued.

Mr. Birch read a report upon the "Compotus Rolls of the Manor of Oundle", in the possession of the Association. This report will be printed at a future opportunity. Mr. Birch also read Mr. W. C. Dymond's paper on "A Group of Cumbrian Megaliths", and exhibited the very carefully executed plans with which the paper was illustrated. The paper, with accompanying Plates, has been printed in the current number of the *Journal*, at pp. 31-36.

¹ *Gent. Mag.*, Dec. 1839, p. 559.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 6TH.

H. S. CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. W. G. Smith, 15 Mildmay Grove, was duly elected an associate.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the Society for the "*Archæologia Cambrensis*", January 1878, 4th Series, No. 33.

Mr. Henry Prigg, of Bury St. Edmund's, forwarded for exhibition the following objects:—1. A Saxon bronze, gilt, square-headed fibula, 6 inches long. In form and design it resembles the examples found by the Hon. R. C. Neville in the Saxon cemetery at Great Wilbraham, Cambs., and more especially that figured No. 158, Plate 10, *Saxon Obsequies*. The absence of grotesque masks, so common in the larger Saxon cruciform and square-headed fibulæ, together with the introduction of the triangle, parallelogram, and cable-ornament in the specimen exhibited, indicates a somewhat late date. The angles of the head of this fibula, together with the lateral and terminal projectments, were formerly covered with thin plates of silver. Two only now remain. The head is further ornamented with arrow-head and circular punchings.

2. A richly gilt fragment of late Saxon bronze work. It may have been a portion of a girdle-fastening, or even of a book-clasp. The character of the ornament exhibits an advance upon that of the fibula, flowers of a simple form being prominent features in the design.

3. The lower part of a key-shaped ornament of a rather more elaborate form than those usually found in the East Anglian cemeteries. It was formerly gilt.

Six portions of the metal frames of gypsires.

A circular plaque of speculum-metal, $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches in diameter, bearing in relief the busts of Charles I and his Queen, and around the legend,

* CAR. ET. MAR. D. G. ANGL. FRANC. ET. HIBER. RR.

An imperfect wheel-dagger. The blade is 10 ins. long, and lozenge-shaped in section. The guard is of brass, and 2 ins. in diameter.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a variety of remains exhumed from the site of Tintern Abbey. Among them several tiles of remarkable fabric, fine design, and bold outline, resembling in many respects those from Keynsham Abbey, exhibited not long ago to the Association. They were referred to the middle of the fourteenth century.

Mr. C. H. Luxmore exhibited a group of ornamental iron work, of highly enriched design and rare character, obtained in Spain, with many other choice relics. The following brief notice will give a slight idea of the interesting nature of the specimens submitted:—Crochet, 10 ins. long, composed of leaves, spreading from a rather broad stem,

each incised vein terminating in a punched ball. The contour and graceful curves and undulations displayed in this remarkable object is truly admirable; date, middle of the fourteenth century. On the stem is attached a label, of which the subjoined is a copy: "[Uno] de los remates de las rejas de la casa de los Maldonados titulada casa de las conchas en Sala Mexicana Epoca de los Reyes Catolicos". The objects which follow are all of the sixteenth century, and fine examples of *appliqué* embellishments. Ancient arched crown of Spain, extreme measurement, height, $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins., width, $7\frac{1}{4}$ ins. Mr. Luxmore believes that this royal emblem formed the front portion of a crest or gallery, surrounding the top edge of a clock, but it is more likely to be an ornament from the cover of a large book, of about the year 1500. Plaque, about 5 ins. square, perforated with an elaborate arabesque pattern, which, as well as the above crown, has been gilt. It is probably from the cover of a book, of *circa* 1500. Large plaque, once probably rivetted on to the front of a massive coffer. Its motive is a bold scroll pattern, with a sort of pelta-shaped device at top, the central portion of which terminates in a cross. Shield-formed plaque, the perforations being of a more elaborate and delicate description than the last. It is ensigned with an open crown or coronet. This elegant plaque, in all likelihood, was employed as a lock-escutcheon of a large cabinet or armoire. Lock-escutcheon from a great coffer, apparently in the form of a Gothic M, the large keyhole having an S on either side, the letters standing for Santa Maria. The monogram, if it be one, is ensigned with a rather fanciful open crown. Lock-escutcheon, from a royal coffer or cabinet. It is of bold *repoussé* and engraved work, and represents the two-headed Imperial eagle ensigned with an arched crown. It is of smaller size than the example submitted by Mr. Luxmore at the last meeting, but is of much richer character. Lock-escutcheon, representing the pot of three lilies, so frequently shown in pictures of the Salutation. This strictly religious motive would indicate that the escutcheon was fixed to some piece of ecclesiastical furniture. Lock-escutcheon of a casket, of bold yet graceful scroll pattern. The opening for the key is remarkably narrow and pointed at top and bottom. This is the latest object in the group, and must be assigned to the end of the sixteenth century.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, V.P., exhibited the following London finds:—Nearly half of a very fine mortarium of Samian ware, about $8\frac{1}{4}$ ins. in diameter at the rim, with a lion-head spout, from Walbrook. Mortaria of similar character are mentioned in this *Journal*, vii, 86, xix, 139. Ancient candle holder of oolitic stone, $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins. high. It is octangular, and shaped somewhat like a dice box, but broader at the base than at the top, from the Temple. For notice of stone candle-holders see *Journal*, xxii, 105. Bottle of highly-fired, reddish-brown

earthenware, covered with a yellowish green glare, $3\frac{1}{8}$ ins. high; date (apparently) fourteenth century; Bishopsgate Street. Candlestick of brass, 11 ins. high, the base full $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins. in diameter. It is of rather graceful proportions, and is furnished with a slider and knob for raising the candle; date, seventeenth century. Discovered on the site of St. Mildred's Church, Poultry. Square lantern, with three panes of glass, the folding frame richly stamped. It is of Nuremburg latten of the seventeenth century. This pretty example may be compared with others described in our *Journal*, xxix, 70.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., exhibited several relics also from Old London. Among these was a jug glazed green on yellow houseware, of late thirteenth century date, Norman-like in form. It is 14 ins. high, and is ornamented with fleurs-de-lys, arranged in a row around the upper part, while the bowl of the vessel has another row of projecting ornaments, in the form of cockleshells. It was found last autumn in Mincing Lane, with many examples of Roman pottery of good form, coins of Domitian, Antoninus Pius, etc. Mr. Brock also produced some fragments of a Roman tessellated pavement, found the day previously close to the church of St. Clement, Eastcheap. It was part of a border of small neatly-laid tesserae, formed of squared fragments of hard Roman brick.

Mr. Birch exhibited a series of early charters, in the possession of T. F. Halsey, Esq., M.P., who had kindly placed them at his service for this purpose. The account of them will be printed on a future occasion.

Mr. W. Smith, F.L.S., exhibited a further series of prehistoric objects, found at Dunstable, consisting principally of flint picks, chisels, adzes, scrapers, and agricultural implements, with a Roman lamp of some interest.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock exhibited a water-coloured drawing of a variety of ancient relics from British dwellings, of which the following is a list:—A bone knife, needle, bodkins, etc., holed pottery, a sandstone rubbing stone and flint muller; lip of a large cowry, cut from the shell, and used perhaps as a rasp or polisher; a chalk whorl—a clay weight apparently—piece of a very rude sandstone vessel of some kind; a strike-a-light, a whetstone, also two iron arrow heads, from a Roman encampment.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen, C.E., read a paper on "Interlaced Crosses", which will be printed on a future occasion. Mr. Brock, Mr. Birch, Mr. Morgan, and Mr. Grover took part in the discussion which ensued.

The Chairman read a paper on "Olden Money Bags", and exhibited several specimens in illustration of his remarks.

The Rev. Alexander Taylor testified to several of the interesting facts which the author had introduced into his papers.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

Notes on the Churches of Kent, by the late Sir Stephen Glynne, Bart. (London: John Murray. 1877.)—There is probably no county in England so rich in fine and varied churches as is Kent. Its two cathedrals, the great churches of Northfleet, Chartham, Hawkhurst, St. Margaret at Cliffe, Hythe, New Romney, Wingham, Ash, and Eastry; the exquisite little Romanesque gem at Barfreston, the beautiful Late First-pointed church of Stone (said to be by the architect of Westminster Abbey), and many others, present features interesting alike to ecclesiologist, antiquary, or artist, and the present volume will be of the greatest use as a guide to their peculiarities. According to the preface, the late Sir Stephen Glynne made notes on upwards of 5,530 churches, and, of these, 312 are included in this volume. The notes are concise to a degree. Every peculiarity is jotted down, but few words being wasted in the process, and there can be but few noteworthy features in the churches surveyed by him which he suffered to escape his eye. Under each heading a full description is given of the ground plan, style or styles, form of tower or spire, of pillars, arches, windows, and of font, together with notes of monuments, brasses, inscriptions, hagioscopes, fragments of rood lofts, or other peculiarities. As the notes range over a period of more than forty years (ending with 1874), many of the churches were caught in their unrestored state, and records are therefore preserved of many things now lost. The author's views on restoration may be easily gathered from the fact that the one church to which he gives unqualified praise in that respect is that of Preston-next-Wingham (restored in 1857), of which he says, "This church presents quite a model of successful restoration, in the true spirit of what should be applied to a village church, without unnecessary rebuilding or the application of unsuitable ornamentation, in contravention of the original character and prevailing style of the country". And anyone who has seen that church will readily agree with him, and will recognise there as complete a return as possible to the state thereof before the days when the "renaissance", the "reformation", and other

abominations began to work their wicked will upon the churches of England. With the preservation of "churchwarden" architecture and post-Gothic work generally, Sir Stephen Glynne had evidently but little sympathy. He clearly belonged to the school represented by the Ecclesiological Society, with which everything before Middle Pointed (or "Decorated") was but a struggle after as yet unattained good, namely, Middle Pointed perfection, and Third Pointed (or "Perpendicular") was but a decline and falling away from righteousness, while anything after that was "ugly modern work". But these his opinions are by no means obtrusive, and *facts*, carefully recorded, with but few comments, fill the book. It is a pity that some sort of order was not preserved in the arrangement of the notes. The churches might have been arranged in order of the dates of the author's visits, thereby forming some sort of diary of his ecclesiological views, or under some geographical disposition, thereby showing the prevalence of styles in various districts, and in many cases enabling a reader to form valuable comparisons. As it is, there is no order whatever, and a gazetteer and map of Kent are necessary for a real study of the notes. The editor, whose initials "W. H. G." are not difficult to decipher, has had the valuable assistance of Archdeacon Harrison and Canon Robertson in preparing the volume for the press, and they have both added supplementary notes of restorations, etc. The illustrations are excellent, particularly those of Stone, Brabourne, and Hawkhurst; and the only fault to be found with them is that they are so few in number. It is a pity that Sir Stephen Glynne omitted certain churches. Thus he might have easily visited Wickham and Ickham during the same expedition as that which took him to Wingham or Littleborne, and the ruins of Reculver ought certainly to have been noticed, being within an easy walk of several places noted by him. Perhaps his notes of those churches have been lost. It is curious that he does not appear to have seen the singular depression of the chancel of Adisham, nor the early *wooden* pillars between the nave and south aisle of Wingham, both of which might have found a place among the noteworthy features of these churches; and indeed he is often less correct in such apparently easily-noticed points than in minuter details of mouldings and capitals. The good people of Preston-next-Wingham, for instance, have doubtless never noticed that the porch door has toothed mouldings, and would no doubt be astonished to hear that the chancel arch stood upon "*quasi* pilasters, having moulded imposts with chamfered angles", and (except perhaps the bricklayer and the carpenter) would wonder what he meant; but they would be very well able to tell him that there was only *one* square-headed window in the north aisle, and that the priest's door is *pointed*, and not *trefoiled*, as well as one or two other facts that he has mistaken. In this respect we can only judge



from his notes of a church which we know intimately as to what may be the case in those of other churches. But, for all that, the book is most useful, and it would be obviously unfair to criticise, as a finished production brought out under the author's own eyes, these notes published by others three years after those eyes have, to the great loss of ecclesiology, been closed in death.

Repairs at Denbigh Castle.—The work of propping up the ancient ruins proceeds with regularity. A buttress has been built against the eastern side of the great front entrance-arch. Immediately underneath, and resting upon the old drawbridge hinge-stones, have been built two massive piers. These run up to the top and support the mass of overhanging material which is behind the arch, and not supported by it. The piers are built of rubble-work; that is, stones partly dressed, and not faced smooth like the old building stones; so that, though of necessity they are close to, and seem at first sight to be part of, the building, they can be easily distinguished from the ancient work. There are also openings in the mass in two or three places, so that the line of the old work can be distinctly seen. As is known to many, this great entrance-gateway is composed of a series of bold arches. The outer or ornamental one is left in all its grandeur; but in order to secure the massive stone framework above, which contains, as is supposed, the figure of the Earl of Leicester, it has been necessary to repair and repin the two inner arches, and that has been very skilfully done. One of these arches had lost the keystones, and had a great hole above it that was comparatively easy to repair; but the other retained several of the top stones, including the keystone, while it had lost nearly all the stones on either side. To insert stones on the right side and left of an arch, without disturbing the top stones or the foundation stones, must be seen to be a task; but when it is added that formerly drawbridge-chains and weights used to go up and down through portions of this arch, the difficulty is increased. These holes for the drawbridge-weights were some 12 inches wide by 18 to 20 inches long, and the arch, which cut across them in a stooping direction, would be not more than 2 feet in width; but this seemingly difficult task has been very cleverly accomplished. Over the top of the ancient keep, where the flagstaff is hoisted, it is intended to rail round a space, and provide an easy ascent, for from thence a most magnificent view of the vale down to Rhyl can be obtained. The other work consists of pillars in a few places on the western side, to support the dangerous places, and make them safe at every point. It is intended to remove the vegetation which now covers some of the walls, and to plaster over the tops with tar or asphalt, so as to prevent the grass from growing.

The Folk-Lore Society, for Collecting and Printing Relics of Popular Antiquities.—That there is a wide-spread and growing interest in our popular antiquities, and an increasing desire to preserve the fast-fading relics of our popular fictions and traditions, legendary ballads, local proverbial sayings, superstitions, and old customs, is manifest from the number of provincial newspapers in which a "Folk-Lore column" now forms a prominent feature. The suggestion, which has of late been strongly urged, that the want of a common centre where these scattered materials may be brought together, sifted, arranged, and the most important printed for future use, should be met by the formation of a society established for this purpose, is about to be carried into effect by the Folk-Lore Society, founded on the principle so successfully adopted by the Camden and similar Societies.

The Folk-Lore Society will gather together the folk-lore articles scattered throughout English literature, and such communications on the same subject as may be forwarded direct to the Society, and select therefrom articles of special interest for publication by the Society; and as opportunities arise, it will print such accounts of the folk-lore of the colonies, and also of other countries, as may serve to illustrate and explain that of our own. As the Society increases, and its means further develope, it is intended to extend the field of its labours so as to include the collection and publication of the folk-lore of aboriginal peoples. It is well known that much of this exists in manuscript wholly unavailable to the student, and only awaiting the means of publication. Every publication of the Society will be under careful revision, and arrangements will be made to insure, as far as possible, the genuineness of all matter admitted into the archives of the Society. Mr. Thoms has kindly consented to act as the Director of the Society *pro tem*. The annual subscription is one guinea, payable on the 1st of January, which will entitle members to receive the publications of the Society. Any ladies or gentlemen desirous of joining the Society are requested to communicate with the Honorary Secretary, Mr. G. Laurence Gomme, 26 Merthyr Terrace, Castelnau, Barnes, S.W.

THE JOURNAL

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British Archaeological Association.

JUNE 1878.

PEN-Y-GAER, CHIEFLY IN CONNECTION WITH CARACTACUS, AND OTHER BRITISH REMAINS IN NORTH WALES.

BY T. F. DILLON CROKER, ESQ., F.S.A.

SINCE our Congress this year is held in the famous Vale of Llangollen, I have been desirous to select a subject for a short paper on some point of interest connected with North Wales, and it has occurred to me that something might be said in reference to Pen-y-Gaer ("the summit of the fort"), near Cerrig-y-Druidion ("the stones of the brave"), about twenty miles from this spot.

When passing the remains in question, the mind naturally reverts to the stirring incidents relating to the conquest of Caractacus (or Caradoc) by the Romans, and the betrayal of that brave old British king by Cartismandua. I regret to say that about the actual ruin *per se*, I find the facts to be gathered are, like the ruin itself, not considerable. The most important reference that I have found occurs in a little volume entitled *Remarks upon North Wales, being the Result of Sixteen Tours through that part of the Principality*, by W. Hutton, F.A.S.S. (Birmingham, 1803). The writer thus describes these remains: "Upon the first hill east of the village of Cerrig-y-Druidion, and distant one mile, is Pen Gweryn, where the antiquary will be pleased with the small remains of a castle belonging to the celebrated Caractacus. As the traveller approaches the top of the hill, which is of easy ascent, he first comes to a trench about 36 feet wide. A small part of the soil having

been thrown up on the outside, constitutes a mound 3 feet high; but the greater part being discharged on the inner side, forms a rampart about 15 feet from the bottom of the trench. This rampart encircles the upper part of the hill, rather of an oval form; is everywhere visible, in some places nearly perfect, and encloses six or seven acres.

"Ascending 60 or 70 feet more, he next meets with the foundation of the wall, about 6 feet thick, which forms the upper area, running regular with the trench below, and enclosing four or five acres. From the thickness of the wall, now level with the ground, we may reasonably conclude it ran 12 or 14 feet high. As one part of the area is higher than the other, it points out the exact spot where the castle stood, nothing of which remains. The whole is a pasture. The situation is on a considerable hill, but not a mountain. The prospects are extensive, but barren, and its affinity to Cerrig-y-Druidion proves that the Prince and the priests were upon friendly terms."

I have been unable to discover any reference to the British King by any British historian of the period, excepting a comparatively unimportant allusion to him in the *Triads*; therefore I trust I may be pardoned should I fly off somewhat from the subject, and refer rather more to the events in connection with the fortress than to the fortress itself; and further, that I may be allowed to shelter myself by one or two brief quotations.

In the year 47 we find the south-eastern part of Britain had been subjugated by the Roman invaders; but the Ordovices and Silures, inhabitants of North and South Wales, always famous for their bravery (witness their gallant bearing at Alma in our own time), still held Cambria; and although, as I have stated, the Romans were the possessors of a great portion of Britain, the Roman power under the Emperor Claudius was not shining with the same brilliancy as formerly. Hume tells us that "the other Britons, under the command of Caractacus or Caradog, still maintained an obstinate resistance, and the Romans made little progress against them till Ostorius Scapula was sent over to command the Roman armies. Under this commander Roman camps were established on the Avon and Severn; the Iceni were reduced after a desperate and brilliant struggle, and the league of the Brigantes were surprised and dispersed by

the rapid march of Ostorius, and the Roman eagles pervaded the greater part of Britain. But the Silures and Ordovices still held out."

Upon referring to Williams' *Cymry* we are told that "In a convention of the country and neighbouring country, under all the limits of the nation of the Cymry, Caradog, the son of Brân, was invested with the martial sovereignty of all the Isle of Britain, that he might oppose the invasion of the Romans. All the Britons, from king to vassal, enlisted under his banner, at the call of the country, against foe and depredation." After nine years' desperate fighting, Caractacus was compelled to retreat towards North Wales, the country of the Ordovices, when a decisive battle was fought, and Caractacus was defeated, although at the same time it must be fully understood that Cambria itself still remained in the hands of the British. The exact spot of this great battle has always been a subject of controversy; and is likely to remain so, there being nothing to enable us to decide its precise position. Tacitus says in his *Annals* (No. xii), speaking of Caractacus, that "he posted himself on a spot to which the approaches were as advantageous to his own troops as they were perplexing to us. He then threw up, on the more accessible parts of the highest hills, a rampart of stones, below and in front of which was a river difficult to ford. Picked men showed themselves before the ramparts." However, the Roman arms prevailed, and Caractacus, after bravely defending his country for nine years, was compelled to fly.

Pen-y-Gaer was at this time occupied by Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, the inhabitants of the country lying between the Humber and the Tyne. To Pen-y-Gaer Caractacus fled, demanding sanctuary of his stepmother, the Queen, for himself and his family. Cartismandua is said to have hated her stepson, and being anxious to ingratiate herself with the conquerors, she most treacherously ordered the royal fugitives to be put in chains, and she subsequently delivered them up to the Romans :

"The cry is heard, the long, loud wail,
O'er flood and plain, o'er hill and dale :
It is the heart of Cymru bleeds
For fallen sons and treacherous deeds.
Dismay dwells in Caradoc's halls ;
The royal minstrel doleful calls
Forth from his harp a strain his own sad heart appals."

Had the brave but unfortunate British King not fled to Pen-y-Gaer, he might possibly have been ignominiously slain, and history would have lost one of her brightest pages. I allude to the memorable speech made by the prisoner before his conqueror, the Emperor Claudius, at Rome, and the magnanimous conduct of the latter. The full account of this will be found in Hoare's *Giraldus*, p. 105. With the true generosity of a great nature, Claudius immediately released Caractacus and all the members of his family, and thus added to his crown perhaps its brightest jewel, the quality of mercy. Caractacus is stated to have said, when viewing Rome, "Is it possible that the Romans, who possess such splendid palaces at home, can envy me my humble cottage in Britain?"

"And then his thoughts would wander back to those
Old days when in Glamorgan, as a boy,
He gazed upon the peaceful mountain herd,
And never dream'd of bloody times to come,
And treachery at Cartismandua's hand;
Or when he watch'd, near proud Eryri's brow,
Some hungry eagle circling round her prey,
Ne'er saw foreshadowed in that airy flight
The Roman eagles destined to swoop down
Triumphant o'er the country of his birth."

These lines occur in a fragmentary poem entitled *Caractacus*.

There is an amount of interest attached to the stay of Caractacus in Rome, in connection with the history of Christianity. Caractacus and his family were at Rome at the same time as St. Paul, and tradition asserts that two of the relatives of the British King (a daughter and her husband) were Christian converts, and that they are identified with the Claudia and Pudens mentioned in St. Paul's 2nd Epistle to Timothy, chapter iv, verse 21.

We are informed by the author of a most interesting work entitled *Welsh Sketches, chiefly Ecclesiastical* (in the first Series), that "Caractacus had another daughter, Eurgain, who formed a college of twelve religious persons, called after her own name, 'Cor Eurgain'. She was married to Sarllog, lord of Caer Sarllog, the present Old Sarum." It has been conjectured by some writers on the subject, that Brân, the father of Caractacus, was the first to introduce Christianity into this country.

Claudia, previously referred to, must have possessed the

proverbial beauty of the Welsh women of the present day, for we find the poet Martial Valerius addressing her in the following complimentary lines :¹

“Claudia cœruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis
Edita, cur Latiae pectora plebis habet.
Quale decus formæ ? Romanam credere matres
Italides possunt, Atthides esse suam.”²

Such British remains as those I have alluded to are the only remnants we have in connection with many heroes and incidents of the past. Wales is particularly rich in these remains, although many, so far as I have been able to discover, have received but little attention at the hands of the archæologist. Almost every mountain range in Wales, from Snowdon to Plinlimmon, contains some evidences of the British aborigines. It would occupy too much time to enlarge upon the subject on the present occasion ; but I would point, *en passant*, to Dinas Emrys, Dinas Ddinlle, Dinas Dinorthen, and the surrounding neighbourhood, Dinas Dinorwic, Dinas Mawr, and many others. Dinas Emrys, on a rock at the end of Llyn-y-Ddinas, it may be remembered, is said to have been the place to which Vortigern retired after he had trusted the “treacherous Saxons, and accepted the hand of Rowena”. Mr. Timbs tells us that “the fatal feast had taken place on Salisbury Plain, and Hengist’s awful words, ‘Take your swords’, had been followed by the massacre of three hundred and sixty British nobles ; and their imprudent, weak Prince, who had suffered himself to be lured by beauty, had been dragged captive to a dungeon till he yielded to all the demands of the victors. Sullen, but yet not quite subdued, Vortigern summoned to his aid all the sages of his kingdom, and by their advice commenced the construction of a fortress in Nant Gwynant, which was to secure him against attacks, and make him independent of his foes.”

And this subject would bring us to the incidents of the legend of the birth of Merlin (or Merddlyn), etc. Indeed the remains of Dinas Emrys would form the subject of a most interesting paper. Dinas Ddinlle overlooks the sea,

¹ Lib. i, Epigram 53.

² Although born among the blue-eyed Britons, how fully has Claudia Rufina the intelligence of the Roman people ! What beauty is hers ! The matrons of Italy might take her for a Roman ; those of Attica for an Athenian.

and is said to have been connected with Segontium (Caernarfon) during the occupation of the Romans, although it bears evident traces of British origin, and has a double range of escarpments. Near Llyn Padarn are the remains of Dinas Dinorwic and Dinas Mawr, and in the immediate neighbourhood are several highly interesting Druidic and other ruins. A few miles on the road from Caernarfon to Pwllheli is the British fortress of Dinorthen, and many other British traces on the surrounding heights. There are the remains of an ancient British fort called Castell Corndochon, on the summit of a crag not far from Llanuwchllyn—respecting which no historical facts appear to be known, and there is an eminence near Caer Gai where there has been a fort belonging to Cai Hir ap Cymyr, or, according to Spenser's *Faerie Queen*, Timon, the foster father of King Arthur. Several Roman coins have at various times been dug up in the neighbourhood, but little more is known relative to Caer Gai, except that we read in Vaughan's sketch of the history of Merionethshire that a stone was found with the inscription, "Hic jacet Salvianus Bursocavi filius Cupe-tian." And so I might continue enlarging on the British remains in which this country is so rich, but I have merely mentioned the foregoing to show what a vast field of research may be explored by those anxious to push their archaeological inquiries.

The remains at Pen-y-Gaer should, I consider, not be overlooked, since they are indisputably connected, as I have endeavoured to show, with the history of Britain, and I have no doubt that if they were to be investigated, many points of archaeological interest might be discovered. They may be seen from the road near Cerrig-y-Druidion, standing on the brow of a hill to the east of the Holyhead road. Cerrig-y-Druidion is a place in itself full of interest and antiquarian curiosities, and is referred to at some length by Camden. I have spoken of the site of Cartismandua's fortress as Pen-y-Gaer, that being the name put down in the Ordnance Survey, but it is known in the neighbourhood as *Pengwerwyn*. It would be well could some of my archaeological friends spare time to visit the spot, and investigate thoroughly a place which must always be of interest to the lovers of history and archaeology.

VALLE CRUCIS ABBEY.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A., HON. SECRETARY.

THE charming valley surrounded with pleasant hills which shut out the world beyond, the hardly audible ripple of the flowing streamlet, and the absence of any prospect save of the enclosing hills, alike tell us that this is the site of a monastery for monks of the Cistercian order. They would alone be almost sufficient to record it, were the voice of history silent, and the ruins before us untraceable. Scenes of loveliness like this, upon which nature has bestowed so many charms, indeed breathe of peace and contentment; and we cannot but be sensible of their magic influence, which is enhanced by the thoughts of the white-robed monks wandering through the Gothic arches of their sacred home during the long period of the past. Let us hope that their lives were full of peace, and give all praise to this devoted order of reformed monks, whose influence tuned many minds powerfully for good at the period of their foundation, and for long afterwards.

The picture has a sadder and a sterner aspect which we must not forget. These monks were bound by their vow to rules which, to the temper of our day at least, seem to be of terrible and needless severity; and it is painful to think that the men whose lives were passed within these walls, and whose bones still lie beyond them, spent their days amid the awful silence enforced by the monastic rule. They met at the frugal meal, they walked beside each other in the cloister, they worked together in the field, and slept in the dormitory; but no words were to pass their lips, no words of encouragement from the elder to the younger,—none of sympathy. In the church alone were their voices raised in the service of their simple ritual, and in ordinary conversation for one single half-hour on the Sunday, and in the common parlour. At other times a monk could only speak by permission, and in the presence of the abbot. The naturally uneventful succession of lives thus spent, century after century, doubtless occasioned the scanty record of the history of monastic houses, for they had none; and I need

not remind such an audience as this of the number of those of which we have little more record than that of their foundation and their dissolution.

The foundation of Valle Crucis and its date even have been subjects of much doubt. Sir W. Dugdale, on the authority of Leland,¹ rightly ascribed the foundation to Madoc ap Griffith Maylor, Prince of Powys, but could only assume that this was about A.D. 1200. We are indebted to our associate Mr. Morris C. Jones, the active Hon. Sec. of the Powys-Land Club, for a discovery of no small importance with reference to the history of the abbey. By a process of close reasoning, he has demonstrated that one of the charters supposed by Dugdale to have referred to another building, in reality is the foundation charter of this abbey, granted by Madoc.² We learn by this discovery that Valle Crucis was an offshoot from the less celebrated but parent abbey of Strada Marcella, and that a few monks of that house were the first occupants here. Philip is spoken of as being then the Prior, showing that before the granting of the charter much preliminary work had been done. We may accordingly with confidence consider him as the first Prior, and place him at the commencement of the scanty list of those whose names have been recorded.

The foundation charter is undated, and we are therefore left no nearer to the verification of Dugdale's guess, while Mr. Jones is led in support of his argument to devote much of his reasoning to prove that this spot was known then, and later, by the old sounding title of Llan Egwistle. It may be worth while here to say that one of the latest seals of the abbey, extant in the Herald's Office, of a date early in the sixteenth century, has this name on its legend, thus indicating that even at this late date Valle Crucis was known by its original name.

It is my pleasing duty to adduce evidence, as my contribution to the history of this house, which will effectively determine, not only the date of the foundation, but the original name of the locality; and while it confirms Dugdale's suggestion, it strengthens Mr. Jones' argument. Mr.

¹ *Collectanea*, vol. ii, p. 303.

² This is discussed in a paper in vol. i of *Archæologia Cambrensis*, one of the goodly volumes of the Cambrian Archæological Association, a society to which all antiquaries are deeply indebted for more than thirty years' active and profitable work.



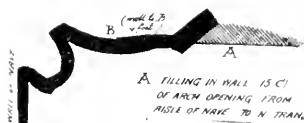
SECTION OF ARCHES
ABOVE CAPITALS
(CHAPELS & TRANSEPT)



SKETCH OF PATTERN OF WINDOW IN
WEST GABLE



FILLING IN WALL 'IS C'
OF ARCH OPENING FROM
SIDE OF NAVE



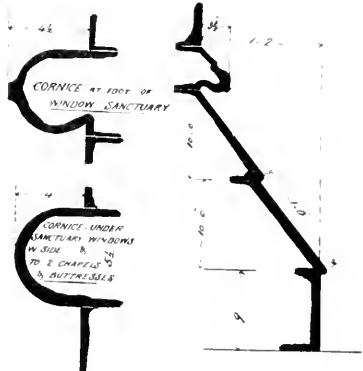
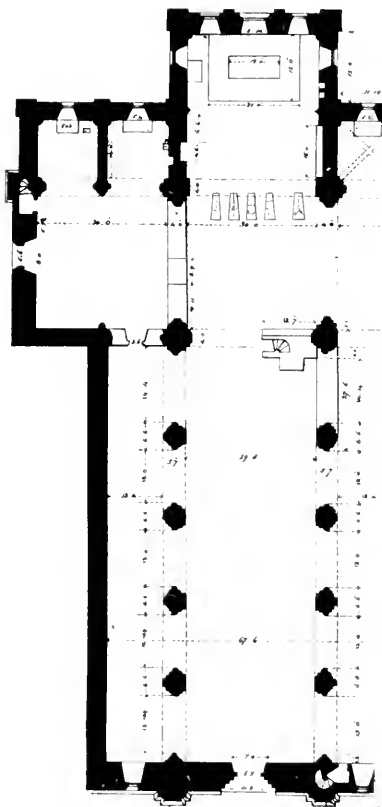
FILLING IN WALL 'IS C'
OF ARCH OPENING FROM
SIDE OF NAVE TO N. TRANSEPT

NORTH SIDE

WALL PILLARS
OF SANCTUARY

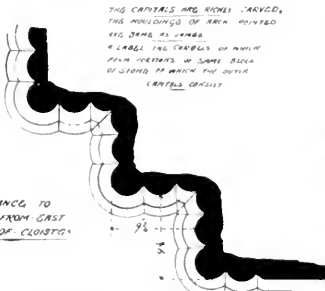
SOUTH SIDE

Height of Bases
10 from floor

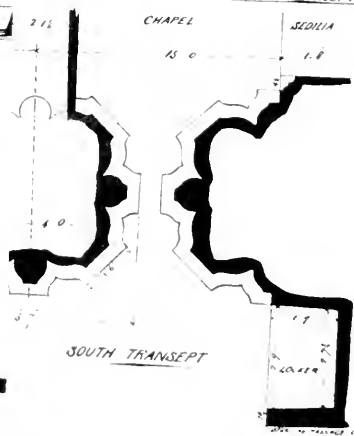


BASEMOLD WEST FRONT

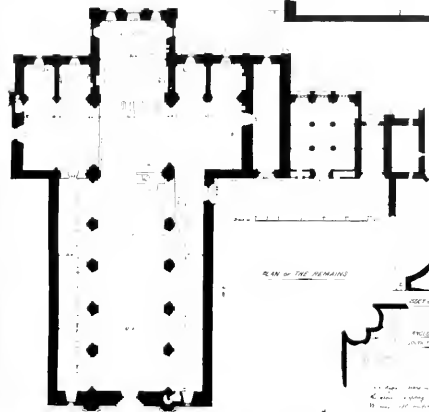
CHAPEL 15.0 SEDILIA 1.8



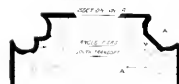
ENTRANCE TO
CHURCH FROM EAST
ALLEY OF CLOISTERS



SOUTH TRANSEPT



PLAN OF THE REMAINS



1. The church is built of stone.
2. The church is built of stone.
3. The church is built of stone.



SECTION OF THE CHURCH
SHOWING CHANCEL
CHANCEL & TRANSEPT



SECTION OF THE CHURCH
SHOWING CHANCEL
CHANCEL & TRANSEPT



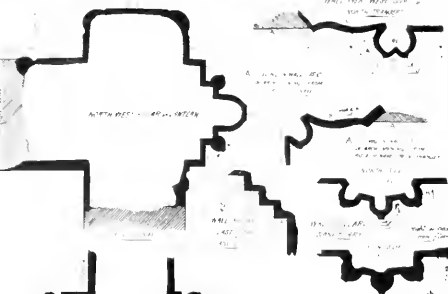
SECTION OF THE CHURCH
SHOWING CHANCEL
CHANCEL & TRANSEPT



SECTION OF THE CHURCH
SHOWING CHANCEL
CHANCEL & TRANSEPT

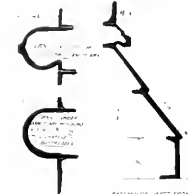


SECTION OF THE CHURCH
SHOWING CHANCEL
CHANCEL & TRANSEPT



SECTION OF THE CHURCH
SHOWING CHANCEL
CHANCEL & TRANSEPT

SECTION OF THE CHURCH
SHOWING CHANCEL
CHANCEL & TRANSEPT



SECTION OF THE CHURCH
SHOWING CHANCEL
CHANCEL & TRANSEPT

W. de G. Birch, in 1870, published in the pages of our *Journal*, for the first time, two¹ manuscripts in the British Museum, which had not previously been noticed. The first is remarkable as being probably a contemporary transcript from some central registry of the foundation of, perhaps, almost all the houses of the Cistercian order throughout Europe. The second is another transcript, in many respects confirmatory of the first, and of a date apparently towards the close of the first half of the thirteenth century. The second has this entry under the date 1199, "De Valle Crucis in Cambria", but the first list, under the date 1200, "V Kal. Februarii. Abbatia de Valle Crucis". We thus obtain not only the date of the year, but the actual day of the month. Interesting as are these entries, I am able to adduce a third. The old Welsh chronicle, the *Brut y Tywysogion*, has been published by the Record Commission, and is one of the not least important of their volumes. It is therefore readily accessible, and the more so from the translation which accompanies it, by the Rev. J. Williams ab Ithel. Nevertheless, it is not frequently quoted in evidence of Welsh history, teeming as it does with notices of almost contemporary events and references to buildings; and I have some belief that, except to scholars, it is not so generally known in the Principality as it deserves to be. Under date of the year A.D. 1200 there is the following record: "The same year Madog, son of Gruffudd Maelor, founded the monastery of Llanegwistle, near the old cross in Yale." We have in this important entry not only the year, but the earliest record of the old name Llanegwistle, but direct reference to the old cross (Eliseg's Pillar), whence comes the modern name of the Vale of the Cross. I may add that the discrepancy between the two above-named dates, 1199 and 1200, is readily accounted for. We have seen that at the period of the granting of Madog's charter, the work of the foundation had already gone so far that the prior of the new community was actually elected. The first date is probably that of his election, which would naturally determine the foundation. The second is probably the missing date of Madog's charter.

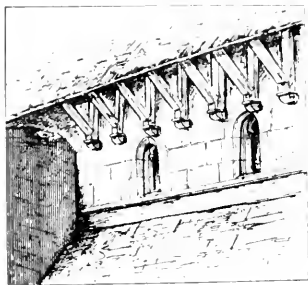
¹ MS. Cotton., Faustina B. vii, fol. 36; MS. Cotton., Vespasian A. vi. f. 54B.
1878 19

The buildings of the Abbey afford a perfect model, so far as they remain, of the arrangements of a Cistercian house, and we will survey these in order ; but it may be as well to announce that, since no complete plan of these remains has yet been published, the Council of this Association has determined to have engraved one which was carefully prepared by the late Mr. J. C. Buckler, and which exists amongst many other papers of considerable interest which he bequeathed to the British Museum.

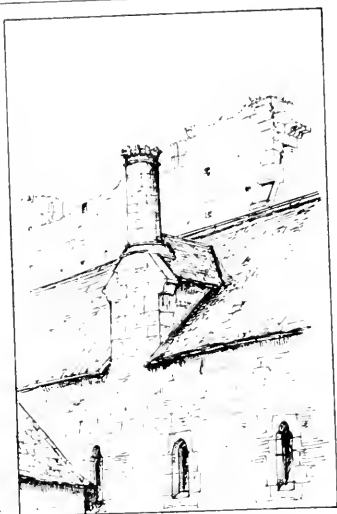
The church is of the usual cruciform type, an aisleless presbytery, transepts with two chapels forming an eastern aisle to each. There has been a low square tower over the crossing, and a nave of six bays, with two side aisles. The extreme length is 165 ft. ; length of transepts, from north to south, 98 ft. ; width of nave and aisles, 67 ft. 6 ins. ; width of chancel, 30 ft. ; and of transepts, 30 ft.¹ It will be seen that the east and west gables are all but perfect, and that the north and part of the south walls of the chancel remain. Also those of the south transept, with part of the vaulting of its two chapels, while there is left the lower portion of the walls of the north transept, and of the north aisle of the nave. The south wall of the nave is almost perfect, but is hidden by the luxuriant ivy, which here and elsewhere adds so greatly to the beauty of the building in its state of ruin.

The bases of the nave piers are traceable, thanks to the careful clearance of the ruins by Viscount Dungannon and Mr. Wynne in 1854. The east end and the transepts are designed in a severe style of First Pointed architecture, and the peculiar pilaster buttresses of the exterior are more curious than beautiful. The treatment certainly indicates some local influence, but whether we should consider it as derivable from Dublin, as a late writer suggests, or as evidence of a Welsh school of architecture, is open to question. The Principality is full of peculiar treatment of architectural detail, both of early and of late work, which seems to afford evidence that the old Welsh builders were not content to copy the styles prevalent in England, but impressed upon them their own peculiar treatment. The lofty eastern lancets spring from a bevel,

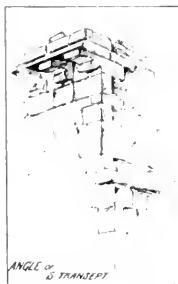
¹ The arrangement of the plan in squares of 30 feet, less thickness of walls, is very apparent.



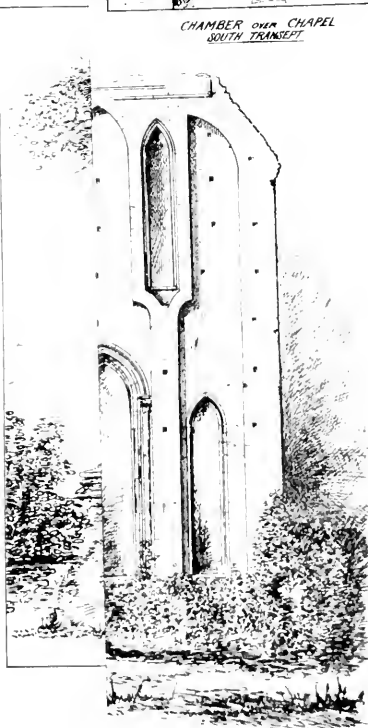
PENTICE OVER WINDOWS
DORMITORY



CHAMBER OVER CHAPEL
SOUTH TRANSEPT



ANGLE OF
S. TRANSEPT



END



WEST WALL
INTERIOR



WEST WALL
EXTERIOR



WEST WALL
INTERIOR



WEST WALL
EXTERIOR



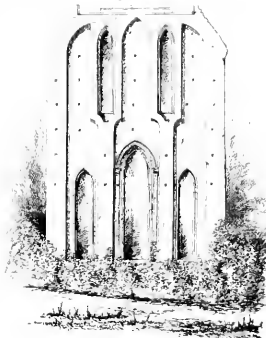
WEST WALL
INTERIOR



ELISEUS WELL



WEST WALL
INTERIOR



EAST END

Measured by W. C. Hucker
Traced by C. Palmer

which must always have been, for the size of the church, remarkably small in relation to the pavement; and there is just a trace of a moulded arched label over the two upper lancets. This arch probably indicated the line of the presbytery ceiling, whether of arched boarding or of vaulting.

The external corbel table around the presbytery and transept walls is bold and peculiar, and is of two patterns. The shafts internally afford some evidence probably of an intention of vaulting the ceiling, which was never carried out, and the sloping line of stone, visible inside and out in the wall, just east of the tower, seems to be indicative that the west end of the chancel was once covered by a hipped roof. This could only be prior to the erection of the central tower. The other sloping line crossing it is that of the roof of the Sacristan's passage to the little slit window. This slit, on the south side, is from a curious little room and passage, commencing at the back of the monks' dormitory. A great many guesses have been made to determine the use of this passage, and the loophole, probably from its resemblance to the position of the abbot's oriel in St. Bartholomew's, London, has been called the abbot's closet. It is, however, that for the sacristan, from which he would watch the perpetual lamp of the sanctuary at night. The high altar has not stood touching the east wall, but away from it, as at Fountain's Abbey and many other places. The aumbry in the south wall has a semicircular arch, and has been double. The bases of the four altars of the transept chapels are very apparent, and they have been covered with arcading. They are attached, as is usual in these positions, to the east wall. The intermediate arches dividing the chapels have probably been filled in only to a certain height, to allow of the picturesque effect of the vaulting seen through them being preserved. Each of these altars is furnished with a piscina. The northern altar of the north transept has a detached pillar piscina, the others have lockers in the wall in several instances, and the elegant and early carving of the brackets of the piscina will be observed with interest. There are two floor drains to the north-east chapel. The remaining arches of the transepts are designed in a very severe style, and the capitals are a tradition of some of earlier date. The three orders

of the arches are simple rectangles, without even a chamfer, but the effect is excellent.

We may, in the sheltered stonework of these chapels, observe that the whole surface of the wrought stone has been covered with a film of plastering, upon which coloured decorations are still traceable here and there. This use of colour was forbidden in Cistercian houses ; and I am, for one, glad to think that in some cases their rules were sometimes more honoured in their breach than in their observance. The same is observable at Old Cleeve Abbey. These traces of colour have not, I believe, hitherto been noticed ; and another feature of interest may have some attention directed to it,—many of the stones have masons' marks. I collected readily a large number of different examples, besides others slightly different, or reversed, and they deserve comparison with those which have been noted in other buildings elsewhere. They appear only in the stonework of the transepts, chancel, and nave-piers, and I have not been able to find any in the west wall of the nave, or in the monastic buildings, except in the position which will be noted hereafter.

The doorway for the passage of the monks from their dormitory into the church, for the services of matin vigils, remains in the south transept, but the stairs are gone. From there being no trace of them, they were probably of wood.

There is in the south wall of the south chapel a recess, low down, for a tomb. It is arched, and with a pediment over, the latter having large crockets. The whole is greatly decayed ; but the architectural style is so much later than that of the chapel, that we cannot admit the local tradition of this being the tomb of the founder. The recess, which has been filled in with open, arched, panelling, and small shafts in the north-west angle of the presbytery, is probably the right position to be assigned to this.

The remains of the piers of the central tower are of much interest. Those on the south side, which remain, indicate the systematic way in which the shafts of the bearing arches were carried on corbels (which are of much beauty) in order to allow the whole of the wall-surface of the piers to be free for the monks' stalls. The cracks, which are apparent, indicate trouble for the safety of the central tower ; and we

find that here, as at Furness and elsewhere, the old builders had to take vigorous measures to keep it standing.

The eastern bay of the nave has been walled up with solid masonry. To afford greater support, the west window of the transept has been removed, and its space built up; and several other works of buttressing are very evident, including a curious reduction of the width of the east arch into the south transept. These works are of interest, for they show that the old architects did sometimes carry up their work with too little regard for their foundations: and sweeping blame to modern ones is as unfair as universal praise to the older craftsmen.

The efforts here to save the tower were successful; for if we are to take Churchyard's poem literally, the tower was still erect above the ruined building in the days of Elizabeth; but we have no evidence whether or not it fell later, or was demolished. There is a very charming piece of early carving below the corbel which supported the south-east arch of the tower.

A little peculiarity of style in the base of the north transept door is worth observing. It has many circular mouldings rather than shafts. This is usual in Wales; but here they spring, not from bases, but from a line of foliage.

The ritual choir probably extended originally more westwardly into the nave than appears by the present foundations of the rood-loft, and its staircase against the western pier of the central tower. This appears to mark a contraction of its space. No trace, except part of the northern wall, remains of the ritual choir; and this and the rood-loft are probably of the date of the works for the support of the tower. The base of a nave-altar still remains on the south side.

The broad piers of the nave are the only remains of the nave-arcade; but the recent excavations have brought to light several fragments of capitals plainly shaped rather than carved. These are stacked along the base of the side walls, and we may have no difficulty in concluding that they are the remains of those of the nave-piers.

There is evidence of the existence of a clerestory, for one deeply splayed jamb and part of the sill, with a string-course, of one window remains in the west pier of the central tower. We learn by it the heights, and that the clerestory

windows were single lancets. They were rebated for glass. One corbel, for a principal of the nave-roof, also remains, proving, as might be expected, that the nave had a timber roof.

The tablet fixed in the south wall, with its inscription, dated 1852, is an interesting record of the excavations, and our praise is due to the executors of this work, not only for the result which has made these ruins, apart from their picturesque beauty, amongst the most interesting for study in the United Kingdom, but for the tablet itself. The date of any such work as this, fixed on the building itself, affords valuable evidence of its history, and the practice should be held up for imitation. The west front was repaired by Sir Gilbert Scott in 1872.

The charming west front has three windows of similar pattern, the central one being somewhat higher, each having a mullion and a foliated circle;¹ and the western entrance is formed by a doorway of much beauty. The gable has a small rose-window; and above this is the well known inscription carved in bold, projecting Gothic letters, now somewhat worn; but they can still be made out when the sun helps us by a slight shadow. It records that this part of the work was performed by Abbot Adam.² The gable and rose-window are of later date, as is evidenced by the inner arch, designed originally to enclose the three windows internally, which has never been completed. The stonework is also different workmanship internally; and we may conclude, from the insertion, that Abbot Adam is commemorated by his successor rather than by himself. The deep splay of the windows add greatly to the amount of light derived from them, and the telling design of the mouldings is worthy of careful study. There is no useless work bestowed, while the effect from what cannot be called elaborate execution is most excellent, and unlike much modern work, where the effect is frittered away from the useless but costly multiplication of mouldings.

There is a staircase in the south angle of the nave. Whether or not this was only for access to the roofs, etc., or

¹ The mullion of the central window is gone.

² ADAM ABBAS FECIT HOC OPUS I PACE; and in a line above the *end* of this part of the inscription, as if the writer had found that there was not room enough for his lettering, QUIESCAT AME.

to the monastic buildings always abutting upon the west end of the church, it is impossible to say, for there is no evidence remaining. It is probable that it did, as at Old Cleeve Abbey; but we are not able to throw light as to whether the building was a "*Domus Conversorum*", or guest-house, since it has disappeared entirely, and nothing has yet been done to throw light upon the subject by endeavouring to find the foundations.

Taking the conventual buildings in order, we find the whole of those occupying the east side of the cloister quadrangle remaining. They are in a line with the south transept. The north side is occupied by the south wall of the church, against which a farm-shed has been built. The buildings of the south side have disappeared, and a small modern house is erected at the west corner. The west side is also vacant.

Next to the south transept is the slype, still retaining its circular barrel-vault, and having its arch of opening from the cloister of a very early type. The carving of its capitals shows, however, that it is of the same date as the presbytery. The bands of torus-mouldings are very common in early work in Wales, but more frequently without the capitals. Next is the chapter house, vaulted in nine square compartments; next, still going southwards, was the entrance to the cemetery, to the east;¹ and beyond this still, the common parlour.

Over all these buildings extends the monks' dormitory, a spacious building, 60 feet long and 22 feet wide, and which we approach by the monks' day-stairs, which still remain. Sufficient of the floor remains to indicate that it was paved with flags, above the vaulting of the rooms beneath. It is lighted by a series of small single-light, trefoiled windows with wave-mouldings. It will be noticed that the neatly jointed stonework of the walls has never been plastered. The cold stone paving and the unplastered walls must have been sufficiently uncomfortable for the occupants; but it is satisfactory to find that two arrangements are apparent, showing that something was done for their well-being,—all the windows are rebated for glass, to exclude the elements,

¹ The Rev. Preb. Walcott has shown that the monks' graves were partially dug, and kept so. The aspect of these from the dormitory overlooking them, must have been deplorably cheerless.

and there is the unusual luxury of a fireplace ; but then this building is of later date than the church.¹ The fireplace has a chimney of elegant design externally.

At the south end of the dormitory is a small apartment opening from it, and which has been covered with a pent-house roof, apart from, and abutting upon, the south gable of the dormitory. It is probably the sleeping apartment of the custodian of the dormitory rather than the abbot ; and its small niche commanding a view of it, shows that the room was in some way designed for the oversight of the dormitory. At Old Cleeve a building in a similar position is considered by the Rev. Mackenzie E. Walcott to have been the novices' dormitory. From its small dimensions it is hardly likely that it could have served a similar purpose here.

At the back of the dormitory fireplace is a narrow room, parallel with the former. It is probably the muniment-room ; while I would assign to the sacristan another small apartment at right angles, since it communicated by a passage over the vaulting of the south transept chapels with the slit window before alluded to. The cloister-space has no traces of the cloister-buildings ; but from the position of the corbels for the roof-timbers, etc., and from the absence of remains, it is probable that here, as in many cases elsewhere, they were formed of wood.

It has sometimes been stated that all the buildings are of the same date ; but a small amount of inspection will assure us that the east end of the church is the oldest,—say of a date within the first twenty years following that of the foundation ; the transepts a little later ; and the west front, as represented by its style, is about 1260.² The ground-floor of the conventual buildings is of the same date as the transepts ; the slype possibly older, but with the insertion of much later work ; but the dormitory floor above is at least one hundred and fifty years later than the foundation, since we cannot assign an earlier date than the middle of the fourteenth century. The square-headed doorways have the same flowing mouldings as the windows. At this

¹ At Old Cleeve is a fireplace, but the windows have never been glazed.

² I give the date of the style. It is probable, however, that it was executed in harmony with the design somewhat later. The gable above and the rose-window are later still.

time the arches and flowing tracery of the chapter house were added into the older openings, as well as the whole of the internal arches and vaulting.¹ The western lancet of the south transept is filled in with tracery of fifteenth century date, into the older opening.

There are traces of the use of stonework of earlier date than that of the buildings. The fireplace in the muniment-room has an inscription which has often been given, which shows that it was once part of a tombstone, and the carving is of great beauty. The sill of the little unglazed niche looking from the room at the end of the dormitory into it, has been part of an incised slab; and there is another with an early cross, forming the roof, just within the door of the day-stairs.

The present rough roof of the dormitory is modern; but the water-tables in the south transept gable show that it is of the same pitch as the original one. The door in the south side of the refectory is an unusual feature. It was probably for hoisting up the trusses of straw for the monks' beds, and for the passage of articles which could not be brought up the narrow day-stairs.

The brothers Buck give two views, which show the aspect of the ruins in 1742, and I am glad to say that they have altered but very little since. They have, however, in some respects. A five-light window is shown in the south transept gable. The foundations of the buildings on the south side of the cloister were in existence, and are partly shown. Several rectangular apartments are indicated, and it is probable that the refectory extended north and south. These features no longer remain, but just a trace of a wall at right angles to the day room, going west, may be observed amongst the farm appliances at this corner, and also an angle buttress. All the walls are constructed of thin dark blue slaty stone, with dressings of reddish free-stone. All of great durability and excellent workmanship.

¹ These arches have continuous wave-mouldings from base to apex of vaulting, a peculiarity observable in many Welsh buildings, notably in the nave-arches of St. Asaph. It occurs also in later work in the Chester churches. The junction of newer to older work is very apparent at the east side of the chapter house, and above it. The cemetery passage has an arch of First Pointed work enclosed in a later one, while the later walls of the muniment-room have blocked up some of the corbel-table and the arches of the dormitory, themselves later than their substructure, as we have already seen.

The main windows of the church are not rebated for glass, and it is probable that they were fitted in with stained glass, secured to the iron stanchion bars, which have been numerous, and wedged into the stonework. Since these would not be furnished with open casements, the ventilation of the building has been assisted by several small square apertures—the original putlog holes of the builders, but which are formed quite through the walls. They are so numerous that we must conclude that many were designedly made, as well as those which had been formed for the putlogs. The income of Valle Crucis at the dissolution was £188 clear, and £214 : 3 : 5 gross, and the largest of any Cistercian house in Wales ; that of the parent abbey of Ystrad Marchel was only £64 : 14 : 2. The surrender was in the twenty-sixth Henry VIII, and was thus among the lesser monasteries. We have references to various benefactors who were buried here. The *Brut y Tywysogion* records that in 1269, “the 7th day of the month of December, Gruffidd, son of Madog, lord of Maelor, and Madog the Little, his brother, died, and were buried at Llanegwistle”. He was lord of Dinas Bran.

The recent excavations revealed a few geometrical tiles, but in such small numbers as to afford an additional evidence of the scarcity of this class of decoration in the churches of the Principality. They were probably imported, since the same patterns have been met with at Strata Florida Abbey, and at Acton Brumall, in Shropshire. It is a peculiarity attendant upon the demolition of Welsh abbeys that any feature of importance in the neighbouring churches is spoken of by local tradition as being a portion of the destroyed building re-used. This occurs with respect to every abbey, and we hear that the roof of Llangollen Church came from Valle Crucis ; but this is very unlikely, since the slope of the roofs is so different, and the roof appears to have been made for its position. The lectern is at Wrexham Church, so we hear, but it bears a date 1528, and a record that it is the gift of a donor who is mentioned. The elaborate candelabra of the fourteenth century is said to be at the church of Llanarmon, in Yale, where is also the effigy of Gruffudd ap Llewelyn ap Ynyn, brother to Llewelyn, Bishop of St. Asaph, who was buried at Valle Crucis. Another tomb, that of Ieva ap Meredydd, is said

to be at Bryn Eglwys; and another, a fragment, at an old house at Pengwern, near Llangollen, is that of Gronwy ap Iorwerth.

The list of the priors is very incomplete, but since there are several notices of others, which have not yet been added, it may be as well to note the following, which affords perhaps the most complete list yet attempted:—

Philip, first abbot. His name appears, and he is styled abbot in what Mr. Morris C. Jones has shown to be the foundation charter.

Adam (Vras). He was the builder of the west front, but probably it was designed at an earlier period. Mr. W. W. E. Wynne, F.S.A., of Peniarth, has ascertained that he was living in the middle of the fourteenth century, and it may therefore be probable that there were two abbots of this name.

Madoc.

David,¹ abbot about 1450.

Sion (John) ap Davydd (probably his successor).

David ap Iorwerth, afterwards Bishop of St. David's in 1500.

Owen, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph.

John Lloid. He is spoken of in the will of David ap Meredith of Llanarmon, proved 21st April, 1548.² The

¹ Notwithstanding the rigor of the Cistercian rule, this abbot appears to have obeyed the dictates of his hospitable nature. *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. 1849, recites part of a poem by Gytto'r Glynn, commencing as follows:

“The Abbot of Valle Crucis will make
Our land altogether an entire feast.
At his own charge shall
Wine and meat be free”, etc.

This must have been for guests, for Cistercian monks partook of neither, and only of meat at a later period. Another poem by the same hand (*Arch. Camb.*, i, p. 26) speaks of the

“Much drinking and various
Victuals.
In the Palace of Engwistle several dishes.
There is old liquor to make us merry,
Pale and dark metheglin.
We shall have bragget and sharp ale from the pipes,
Wine and nuts.
We shall have a thousand apples for desert,
And grace, honour, and dignity.”

He made additions to the buildings, and to the abbot's house. The tracery in the transept-window is probably his work.

² See *Arch. Camb.* of 1876, p. 227.



date renders it very improbable that Sion ap Davydd and John Lloid were the same persons.

John Derham, given by Bishop Tanner, with the date 1536, but the house was dissolved in 1535.¹

John Hearne, last abbot. He retired with a pension of £23 per annum.¹

There is a record in the Book of Visitors to the English College at Rome of the arrival of Richard Bromley, a monk of Valle Crucis, as a pilgrim² in 1504. He was charged, doubtless, with some mission, since by the Cistercian rule no monk could perform a journey to Rome without being accompanied by a bishop of his order. The right rendering of the arms of the abbey has been given by Mr. T. W. King, *York Herald*, from MSS. in the Heralds' Office, of a date just prior to the Reformation, in the volume of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1849 (p. 24), and need not be repeated here; but reference may be made to the fact that various renderings with certain changes exist. The same has been observed with respect to the arms of Llanthony Abbey. The old name, Llan Egwistle, points to the existence here of a church long prior to the foundation of the monastery, but, for the sake of brevity, I must omit all notice of the tradition with respect to it, and also of the old cross, Eliseg's pillar. The fishpond remains almost perfect due east of the church. A lovely view of the ruin is obtained from this position. The cemetery is known to have been in its usual place, east of the conventual buildings. A spring of clear water now flows close to the door of the monks' day-room, but no use is made of it. I have been unable to find any masons' marks on the stonework of the conventual buildings. The exceptions already alluded to may now be noted, but they can hardly be masons' marks. The fylfot cross is neatly cut, exactly central, and therefore designedly, over a small loop window in the monks' day stairs, and also over the larger opening close to it. I am unable to offer any explanation of the occurrence of this mysterious sign in these peculiar and prominent positions.

¹ I give these names separately, but they may refer to the same person.

² Given in *Collect. Top. et Genealog.*, ii, p. 255.

NOTE.—The reference on p. 146 to the paper in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* should be to vol. xii, not to vol. i.

NOTES ON THE CASTLES OF HARLECH AND CRICCIETH.

BY F. G. WESTMACOTT CHAPMAN, ESQ.

THE Castles of Harlech and Criccieth, which may be termed sister fortresses, each standing on the summit of a rock on either side of the Traeth Mawr and the Traeth Bach, in Cardigan Bay, may certainly be considered two of the most interesting relics of the great past in the historic land of the Cymry. The earliest history of these ancient strongholds is unfortunately not easily traced, although there can be but little doubt, if any, as to their British origin.

The noble ruins of Harlech Castle, in the county of Merioneth, crown a rocky eminence, the base of which was formerly washed by the sea ; but at the present time stands some little distance from the shore, upon that large tract of reclaimed land known as Morfa Harlech. In some old maps the name of this place may be found written *Harddlech*, the appellation being evidently a compound formed from the Cymreig words *hadd* (towering) and *llêch* (a flat stone or slate). There does not appear to be any record of this position having been held by the Romans ; but we may assume that Harlech had at least been visited by them, both from the fact of the Roman station of Segontium (Caernarfon) being only twenty-nine miles distant, and also from the number of Roman coins which have been from time to time discovered in the neighbourhood.

The original building, which occupied the site of the present ruin, is said to have been erected, during the third century, by Bronwen (fair-bosomed), who dwelt here, and gave her own name to the edifice, calling it "Twr Bronwen". The tomb of Bronwen, where a square *cistfaen* was discovered, is still pointed out at Llantrissant in Anglesey, where she was buried, having died from the effects of a blow received from her husband, Matholwch, King of Ireland. This incident may be found described in the 51st *Triad*. The Castle thus having been founded by the unfortunate Bronwen, appears about A.D. 550 to have assumed larger

and more important proportions, when it came into the possession of a British Prince, Maelgwyn Gwynedd :

“ In Arthur’s days of ancient date,
When Cambria’s chiefs elected
Her Maelgwyn to the regal seat,
Were Harlech’s towers erected.”

In the time of Anarawd, who flourished about the latter end of the ninth century, it became the property of Collwyn ap Tango, the founder of one of the fifteen tribes of North Wales, lord of Eifionydd, Ardudwy, and a portion of Llein. At the same time the name of the fortress was changed to that of its new owner, and was known as *Caer Collwyn*. Pennant, in speaking of Collwyn, says : “ He resided some time in a square tower of the ancient fortress, whose remains are very apparent, as are part of the old walls, which the more modern, in certain places, are seen to rest upon.”

I have been able to discover but little matter of historic interest from the time of Collwyn to that of Edward I, in whose reign the present Castle was erected, A.D. 1282. The architect was Henry de Elfreton, who also designed the more celebrated castles at Caernarfon and Conway. In 1283, De Wonkeslow was appointed Constable of Harlech with a salary of £100 a year. This Constable, it would seem, was considered to have been overpaid for his appointment, as we find the amount afterwards reduced to £26:13:4, though probably the apparently unlucky Constable took means, *vi et armis*, to compensate for the loss by raids upon the defenceless Welsh people who may have been unfortunate enough to dwell within his reach, with no chance of redress from such a King as the first Edward : as may be instanced by the result of Llywelyn’s reply to the “Articles sent from the Archbishop of Canterbury to be intimated to Llywelyn, Prince of Wales, and the People of the same Country.” The particulars of these “Articles” are to be found in Warrington (the Appendix). The reply is too long to repeat at length ; but I may be pardoned for a trifling digression from my subject, if I quote a short extract as an evidence of the injustice shown to the Welsh by Edward I and his advisers. “ A certain (Welsh) noble passing on the King’s highway, with his wife, in the King’s peace, met certain English labourers and masons.....who attempted by

force to take away his wife from him; and while he defended her as well as he could, one of them killed the wife; and he who killed her, with his fellows, was taken; and when the kindred of her which was slain required law at the Justice of Chester's hands for their kinswoman, *they* were put in prison, and *the murderers were delivered.*" This was only one of the many unjust acts towards the Cymry, perpetrated under a monarch on whom some of our modern historians have been pleased to bestow the title of "the English Justinian". It is true that eventually, and after Dafydd, the last of the Welsh princes, had been most barbarously executed at Shrewsbury, as Hume puts it, "for defending by arms the liberties of his native country", Edward, with a certain display of ostentation, made some *so-called* concessions to the Welsh; but it must be remembered that it is very easy to be magnanimous to those from whom we have obtained all that we have desired.

In 1404 Harlech was taken by Owen Glyndwr at the same time that he conquered Aberystwyth; both of which Castles were held by him for a period of four years, when they were taken possession of by Prince Henry.

In 1460, after Henry VI had been defeated at the battle of Northampton, and had been taken prisoner by "that proud setter up and puller down of kings", the Earl of Warwick, the Queen, Margaret of Anjou, fled from Coventry, and took up her residence in Harlech Castle, one tower of which still bears her name. Here for a time the "she-wolf of France", as Shakespeare terms her, remained previous to her expedition into Scotland, where, assisted by the northern barons, she collected an army of 20,000 men, and with them gained her celebrated victory over the Duke of York at Wakefield, where, it will be remembered, the Duke was slain, and his head having been severed from his body by the command of the Queen, and ornamented with a paper crown, was placed over the gates of York:

"Off with his head, and set it on York gates,
That York may overlook the town of York."

The most memorable of the many vicissitudes of what Fielding terms the pastime of monarchs—war, through which the Castle of Harlech has passed, is, perhaps, the famous defence made by the brave little garrison under

Dafydd ap Ifan ap Einion, who was as much "distinguished as a soldier of valor as for goodly personage and great stature". He was, however, at length obliged to surrender to the troops of Edward IV, after gallantly holding out for nearly nine years. A bard of the same period thus sang to the fidelity of this hero :

"Ne'er yet was truer to his cause
Than he who holds the ashen spear;
For Einion, like the cuckoo's throat,
Knows only one unvaried note."

The Wars of the Roses were in full activity, England and Wales had bitterly learnt "what dire effects from civil discord flow". Edward the Fourth had, in his twentieth year, ascended the throne of England, and, from the surroundings of bloodshed, with all the attendant barbarities of civil war, in which he had been reared, possessed, like his brother, neither pity, love, nor fear. "His hardness of heart and severity of character rendered him impregnable to all those movements of compassion which might relax his vigour in the prosecution of the most bloody revenge upon his enemies. The scaffold, as well as the field, incessantly streamed with the noblest blood of England, spilt in the quarrel between the two contending families, whose animosity was now become implacable." (*Hume*.) Harlech was faithful to the Red Rose. Edward IV was in possession of all parts of the kingdom, except a few castles in Northumberland and the Castle of Harlech—the latter holding out against all attempts to subdue it, in a manner the remembrance of which must always remain as one of the many instances of Welsh bravery, fidelity, and endurance. The almost inaccessible position of the Castle (the side towards the sea requiring but little attention) doubtless assisted the defenders. The king at last, in 1468, found it necessary to send into North Wales a large army, under the command of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, resolved upon conquering this stronghold. With incredible difficulty, we are told, he marched his men over the heart of the British Alps, and the faithful Castle was invested. The earl, finding that he could not succeed as he had anticipated, appointed his brother, Sir Richard, who, like Dafydd ap Einion, was a man of large stature and of great military knowledge, to lead the attack.

“Sir Richard came, his legion led,
 To bid the chief surrender ;
 For well he knew that Einion’s son
 Was Harlech’s brave defender.”

When Dafydd ap Ifan was first summoned to surrender, he replied, “I held a fortress in France till all the old women in Wales heard of it, and now I intend to hold Harlech till all the old women in France hear of it.”

At length, however, the Castle was reduced by that powerful auxiliary to the invader—famine, and on the 14th April, 1468, was surrendered at discretion. According to a MS. chronicle in the library of St. Peter’s College, Cambridge, “Sir Richard Tunstal, Sir Henry Bellingham, Sir William Stokes, with about fifty other gentlemen, were taken prisoners and committed to the Tower of London.”

Sir Richard Herbert had promised, as a condition of the surrender, the life of the gallant defender Dafydd, but the king, barbarous and ungrateful, at first refused to ratify the promise given by Sir Richard ; but he, more generous, nobly replied, “Then, by God, I will put Dafydd and his garrison into Harlech again, and your highness may fetch him out again by any one who can ; and if you demand my life for his, take it !” Edward relented, and yielded to Sir Richard Herbert’s request to spare the life of Dafydd, but Sir Richard received no other reward whatever for his services to the king.

A bard of the time thus complimented Herbert in the verse :—

“Gwrol tragwrol, trugarog wrol,
 Ni fu drugarog na fai dragwrol.”
 (“The manly mind, the truly brave,
 Loves mercy, and delights to save.”)

The poet Gay uses similar lines in the dedication of his *Fables*.

Some of the atrocities committed under the orders of Edward IV are referred to in Wynne’s interesting *History of the Gwydir Family*—

“In Hardlech every house
 Was basely set on fire ;
 But poor Nant Conway suffered more,
 For there the flames burnt higher.
 ’T was in the year of our Lord
 Fourteen hundred sixty-eight

That these unhappy towns of Wales
Met with such wretched fate."

I may here mention that the grand old Welsh melody, known as the "March of the Men of Harlech", dates from this most memorable siege; also the malediction, sometimes still used, of "Yn Harlech y bo chwi!" (May you be in Harlech!)

The following is a list of the principal defenders on the occasion:—Dafydd ap Ifan ap Einion, Gruff. Fychan ap Ifan ap Einion, Siancyn ap Iorwerth ap Einion, Gr. ap Ifan ap Einion, Tho. ap Ifan ap Einion, John Hanmer, Dafydd ap Ifan ap Owen o Bowis, Rhinallt ap Gryff. ap Bleddyn of Tower near Mold, Mawris ap Dafydd ap Jeffre, Dafydd ap Einion ap Ifan Rhymus, Howel ap Morgan ap Iorth Gôch, Ednyfed ap Morgan, Thomas ap Morgan, John Tudur Clere, Gr. ap Ifan ap Iorwerth, *Senior*.

During the struggle between the Royalists and the Parliamentarians, Harlech Castle was held sometimes by the former and sometimes by the latter. Eventually it was surrendered on honourable terms to Lieutenant-General Mytton, March 30, 1647, having had the honour of being the last Castle in North Wales that held out for King Charles I. At the time of this surrender, the garrison, according to Whitelock's *Memorials*, numbered only twenty-eight men.

The view of this ancient stronghold from the sea is said to resemble the famous Eastern Castle of Belgrade. The plan of the building is quadrangular, each side being rather more than 200 ft. in length, with a round tower at each corner, surmounted by lighter towers. On the land side are the remains of a deep fosse, over which was formerly a drawbridge to the entrance, situated between two high towers. This entrance was rendered additionally secure by three porteullises. According to a survey made in the reign of Henry VIII, there were at that time two drawbridges towards the sea, with outworks leading to the marsh.

In 1692 a golden torque was dug up in a garden near the Castle, and is to be seen in the interesting collection of antiquities of Lord Mostyn, at Mostyn Hall.

The castle at Criccieth, like that at Harlech, appears to have been of British origin, and is stated to be the most ancient Welsh castle, but by whom it was erected is un-

known. An eminent bard and antiquary, the late Mr. Ellis Owens of Cefnmysydd, in a paper written in 1809, thus speaks of this ruin : "From the architecture it may be pronounced of a British origin, but it is said that it was built by King John (about 1200) except the two towers at its entrance, which were built by Edward I." The statement that these towers were built by Edward I is open to question, as we find that *inside* they correspond with the other remaining towers, and are, like them, *square*, so the probability is that Edward merely gave them a circular kind of veneer, and, beyond this, had nothing, or very little to do with the architecture of the Castle of Criccieth, which is undoubtedly of an earlier period than the castles of Caernarfon, Conway, and the principal remains at Harlech. Moreover, the workmanship of the exteriors of these towers differs considerably from that of the interiors, which fact strengthens the supposition that they were merely *cased* in the time of Edward. The castle was surrounded by a double fosse and vallum, which may still readily be traced.

Mr. Rowlands, in his *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*, includes Criccieth amongst the castles which he assumed to have been founded before the sixth century. It does not appear to have been at any time a very extensive building, but, if only from its position, must have been a formidable defence in the brave days of old.

About the year 1220 Llywelyn ap Iorwerth gave to Ednyfed Fychan the lordship of Criccieth for his services in the battles of the Marches. "Mynydd Ednyfed being in the lordship of Criccieth," says the late Ellis Owens, "was probably called after his name to the present day."

In 1239 Criccieth Castle was the prison of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, who was confined there by his half-brother Dafydd.

When Edward I obtained possession of this fortress, we find it recorded that he appointed William de Leybourn (or Laybonon) the constable, with a salary of £100 a year, out of which he was to maintain a garrison of "thirty stout men, a chaplain, surgeon, carpenter, and mason."

During the reign of Edward III Criccieth became the residence of Sir Howel-y-Fwyall of Bron-y-foel, a descendant of Collwyn ap Tango (referred to in my notes on Harlech). "This valiant officer attended the Black Prince in

the battle of Poitiers, where, with only a poleaxe, he performed such brave and heroic acts that the prince bestowed on him the honour of knighthood, and allowed him to take for his arms *a poleaxe argent, between three fleurs-de-lys*, and to add to his name y-Fwyall (of the axe). And, further, to perpetuate the memory of his great services, the prince ordered, at the expense of the Crown, that a mess of meat should be every day served up before the axe with which he had performed the wonderful feats." The king knighted him on the battlefield, and also gave him for life the rents of the Dee mills at Chester, with the appointment of constable of Criccieth. According to Meyrick, he commanded a reserve corps of Welshmen at Creci, where he also materially accelerated the victory by his seasonable advance and valorous incursion on the French lines.

The mess, alluded to above, having been brought before the constable, was distributed to the poor of Criccieth. This custom was continued after the death of the gallant Sir Howel, "for the repose of his soul", and was not abolished until the reign of Elizabeth. There were "eight yeomen attendants, called yeomen of the Crown, who received eight-pence a day constant wages" for acting as a guard to the mess. In the Harl. MSS., No. 2,298, p. 348, we find the following note:—"Sir Howel-y-Fwyall, or Sir Howel Poleaxe, from his constant fighting with that warlike instrument. It is said he dismounted the French king, cutting off his horse's head at one blow with his battleaxe, and took the French king prisoner; as a trophy of which victory, it is said that he bore the arms of France, with a battleaxe in bend sinister, *argent*."

Iolo Gôch thus refers to the incident I have just quoted:—

"Pan rodedd y ffrwyn yn mhen
Brenhin Ffrainge."

(When on the head of royal France
A bridle strong he placed.)

In the above brief notes I have endeavoured to embrace the most important historic events in connection with the castles of Harlech and Criccieth—events which are for the most part intimately woven into the united histories of England and Wales, and which at the same time are memorials of honour, fidelity, bravery, and loyalty in the original possessors of this country. Indeed loyalty has always formed

no small part of the Welsh character, whether as subjects to their own early British sovereigns or to subsequent monarchs. As they were in the olden times so are they now, and I cannot conclude this Paper better than with a short but powerful quotation from Harding's prize essay in the *Cymmrodorion*: "The page which closes the annals of the British race is disfigured by no cowardice, disgraced by no corruption, stained by no treason.....And if, politically speaking, Wales be indeed no more, yet poetry and tradition, in preserving from oblivion the records of her once vigorous existence, and the tragic story of her fall, have kept alive a national spirit, which the lapse of centuries of foreign dominion has failed materially to weaken. The chord struck by her slaughtered bards yet vibrates in the breasts of their countrymen.....They still speak her language, cherish her customs, and fondly cling to her soil." United to England, they have given their loyalty to the English throne—a "loyalty which, in changing its object, has lost none of that fond and fearless devotion which has in all times so brilliantly illuminated the chequered pages of their history."

WREXHAM.

BY BENJAMIN FERREY, ESQ., F.S.A.

THIS church is dedicated, according to some authorities, to St. Giles; but according to others, to St. Silios; and was rebuilt, with the exception of the tower, in the reign of Edward IV. The plan consists of nave, north and south aisles, and chancel; and it is remarkable in having an apse, as there are very few examples of parish churches having chancels with apses in the Perpendicular period. The church originally terminated with a square end, where the chancel-arch proves, by the remains of its ancient tracery, the old east window to have been. The present roof to the apse is of a later period than the walls. There is every probability that it was intended to be groined. The windows and sedilia are handsome.

The nave consists of six bays, and is separated from the north and south aisles by octangular pillars carrying handsome and boldly chamfered arches of two orders. These are singularly fine in proportion. The north and south aisles have good Perpendicular windows of four-centred arches, and are roofed in the usual low-pitched manner. They have been subject, unfortunately, to modern innovations. The clerestory and the aisles are of later date than the arcade itself. The latter formed, probably, part of the earlier chancel said to have been burnt in 1457; and in order to promote the building of it, an indulgence of forty days, for five years, was granted by the Pope. The corbels of the early church are still remaining on the spandril-walls of the nave, considerably below the stone brackets of the present roof; and the effect of the earlier church, with its pointed roof, must have been far superior to that of the present building. Further improvements are said to have been made in the time of Bishop Birkhead, 1513-18; but it is not on record of what these works consisted. A subsequent Bishop, Parfew or Wharton, resided much of his time here, and endeavoured to procure a license to remove his see or cathedral church to this place, of which Leland wrote about the same time, "Wrexham hath a goodlie churche collegiate, and one of the fairest of North Wales; but there longeth no prebends to it."

In Queen Elizabeth's reign the church was enlarged by the addition of the south aisle, the roof of which is said to have been formed out of the timber of a gallery which ran along the north side. During the Commonwealth it was desecrated by being made into a prison, according to Browne Willis, and into a stable according to others. A peal of ten bells was set up in 1726.

At the east end of the north aisle was the chapel of the Pulestons of Hafod y Wern, with its altar, niches, and piscina. The last named still survives. At the south-east angle, the chantry chapel of the family of Llwyn Onn, with its altar, shrines, and piscina, at one time stood. They are said to have been the first to respond to the call for rebuilding the chancel, and their teams are reported to have carried the first loads of stone. There is nothing remarkable in the architecture of the exterior of the body of the church. It is of the usual Perpendicular type, having roofs of low pitch; the clerestory and aisle-walls surmounted by embattled parapets separated by buttresses and pinnacles. There is, however, a good porch at the west end of the north aisle, having a niche and statue of the Blessed Virgin. Inside the porch there is an effigy of a mailed knight, which was probably removed from the earlier church which once stood on the site of the existing building. There is some beautiful metal-work, forming a sort of cresting to the low chancel-screen, which is well worth attention, and also a fine brass lectern. The revestry under the apse, approached by a winding stone staircase, is somewhat novel. No doubt it was caused by the fall of the ground at the east end, to which this undercroft gives external height. There are some remains of ancient painting on the wall over the chancel-arch, which have been carefully preserved.

The great feature of the church is the western tower, justly celebrated for its beautiful proportions and details. It is styled one of the "seven wonders of Wales". When it was commenced is unknown, but it was completed in 1506. Among the numerous examples of grand Perpendicular towers which abound in Somersetshire, there are none to be compared with the tower of St. Giles, Wrexham, for massiveness and good proportions. In the excellent work upon the towers of England, published in 1854 by Mr. Wicks the architect (which contains an admirable view of this

tower), it will be seen, by comparing it with the tower of St. Mary's, Taunton, built about the same time, how superior this one is. Mr. E. A. Freeman, the author of the letterpress in the abovementioned work, observes: "The famous tower at Wrexham has, in its general effect, a certain approach to the Taunton type. Its several stages of double windows, and the open turrets at the angles, suggest an affinity with St. Mary's in that town. The shape of the turrets, octagonal instead of square, may be considered an improvement." The defect in the Somersetshire and Gloucestershire towers is the overhanging character of the perforated parapets and pinnacles, giving them a light and somewhat insecure effect. This is obviated in the composition of St. Giles' tower, where the graduated, angular buttresses rise and unite with the octangular turrets at the four corners of the summit in a truly graceful and beautiful manner. It may, perhaps, be noticed that the manner in which the lower stage is covered by traceried panelling in low relief, somewhat detracts from the simple massiveness which should belong to the foundation of such a lofty structure, and it is doubtful whether the faces of the buttresses would not have been better without the panelling. The subsidiary buttresses dividing the sides of the tower, containing niches still furnished with statues, are most successfully arranged. There are very few towers which can boast of such a number of niches still filled with unmutilated figures. I should mention that the tower is handsomely groined with fan-tracery.

In a paper which I wrote many years since, upon the Somersetshire towers, I made some remarks to the following effect: The tower of St. Mary's, Taunton, is a remarkable example; but the effect of the arrangement above referred to is not always successful, for skilful as the combination of parts may be in design, a repetition of pierced pinnacles and open parapets presents too fragile an appearance for its purpose.

Such construction in stone is rather unnatural; hence all these crested terminations are found to be disfigured by iron ties, etc., that have been applied at different times to secure them from the destructive effects of high winds.

I am indebted to the admirable *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, by the Rev. D. R. Thomas, for some of the historical information.

ON A PAINTING OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., SOMERSET HERALD, V.P.

THERE is a remarkable painting of the fifteenth century, numbered 385, in the National Gallery, Trafalgar Square, which, presenting some exceedingly curious features in the military equipment of the knights and men-at-arms depicted in it, attracted my attention some years ago, and has from time to time deeply engaged my consideration. Mr. Wornum's Catalogue,¹ revised by Sir Charles Lock Eastlake, late President of the Royal Academy, informs us that it is the work of Paolo di Dono, "commonly called, from his love of painting birds, Paolo Uccello"; that it is one of the four battle-pieces originally painted for the Bartolini family in Gualfonda, and was ultimately purchased at Florence, from the Lombardi-Baldi collection, in 1857. The subject is said by the same authorities to be the battle of St. Egidio, fought July 7, 1416, in which Carlo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, and his nephew Galeazzo, were taken prisoners by Braccio de Montone. It is painted in *tempera*, on wood, and is 6 feet high by 10 feet wide. I have the pleasure of exhibiting to the meeting a very accurate copy on a reduced scale, but sufficiently large to enable us to study the minutest details of the armour and weapons, and am therefore fortunately in a position to afford you ocular demonstration of the points which have induced me to doubt the accuracy of the official description.

That description, founded upon the annals of Muratori, the *Chronicon Foroliviense*, and other Italian authorities, is as follows: "This battle took place on a plain between Sant Egidio and the Tiber, on the road to Assisi, and Malatesta was captured during a repose in the fight, when his men went down to the river to drink." The observation in the Catalogue is that, "from the fragments of arms, etc., strewn upon the ground, the battle has been already fought; and the incident represented appears to be an

¹ 8vo. London, 1859.

attempt at a rescue, which suspicion is strengthened by the fact that Malatesta is marching under a strange standard. Of the many armed knights on horseback represented, only four are engaged ; but all except Malatesta and his nephew have their faces concealed by their vizors. The young Galeazzo, *not yet a knight, carries his bascinet in his hand.*"

So far the Catalogue, which, as it is stated to have been revised by Sir Charles Eastlake, we must consider that the late accomplished President of the Royal Academy vouched for the accuracy of the description, if he did not furnish the information I have quoted ; and consequently it is with some diffidence that I venture to question the inference drawn from the position, action, and habiliments, of the personages represented in this remarkable painting, which certainly conveys to me an impression diametrically opposed to it. That fighting has been going on is evident, I admit, from the splintered lances, the fragments of armour, the fallen shields, and the prostrate body beneath the feet of the horses ; but that the principal figure in the composition represents Carlo Malatesta, or that of the youth behind him his nephew Galeazzo, I cannot bring myself to believe. So far from there being the slightest indication of their having been taken prisoners, the elder personage appears to be riding at the head of his troops, under his own standard, and baton in hand, either directing or endeavouring to arrest the attack which three knights are making upon a single warrior, who is defending himself gallantly with a *martel de fer*, or horseman's hammer, against the formidable weapons of his assailants ; the lance of one and the sword of another having passed under the oval palette or gusset of plate which protects the left arm-pit, but apparently without wounding him.

If the personage in the centre of the picture is indeed the captive Malatesta, where is the victorious Braccio de Montone ? And who is the over-matched warrior so fiercely beset ? Unfortunately I am unable at present to identify, from the shields, crests, and armorial surcoats of the knights, the standard or the trumpet-banners, any of the combatants ; but as far as negative evidence goes, no Malatesta can be amongst them, as the well known coat of that family, "*vert, three human faces or*", does not appear anywhere. Beneath each of the principal figures (for I consider the

hard-pressed knight to be as important an individual as the supposed Malatesta), there is on the ground, between the feet of their horses, a shield of arms, neither of the warriors bearing their shields. The one beneath the central personage displays quarterly, *argent* and *gules*, a border *counter-changed*. The other, beneath the assaulted knight, is also quarterly, 1st and 4th *vert*, 2nd and 3rd *or*, barry piley *gules*; and his helmet is surmounted by a crest which has the semblance of a rose. But whether the object conjoined with it is intended for a roseleaf or a bird's wing, it would be difficult to determine.

Now it was by no means unusual for mediæval artists to distinguish the principal persons in an historical composition by placing their armorial bearings as close to them as possible; and it is therefore an important question whether we are to regard these two shields as simply indicating, in conjunction with the shattered staves and fragments of armour, the effect of a conflict, or as special identifications of the persons above them. In the latter case neither the attacking nor the attacked can be Malatesta. The standard affords us still less information, for on it appear only two wreaths or garlands, one of which would seem simply sketched in, and not coloured; the other being now black, but originally most likely green. The field is white, with an edging or bordure of red and black; the trumpet-banners of an unusual magnitude, the trumpets themselves being of immense length, present no armorial insignia, and therefore the valuable aid which heraldry generally affords us in such circumstances is unfortunately wanting.

We are therefore reduced to form our opinions from the study of the picture itself. I have already expressed mine on the subject of Malatesta; and the statement in the Catalogue that the youth immediately behind the principal figure represents his nephew Galeazzo, who being "not yet a knight, carries his bascinet in his hand", can only raise a smile from any one acquainted with mediæval customs. The youth, whoever he may be intended for, is the esquire of the knight he follows, and is bearing, not his own bascinet, but that of his lord, who wears a turban-shaped head-dress of the fifteenth century.

A fortunate accident has placed in my hands a print cut

out of an illustrated French journal, which purports to have been engraved from a painting in the now dispersed Campana collection, and which is at present in the Louvre. It is simply inscribed "Musée Campana,—Une Bataille,—Tableau de Paolo Uccello." In it we have unmistakably the same personage with his remarkable turban-shaped head-dress, baton in hand, under his standard, in the midst of his knights, all in the same description of armour, and with similar extraordinary crests to those in the picture in the National Gallery; the foremost with their lances levelled, and in the act of charging some opponents who are not included in the composition. Surely we have here a copy of another of the four battlepieces painted for the Bartolini family, mentioned in the Catalogue of the National Gallery, but of which the subjects are not specified. There are no armorial shields in this second picture, but the standard displays a more comprehensible bearing than we find on the former one. The upper portion appears to be intended for what in heraldry is called *vairy*; and the lower is charged with some animal, probably a unicorn, couchant on a mound or in fern-leaves. A trumpet-banner also has on a bend four shields; but the charges upon them are too minute, in this reduced copy, to be discernible, and the absence of colour renders identification still more hopeless.

By a singular coincidence, shortly after I had lighted upon this engraving, I was informed that two more battlepieces attributed to Uccello were in London, and to be seen at the house of Mr. George Simonds, the sculptor, in Buckingham Palace Road, completing, as I presume,¹ the number said to have been painted by Paolo for the Bartolini family. It will be readily imagined that I took the earliest opportunity of calling on Mr. Simonds, by whom I was received with the greatest courtesy, and allowed to inspect the pictures, and also a photograph of one of them taken in Rome (where the present proprietor of the pictures resides) previously to their being despatched to London. By the kindness of Mr. Simonds I am enabled to exhibit them to the meeting this evening.

The subjects of these interesting paintings, which are

¹ I have since, however, discovered that there is a battle-piece attributed to Uccello in the Uffizi Palace at Florence, and of which there is an engraving in the British Museum, possessing stronger claims to be considered one of the four specially alluded to.

respectively about 7 feet long by 2 feet high, are, according to the *Athenæum* of the 22nd of July last,—1, the battle of Anghiari, between the Milanese and the Florentines, June 29th, 1440; that famous combat which Machiavelli describes as resulting in the loss of one man, who was trampled to death; the other picture representing the taking of Pisa by the Florentines, Oct. 9, 1406. “The writer of this notice observes that the foreshortening is in a peculiar mode, the sharpness of the outlines, the flatness of the modelling (especially of the carnations), the manner of treating the background and accessories, the action of the horses, and above all the characteristic mode of touching the hair of the peculiar sort of face affected here and in the battle of St. Egidio, leave little doubt of the genuineness of these remarkable pictures.”

I have quoted this notice *verbatim et literatim*, as printed, and have no pretensions to connoisseurship which would justify me in questioning the accuracy of the judgment, or of the language in which it is conveyed. My object in calling your attention to these pictures is not to discuss their merits as works of art, but as an antiquary who has devoted some years to the study of civil and military costume, to point out to you some features in the equipment of the knights in the picture in the National Gallery, and also in the one formerly in the Campana collection, which I am utterly at a loss to reconcile with the date attributed to the death of Paolo di Dono, which, according to the latest authorities, occurred in 1479, at the age of eighty-three.¹

If born at Florence in 1396-7, he would have been nineteen at the time the battle of St. Egidio was fought, and consequently old enough to have a perfect recollection of the principal combatants, and could not be ignorant of their respective coat-armour, or at least would have had no difficulty in ascertaining it for his purpose. Painters of the middle ages, though they invariably depicted historical personages of any period in the costume of their own time, neither indulging their imagination, nor troubling themselves to avoid anachronisms (a negligence for which antiquaries have reason to be deeply grateful), were nevertheless remarkably particular in all heraldic accessories; and when representing Julius Cæsar in the armour of the four-

¹ Gaye, *Corteggio inedito d'Artisti*, vol. i, p. 141.

teenth century, would be careful to distinguish his troops by the display of the eagle of the Roman empire, though probably in the form that it was borne by the house of Hapsburg. Now in the picture of what is called the battle of St. Egidio, in the National Gallery, the armour is of a character unknown to me in any part of Europe previous to the reputed death of Uccello in 1479. Granting that, like Titian, he painted at the age of eighty, he never could, as far as our present knowledge extends, have seen helmets of the form we find in the paintings attributed to him. The earliest reliable representation of them as yet discovered occurs in the splendidly illuminated MS. of the "Déploration de Gênes", by Jean des Marets, describing the war of Louis XII of France with the revolted Genoese in 1507, and which appears to be the identical copy presented to Anne de Bretagne, the Queen of Louis, by the author. This MS. must necessarily be of a later date than the events represented, and therefore, at the earliest, of the time of our Henry VII, upwards of one hundred years after the siege of Pisa, one of the subjects attributed to the pencil of Uccello, and between twenty and thirty subsequent to his death.

In two of the miniatures of the aforesaid MS., engraved in Montfaucon's *Monarchie Française*, Plates 196 and 197, the first representing the departure of Louis from Alexandria de la Paille, and the second the French forces attacking the Genoese forts, a helmet with a disk or rondelle at the back is frequently depicted. The engravings are very poor, and the original drawings cannot be relied upon for linear accuracy or minutiae of detail. The King is represented in a headpiece partaking more of the character of a casquet than a helmet. It has an umbril, but neither vizor nor beaver. A disk or rondelle, however, is clearly indicated behind it. Nearly all the knights and men-at-arms are depicted in close helmets with vizors and rondelles; and as the backs of the majority are towards us, if they had been drawn larger or more carefully, we might have derived some satisfactory information respecting the purport of this curious feature, which has never yet been satisfactorily ascertained. Our present business with it, however, is only to point out that this disk or rondelle, which Sir Samuel Meyrick considered one of the distinguishing

features of the species of headpiece termed an "armet" in the early portion of the reign of Henry VIII, is repeatedly depicted in the pictures attributed to Paolo Uccello, who died, we are told, in the reign of our Edward IV.

The question consequently arises, were helmets of this description known in Italy before 1479? Or are the paintings attributed to Paolo di Dono the work of some later artist? That this is not a trivial question will, I think, be admitted by every antiquary, nor can it be looked upon with indifference by any one interested in the history of art. M. Viollet le Duc, who considers the close helmet to have been invented *circa* 1435, describes one with a disk ("*rondelle ou volet*") in the Musée d'Artillerie at Paris, and adds, "*cet armet date des dernières années du quinzième siècle*", an opinion which is fully borne out by the absence, as I have observed, of any such a headpiece in painting or sculpture of an earlier period. The helmet of the splendid suit of armour presented, according to tradition, by the Emperor Maximilian I to King Henry VIII on his marriage with Catharine of Aragon, and now in the Tower of London, had originally one of the disks affixed to it; but, alas! like the gauntlets of the same suit, it has gone the way of other articles of value and rarity in that long uncared-for collection. In the picture at Hampton Court, of the meeting of Francis I and Henry VIII at the "Field of the Cloth of Gold", the disk is also represented, and in the reign of the latter sovereign it disappears.

With the exception, therefore, of the MS. of the "Déploration de Gênes", 1507, and the painting at Hampton Court just mentioned, we have no pictorial authority by which to test the date of the battle-piece in the National Gallery ascribed to Paolo di Dono, and the helmet of the suit in the Tower, which undoubtedly was made for Henry VIII between 14th Nov. 1501 and 3rd June 1509, is the only known example extant of which the date can be authenticated; while, on the other hand, no specimen exists which can be attributed to an earlier period, nor is any one of that fashion represented in painting or sculpture here or on the Continent previous to the sixteenth century,—twenty years at least after the presumed decease of Paolo Uccello.

It must surely be considered surprising that in all the numberless illuminated MSS. of the fifteenth century, no

single instance should have been discovered by Strutt, by Stothard, by Meyrick, by Hewitt, in our country, by Hoefner, Willemín, Demmin, Viollet le Due, Quicherat, or any of the eminent foreign antiquaries who have devoted themselves to the study of this branch of archæology. But such is the fact; and the picture in question has been twenty years in our National Gallery, apparently, without awakening the curiosity of any artist or antiquary, myself alone excepted.

Let us now consider the four paintings I have brought to your notice, chronologically, as regards the events they are said to represent. The first is the siege of Pisa by the Florentines in 1406, at which time Uccello was, according to one account, eleven years old. At what age he painted the picture is not suggested. A monogram appears in a corner of it, which is not discernible in the photographs taken of the picture at Rome, and which, by the kindness of Mr. Simonds and Miss Kate Field, I now exhibit to the meeting. It is a P and a V combined, the V of course standing for a U; and it is of consequence to ascertain whether such was the usual signature of Uccello. There is no date. I should not, however, think it was an early work. Amongst the innumerable figures, some extremely small, I have with difficulty discovered one or two helmets apparently with disks at the back; but no other headpiece whatever that I could venture to date later than 1450, a period when Paolo would have been in the plenitude of his powers. What little civil costume is discernible corresponds fairly with that of the military. The painter has paid great attention to the heraldic portion of his subject. The standard of Florence is conspicuous, and the shields of numerous knights are resplendent with coat-armour by which they might be identified.

The second picture is that said to represent the battle of St. Egidio in 1416, and which I have already described. Although historically but ten years later in date, the character of the costume is widely different, but similar in every respect to that depicted in the third work, formerly in the Musée Campana, and now in the Louvre, the subject of which appears to have been unknown, as it is simply entitled "*Une Bataille. Tableau de Paolo Uccello.*"

In this third picture we have the peculiar helmets with

the disk, and the extraordinary, I might say preposterous, crests which distinguish the preceding one. The leader, in his turban-shaped head-dress, is almost a facsimile of the personage erroneously described as a prisoner in the former. Were he not on a black horse in lieu of a white one, we might imagine the subject to be another incident of the same combat : at all events it requires no great knowledge of art to feel satisfied that the two paintings are by the hand of the same master.

Equally certain we may be that the fourth picture, called "The Battle of Anghiari", fought in 1440, between the Milanese under the famous leader Niccolò Piccinino, and the Florentines led by Micheletto Altendado, is by the same hand that painted the taking of Pisa. In size, style, drawing, and costume, it is as obviously a companion picture of the first as the third is of the second. The question in my mind is whether they are all four by Uccello ; and if so, is the one in the National Gallery correctly entitled ? All four events occurred during Uccello's lifetime : the earliest when he was in the twelfth year of his age, the last when he was forty-four. Now in the two evidently companion pictures we have here before us, there is nothing to raise a doubt about the subjects. A monogram, said to be that of the painter, is distinctly visible, as I have stated, in "The Taking of Pisa", and the well-known leaning tower identifies the locality. Respecting "The Battle of Anghiari" I have only to observe an apparent contradiction it presents to the remarkable statement of Machiavelli, that although the conflict lasted four hours "there was but one man slain, and he not by any wound or honourable exploit, but falling from his horse he was trodden to death".¹ In the picture there are at least three prostrate warriors clearly distinguishable in the foreground, while curiously enough, in the picture called "The Battle of St. Egidio" one solitary individual is seen lying dead under the feet of the horses. However, I attach no weight to this apparent discrepancy. The names of the towns, Anghiari and Borgo, spelt "Elborgho", mentioned in the account of the battle, appear over the battlements. The fleur-de-lys of Florence and the guivre of the Visconti clearly designate the contending forces ; and there is also the bridge where, according to the histo-

¹ *History of Florence*. Folio. Lond., 1675. Book 5.

rian, the principal struggle took place. Other standards and armorial ensigns may be identified ; and as I have already stated, I can detect no anachronisms in the costume, unless the disks (if they be disks) are to be so accounted. Such, however, is not the case with the other pair of battle-pieces. If such helmets and crests were known in Italy previous to the death of Paolo Uccello in 1479, all Italian paintings and monuments I have seen attributed with anything like authority to that date must be untrustworthy. That they *did* exist some thirty years later there is abundant proof. Uccello could not have imagined them. We cannot escape, therefore, from coming to one of the following conclusions : firstly, that the various dates of birth and death of Paolo Uccello are all erroneous ; and secondly, that the picture called "The Battle of St. Egidio", in the National Gallery, and its companion which was in the Musée Campana, were never painted by that master.

Of Paolo di Dono our knowledge is very unsatisfactory. Bryan, in his *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, ignores the name of "di Dono", and describes him as Paulo Mazzochi, called "Uccello", and says he was born in 1349, forty-seven years earlier than the period assigned to him by Gaye and Vassari, and died in 1432, which would make him eighty-three, the age accorded to him by the latter writers from widely different dates. He is said by Zani, who denies that he was of the family of Mazzochi, to have signed his pictures "Pauli Uccelli opus", and such is the inscription on the pedestal of the colossal equestrian figure of John Hawkwood, the famous English free lance, who died in the Florentine service in 1393 ; at which period, according to Bryan, Paolo would have been forty-four, and consequently Hawkwood's contemporary ; whereas, if Gaye is correct in his dates, Paolo was not born till three or four years after the death of Hawkwood, and therefore could not have painted that picture even from memory ; and if really his work, it must have been designed from imagination. According to Bryan also he would have been fifty-six at the time of the siege of Pisa, his painting of which has the monogram upon it, "P. V.", not "Pauli Uccelli opus", said to be his usual signature.¹ On the other hand, if he died in 1432,

¹ No dependence can be placed on this monogram, which is suspected to have been a comparatively modern addition.

he could not, of course, have painted "The Battle of Anghiari", fought in 1440.

I am no connoisseur. I do not pretend to pronounce an opinion on either the merits or the style of a painter ; but I am deeply interested in the study of costume, and more anxious to learn than ambitious to teach. I have vainly endeavoured to reconcile the discrepancies which have struck me in the examination of these pictures, which at all events are undoubtedly genuine works of the fifteenth century by whomsoever painted ; and trust the Association will not consider that I have unnecessarily occupied its time in calling its attention to the archæological importance of the subject.

ON JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

THE early life of Joseph of Arimathea is an utter blank, and fact and fiction are so interwoven and blended in the legend regarding his later years, that it would be a hopeless task to strive to disentangle the one from the other. The brief historic notice of the saint in Holy Scripture has been amplified in the spurious Gospel of Nicodemus, *alias* the Acts of Pilate, composed by the Manichees in the third century; and monkish writers have so garnished and overspread these two ancient narratives with fable, that tradition has lost much of its strength and value; but in spite of all this our interest in the man grows with increasing ages.

St. Joseph is mentioned by all the four Evangelists, and from their records we gather that he was a native of Ramah or Arimathea, “a city of the Jews”, that he was a person of wealth and honour, a Jewish senator, one of the Sanhedrim, and yet a secret convert to Christianity. We further learn that he had caused a sepulchre to be hewn in a rock in a garden near Mount Calvary, and that on the evening of the crucifixion of Our Lord he boldly went to Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor of Judæa, and craved the body of the Divine Martyr; and on his request being granted, he, with Nicodemus, another Jewish senator, removed the sacred corpse from the rood, and “wound it in linen clothes with spices”, and “laid it in his own new tomb”, and “rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre, and departed.” And this is all that the inspired scribes tell us of this great and good and loving follower of Jesus. But where Scripture terminates, tradition takes up and carries on the story. We are told, and we may accept it as a fact, that after the death of the Redeemer, Joseph of Arimathea openly joined the disciples, and thus evoked the hatred of his countrymen, and jeopardised his life.

With a view of securing his safety, and at the same time spreading the light of the Gospel, Joseph quitted Palestine, and turned his steps towards Europe. Travelling into Gaul he there met St. Philip the Apostle, who instigated his

friend to pass over to Britain. It was a call from Heaven, and could not be resisted, so Joseph, with eleven faithful companions, among whom was Simon Zelotes, took ship for our island, then regarded as one of the utmost bounds of the west. The voyage was prosperous, the desired home was soon in sight, and reaching the Isle of Avalon, the little band landed at a place marked on old maps as the "Sea Wall", and where a tree grew known in after times as the "Oak of Avalon." Joseph and his companions, exhausted with fatigue, rested themselves at a hill on the south-west side of what is now the town of Glastonbury, and which received the title of "Weary-all-Hill", abbreviated in modern days into Wearial, Werrall, and Wirrall Hill; and here, on Christmas Day, Joseph of Arimathea took possession of the land, and consecrated it to the service of God by striking his walking-staff into the earth, which, from a dry hawthorn stick, quickly changed into a florescent tree, which for sixteen hundred years and more is reported to have budded and blossomed at each succeeding anniversary of the nativity of Our Lord, until some irreligious vagabond belonging to the Parliamentary army hacked down the time-honoured and time-hallowed exotic. The venerable stump or root, however, remained visible as late as the year 1750, about which period a memorial-stone was fixed on the ground, bearing this brief record :

I. A

A. D

XXXI.

But though the parent tree was annihilated, it left behind it a goodly brood in and about Glastonbury; and if their budding and blossoming be not so regular as of yore, they still put forth their florets towards the close of December; and in January 1858 Mr. J. H. Payne of Bridgwater submitted to the Association a twig of the "holy thorn" in full blossom, which he had plucked on the previous Christmas Eve.¹ Those who have never seen the living hawthorn may, perhaps, derive some pleasure by gazing on the withered slip I exhibit, which was kindly presented to me by our Vice-President the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, who on Sept. 17th, 1872, plucked it from one of the ancient trees still extant at Glastonbury. It may here be observed that the "SPINA

¹ See *Journal*, xiv, p. 269.

SANCTA" appears on the Glastonbury penny tokens, and that the tree is called by botanists *Crataegus oxyacantha*.

At the time of St. Joseph's arrival in Britain the country was governed by a sovereign named Arviragus, who is stated to have shown great favour to the missionaries, and granted permission to the leader to build a chapel on the western side of *Inis Avalon*. John Hardyng, in his *Chronicle of England unto the Reign of Edward IV* (first printed by Grafton in 1543), tells us—

"Joseph converted this King Arviragus,
By his prechyng, to knowe ye lawe divine,
And baptized hym as write hath Nennius,
The chronicler in Britain tongue full fyne,
(And to Christe lawe made him enclyne,)
And gave him then a shelde of silver white,
A cross end long and overthwart full perfect.
These armes were used through all Brytaine
For a common signe eche mane to know his nacion
From enemies, which now we call certaine,
St. Georges armes by Nenyus information.
And thus this armes by Joseph's creacion,
Full long afore St. George was generate
Were worshipt here of mykell elder date."

It seems to be pretty well agreed that Arviragus, or Prasutagus as he is called by Hector Boetius, reigned from A.D. 45 to 73, and Holinshed fixes Joseph's arrival in Britain to about the year 52. But whatever the period may have been, his mission was most successful, his converts numerous, and from the Avalonian hills streamed forth the glorious rays of Gospel light far and wide over the country. At length death overtook the good old man, and reverential hands laid his precious remains near the eastern extremity of the chapel he had caused to be erected, and which was the germ of that afterwards ever-famous Abbey of Glastonbury, and where the shrine of Joseph of Arimathea proved a grand attraction to the devout pilgrims, as did also his holy well, of which the remains were discovered in 1825.¹

The festival of Joseph of Arimathea was appointed to be kept in the Western Church on March 17, and in the Eastern on July 31; but in neither does the saint seem to have received the amount of homage and respect which we might fairly have expected; and had it not been for the crafty

¹ See *Gent. Mag.*, 1825, p. 449.

old monks of Glastonbury making capital out of his name, his connection with Britain would probably long ere this have passed from most men's minds. But it is worthy of note that the English bishops at the Council of Basle, held in the year 1434, claimed precedence of those of Castile in Spain on the ground of "Britaine's conversion by Joseph of Arimathea".¹

Joseph of Arimathea is of necessity a conspicuous personage in the group attending the descent from the cross by Albert Durer and a host of other mediæval artists, and also at the intombment, but single figures of the holy missionary are rarely seen. Thanks, however, to the kindness of Mr. Watling I am able to lay before you sketches of two most interesting effigies of the saint, one being sculptured, the other painted, and both belonging to Suffolk churches. That wrought by the chisel stands in a niche of the Perpendicular period (*circa* 1450-60), on the roof of Earl-Stonham Church. The statue is bearded, wears a flattish cap, and sleeved tunic buttoned at the neck, and open in front, showing an under-frock. Resting on the palm of his right hand is a *pyxis*, or covered box of spices, which in shape closely resembles some of the old butter-glasses. His left hand held the miraculous hawthorn-staff, which is reported to have been broken away by some fanatic during the Commonwealth, who also did other wilful damage to this curious image.

The second sketch is, perhaps, of still higher interest than the foregoing. It is a copy of the painted glass in the upper tracery of the north window of the church at South Cove, apparently executed about the middle of the fifteenth century. The saint is here of most venerable aspect, with snowy beard flowing on his bosom. He has a tall red cap, recalling the Turkish fez; a white mantle or tunic with enormously wide sleeves edged with gold, and with a sort of tippet round the neck, with long pointed ends bound with rich orphreys. The under-garment reaches to the naked feet, and is of a deep plum or purple colour. Balanced on the right palm is a golden cup or bowl, and the left hand rests on the top of the wondrous staff which has put forth its leaves. Behind the head is a broad golden nimbus with a white tressure. The figure stands on a tessellated

¹ See Fuller's *Church History*, b. iv.

pavement. The field of the picture is hatched or trellised all over; and on either side of the effigy, at the lower part, are large and graceful golden leaves.

I have been told, but cannot verify the statement, that other representations of Joseph of Arimathea occur at Beccles and Clare; but I know not whether they be painted or sculptured.

The history and effigies of Joseph of Arimathea have hitherto received such scant attention from archæologists, that I have ventured to bring these few remarks before the Association, hoping thereby to awaken an interest in such matters, and induce others to pursue the subject, and furnish more ample details respecting the holy man and his mementoes than are at present at my command; and gladly, too, would we learn something of his eleven brave and pious compeers, of whom not the faintest relic or memorial seems to exist. Their very names, save that of Simon Zelotes, are unrecorded, their individual actions forgotten. But of this we may be sure, that each, like their noble leader, played his part well and faithfully, and is reaping a rich reward in Heaven, and to whom we may justly apply the fervid verse of Montgomery, and say—

“These through fiery trials trod,
These from great affliction came;
Now before the throne of God,
Seal'd with His eternal name,
Clad in raiment pure and white;
Victor-palms in every hand,
Through their great Redeemer's might
More than conquerors they stand.”

NEWDIGATE, SOUTH SURREY.

BY THE REV. S. M. MAYHEW, V.P., ETC.

SIRS, will you become travellers with me to a district little known, but rich in interest? And should your visit be in time of spring, you will see the far-stretching meadows sheeted in gold, dappled with *pasque* flowers, snow flakes trembling on the tender green, and as “the evening shades prevail”, the melody of nightingales in wood and thicket will make the twilight vocal; or in summer, stillness brooding on a fruitful land, broken by jangling team bells from deep lanes; or in scented autumn, flashing from moss grown orchards the scarlet and crimson of its ripened fruits, and along the hornbeam hedges, a file fire of red and gold; or winter, with his trailing garments white, tinged by purple and indigo from the hills, ofttime wearing aconite and the pale primrose, and ever merry with wassail and Christmas song; or penetrating by honeysuckled lanes, or climbing hills through fields of sounding corn, or meditating by the old dear church, wherein for seven hundred years the “rude forefathers of the hamlet” prayed, and around which they sleep. I promise no ramble shall be profitless, no antiquarian story without interest. Appointed to the charge of this district by the late Bishop of Winchester, the Right Rev. Dr. Sumner, I soon found much noteworthy in place and people; the contrast to London was strongly marked, the centre of activity had been left for the life-dial standing as it stood some hundred years before. Lying between the Holmwood, Leigh, Rusper, and Capel, it possessed within its boundaries thirteen miles of road, yet could only be reached by one narrow winding way, fenced by luxuriant hedge growths, shadowing oaks, and broken here and there by a moss-grown cottage,—a way rough enough in summer, almost impracticable in winter time. A population so secluded from the great world must needs retain many local marks and customs, reflecting more or less the *modus* of the ancient village life of England; and many of these true-hearted hard-handed sons, alike of toil and soil, could trace their simple histories back one hundred and fifty or two

hundred and fifty years. Indeed, the unclouded memory of many aged persons would bring a long past age clearly before you, in more than one case, connecting our own age by three lives, and in one most remarkable, by four, with the times of Charles I and the last Edward. On the scattered farms the wayfarer was sure of a welcome, and lodging if needs be ; the home-made rushlight burned on the oaken table, and the spindle and distaff were to be found with busy fingers when master and hind, mistress and maid, sat companionably by the great wide fire. Wheat was strewn before the bride, rosemary upon the coffin ; the sermon, priests', and passing bells were tolled, and the custom of a full peal for burials had just ceased. Christmas was introduced by carollers and wassaillers ; the Christmas song, for years out of mind, having been handed down in one family from father to son, the line ending in two aged and devoted brothers, who at the ages of seventy-eight and eighty, sang to me some of their ancient carols ; and soon after, when one was called, the survivor refusing comfort, pined and sorrowed, and passed to that land wherein "the weary are at rest". I speak of the customs of the peasantry ; but if it were to pass without remark, in my judgment a deep ingratitude and foul stain would disfigure this paper by omission of mention of the memory of the late Rev. John Broadwood of Lyne, who carefully collected the words and music of these old-world carols. He was one jealous of innovation on the cherished country life, by poor and rich alike known,—the courtly, the loved, benevolent, and mourned, a true old English gentleman. The district is singularly free from superstition, though not in the old days from smuggling. The pack horses from the Sussex coast, making straight inland, pursued three tracks, the outermost by Leith Hill, north-west ; by Leigh and Holmesdale, east ; and through Newdigate to the North Downs. Many are the tales, singular and true, of night adventure, and the costly presents of teas, silks, and liquor left at the house door, in the barn, or in the church—a reward for an illegally pressed team, restored when the "run" had been completed.

It is pleasant to recall the traditions of a people who made our residence amongst them happy ; forgive the recital, and let us turn to other subjects. The geology of the

district is Wealden, and the clay and green sand vary in depth from 40 ft. to 600 ft., as at Ockley. The upper strata contain beds of paudina—carbonised wood and reeds, with great bones of extinct mammals. The vegetation, chiefly oak, in its glory about May 17. These oaks, I take it, may be the scions of the old forest stock which stretched from the sea to the North Downs, of which one gigantic remainder stands, or stood, at Ewood, once a hunting seat of the Dukes of Norfolk, under whose shadow, singularly enough, lived and died a centenarian, leaving seventy-one lineal descendants. Here, wherein the wolf kennelled and the wild boar found his lair, the Roman built his iron furnace, and left the slag mingled with bits of Samian and coin, the advantages of a wooded country and pleasures of *venerie* may have brought about an early settlement and residence. The boundaries of the parish are mentioned in *Domesday*, and its apparent history begins as a manor of Earl Warren and Surrey, granted by Earl Hamelin in the reign of Henry I to the church of St. Mary Overies, Southwark. In the reign of Edward I, John de Montfort exercised the right of free warren. The name of William Hersee appears as a proprietor in the reign of Edward II. The Earls of Warwick held an interest in these estates till 1377, when they were sold to Sir Baldwin Frevill and Sir Thomas Boteler. At what time the Newdigates obtained the manor is not known, but documents prove possession in the time of John. From 1377 to 1612, a complete series of their wills exist, and, in the reign of Henry the Third, John de Newdigate possessed twenty acres of land by grant, called Lamputt's Fields. The Newdigates resided at the manor house, built on the shoulder of the southern hills, still existing as Manor Farm, but retaining few features of the old residence ; but this landscape on which the builders looked remains ; the winding grassy way, the upland above the house, where the noon of summer stillness is broken by the plover's cry ; and westward stretch in long lines of green and hazy blue, rolling billows of matchless verdure, breaking on the picturesque heights over Ewhurst and Rudgwick ; and down below glimmer in the sunlight, the grey old church and rectory. The original house was quadrangular, with a fountain and extensive stabling. The principal characteristics passed away about one hundred

years since. Unfortunately we have few memorials of this ancient family. Thomas Newdigate de Newdegate directs the burial of his body in the mortuary chapel of St. Margaret, within Newdigate churchyard. He gives twelvecpence to the mother church of Winchester, and twelvecpence for the high altar of the church of St. Peter, Newdigate, also bequeathing one-third of his goods to Alice, his wife. This lady died in 1489, and gave 6s. 8*d.* for a missal for the church at Newdigate, 7s. for a porch, and twelvecpence to repair the bells. Thomas their son dying 1516, by will was buried in the mortuary chapel, and directs an obit to be said for twenty years. His son died in 1521 ; he also was buried in the mortuary chapel, and directs an obit to be said for ten years by five priests yearly, every time to say five masses, for the souls of Thomas, his father, and friends, and each priest for his service to have sixpence. The mortuary chapel was pulled down by one of the last of the Newdigates. The property remained with the family until 1636, when it was sold to John Budgen of Dorking.

Leaving Manor Farm and its associations by shady lanes, where great wild apple trees in spring time spread against the glowing sky a firmament of stars, by winding footways through fields of scented corn, we come to Cudworth, a moated manor house, shut in by yews, and elms, and ancient orchards, and wild luxuriance of rose, and many a garden flower. Cudworth appears as a manor in the time of Edward I, then held by Walter de Payle, of the abbot of Chertsey. It came afterwards into the possession of the Newdigates, by whom it was sold in 1636. The house, though much altered, retains many original peculiarities ; around it is the quadrangular moat, flanked on the west by fish preserves, now dry. A bridge crosses into the tangled garden, and Cudworth, with its Perpendicular windows and old ruddy brick, is before you. The hall is now the "living room" of the house, with the great wide fireplace sadly contracted. In the corridor above, however, and apartments, many encaustic tiles remain in their places, together with mutilated memoranda of taste and elegance, and through the latticed panes fall the slow waving shadows of the great trees ; the blackbird sings merrily in the garden ; but more in consonance is the perpetual cry of the restless rooks, harmonising so well with the pictures of the past. Let us return

on our steps to the church. According to Dugdale, the gift of Newdigate to the priory of St. Mary Overies by Earl Hamelin was confirmed by Richard Toelive, Bishop of Winchester. The chapel of St. Margaret, so often mentioned in the wills of the Newdigates, was given at the same time. The priory of St. Mary's also obtained, in the reign of Edward II, a license of appropriation, the value being £9 per annum. It was not, however, carried into effect, and on the dissolution of religious houses, it came to the Crown. In the reign of Edward I the value was twenty marks.

The church, standing on high ground in the angle formed by two roads, and dedicated to St. Peter, is a structure of mixed architecture, consisting of chancel, nave, belfry, porch, and south aisle, wherein also was the chapel of Cudworth. The building dates from the reign of Henry II, and appears, as in other instances, to have expanded as the population increased. The measurement within the walls, across from north to south, was about 28 ft. by 40 ft., from which the chancel tending east may have been another 20 ft. by 18 ft. *Was!* I write a *memoir*, not an *autobiography* of the church; its recollections alone remain. Well, this chancel, its east window a triple, with lancet-headed lights, flanked north and south with two long narrow round-headed windows, was the original building, with the priest's door and a small double window of a later period. The walls, nearly a yard in thickness, were raised of chert and sandstone from Leith Hill, and chalk from the North Downs. A wall equally massive closed the original structure to the west, though this was afterwards pierced, on the enlargements of the church, by an archway 9 ft. by 6 ft., with two recessed seats, leading into the main aisle of the nave. No record exists of the enlargements. The south aisle was divided from the nave by two large well-proportioned arches of fine stone from Merstham quarries, springing from a low massive and moulded central pillar; the three windows of the nave being of two or three lights, with deeply-moulded trefoil heads, a larger Perpendicular window (north) having been inserted at a later period. Across the west end, and communicating with the belfry, was a gallery of oak, curiously carved, and bearing the inscription that "This gallerie was builded by Henry Nicholson, gent., 1627." The belfry was a celebrated structure, and extraordinary specimen of the

builder's art. With no foundation beyond massive logs of chestnut, and supported by four massive uprights, an intricate tower and spire went up 72 feet, surmounted by a cock, externally shingled; within hung a ring of six bells, making a sweet and melodious music—so sweet, as heard over the fields, a floating tangled cloud of sound, a cloud of compensating colour. The porch south was comparatively modern—A.D. 1703—the year, however, of the great storm. So stood the dear old church, but oh! the whitewash and neglect! A partial restoration brought to light many memorials of the pious care of a past age. On removing the whitewash, the transverse beams and cornices of the nave appeared of sound black oak, and the walls painted a splashed crimson, with a running bordering for the windows. The great centre pillar had been also coloured crimson, and in the stone were engraved twenty-two Greek and Latin crosses. Between the great Perpendicular window in the north wall and the angle of the chancel, a running pattern of foliage covered the wall, forming a framing for holy portraits, many of which had been destroyed. The two preserved, and now presented to you, may have represented “The Salutation.”

Again, below these, on the very stones, appeared ecclesiastical figures in priestly garments. The mullions and reveals of the north window had been spotted with fleurs-de-llys and the Tudor rose, as represented in the annexed drawing; and beyond, westward, was uncovered the magnificent fresco of St. Christopher (or, as a dear friend delighted to call it, “Sir Christopher”). The presented drawing will give you some idea of its beauty, its extent being about 10 by 12 feet. The red cross of St. George on the pennants of the ships may, with the forms of naval architecture, mark the time of Henry V as its era.

This fresco is well worthy of study, differing so widely from wall-paintings in general. The superiority of style, colour, and design, marks it the work of an artist. The face of the infant Christ is peculiarly engaging, and a majestic repose ennobles the form. Christopher is altogether the giant, and with upturned, wonder-filled visage looks upon Him Whom he bears. The saint is assisted in his passage by the stem of a tree having leafy branches; and on the east side appears a monk. The infant Saviour is clothed



ST. CHRISTOPHER.

FROM A WALL PAINTING DISCOVERED IN NENDIGATE CHURCH, SURREY.
NOW DESTROYED.

in a long garment of red, with a rich, embroidered collar; his hair auburn, his fingers raised in benediction, his left hand bearing a golden orb and elevated cross, with a nimbus about his head. St. Christopher is in ample-sleeved coat, embroidered, with a girdle about his loins; his legs are bare; from his shoulders falls a purple cloak fastened by a golden brooch of three discs; a coloured fillet encircles his head, tied in a knot on the right ear; a nimbus also shines around his head. Three ships and a boat are on the water, and on the western side is a man fishing. A portion of this noble painting had been destroyed in a former age. It was reserved for the year 1876 to complete its destruction. Another fresco was found on the south wall of Cudworth Chapel, but could not be uncovered.

The windows shone with the arms of the Norfolks, the Warrens, and the Newdigates. Few remnants of glass tell their story now. One shield alone glows redly in summer's sunset,—the shield of the old Newdigates (*gules*, three bears' paws erect), awhile flinging its radiance on their tomb beneath, but soon leaving it to silence and shadows. From the tomb the brasses have been despoiled, two shields, and one full-length armed figure. A fine hagioscope, 3 ft. by 6 ft.; a trefoiled piscina; a church chest of a log of oak, dug out, and a slab for cover withal, and its three locks; together with a few well-worn tessellated tiles,—comprise the remaining memorials of St. Peter's, Newdigate.

The mortuary chapel stood in the north-east corner of the churchyard, and a number of German and English coins had been found in the south-west. Could the "church ale" have been held here? Happy memories of place and people! To me the church and its services are closely connected with the memory of my old clerk, Stephen Tidy,—a character—descended from a family traceable in the Registers for more than two hundred years. In his way a learned man; the depository of family history, folk-lore, and legend, and who, "with spectacles on nose", and voice to the last sonorous, long led the responses in the Sunday services.

With a few extracts from the Registers this paper will conclude, leaving unsaid and unnoticed many mentionable things. The Registers of the parish commence,—baptisms, 1560; marriages, 1565; burials, 1590. They contain few notices of national importance, though many of local interest.

“King Charles y^e 2nd was crown’d at Westminster, St. George’s Day, April 23, A.D. 1661, whom God grant long to reigne.” Evidently the entry of a staunch Royalist.

Phillipa, daughter of George Brown, Esq., and of Lady Elizabeth, his wife, was born at Betchworth Castle September 7, and baptised September 11, A.D. 1661. 1650, without a settled minister at Capel. 1620, Mr. Richard Newdigate was buried, *the last*.

From October 1669 to May 13, 1673, no entries of marriages appear: 1584 appears to have been a fatal year. Sixteen burials are recorded, whereas in 1665 there were but six, and in 1666 but three. A registry of Dissenters was made 1696-7. A female child of Thomas Ede, a Dissenter, born July 8, 1696; no notices of the Union, civil war, death of Charles, the plague, etc., but of Briefs.

In Newdigate, March 5, 1670, was collected y^e sum of £5 : 6 : 4 upon a briefe for the redemption of a great number of slaves, taken by Turkish pyrates. John Salt, curate.

Newdigate, July 25, 1686, was collected the sum of 6s. upon a briefe, for the relief of the French Protestants. William Hurst. This marks the revocation of the edict of Nantes.

Newdigate, August 5, 1686, was collected 10½*d.* upon a brief for repairs of the parish church of Eynsworth, Huntingdonshire.

May 18, 1690. Collected in y^e parish church of Newdigate, on a brief, for a fire in East Smithfield, in Middlesex, y^e sum of 8s. 3*d.*

1691. Collected in y^e parish of Newdigate, from house to house, upon a second briefe for y^e Irish Protestants, y^e sum of 8s.

Let me testify that on the occasion of the national collection for the sufferers by the Indian Mutiny, Newdigate did its duty, well and truly.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 108.)

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 29, 1877.

Soon after 10 o'clock the members set out in considerable force and higher spirits than ever, enjoying a very pleasant drive over the celebrated road to Holyhead, which here runs through the valley of the Dee, and presents some of the most lovely scenery possible. This day was set apart for the examination of the Dyke, and perhaps it was as well that the members had heard the description of it on Tuesday night, for the excursion party failed to strike upon it at the point where Mr. Burgess was waiting to unfold some remarkable evidences he had discovered in connection with its construction and uses.

The first halt was made about two miles from Chirk Castle, the residence of Mr. R. Myddelton Biddulph, at a part of the road which was intersected by the well-known Clwyd Offa, or Offa's Dyke,—a line of demarcation more probably than one of defence,—extending from the neighbourhood of Newmarket, in Flintshire, and traversing the counties of Flint, Denbigh, Shropshire, Radnor, Hereford, and Monmouth, till it reaches Beachley at the mouth of the river Wye. This Dyke, according to popular belief, was constructed during the eighth century by Offa, King of Mercia, and Pennant says “was long confounded with Wat's Dyke, to which it is equal in depth, though not in length, running parallel to it for many miles.”

At this place Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., at the request of the company, led them along a portion of the ditch on the left hand side of the main road, and observed, among other things, on the analogy between the Roman Wall from Carlisle to Newcastle, and the earthen vallum and fosse they were then walking through. On the Welsh side the indentation of the ditch is always noticed, and the mound on the English, thus indicating that it was made by the latter. As in the Roman work, so at this place, there are supporting forts of small size, with, in many cases, Saxon names; and as we have several indications of Offa's fondness for Roman models, the work before the

party might safely, he considered, be assigned to Offa, and an imitation of the great bulwark of stone already referred to. Apart from the evidences yet remaining, we also possess several notices of Offa's Dyke in the early Welsh chronicles; and open to doubt as some of them may be, they all refer to Offa as the constructor. The Dyke was traced by the party to the edge of a steep hill descending sharply to the river Dee, within sight of the railway viaduct, which made a prominent feature in the lovely landscape. It then suddenly stopped, thus affording evidence of the use of natural boundaries, as has often been noticed elsewhere, such as a good river, for defence as well as for defining separate territories. Nothing of Offa's Dyke now remains to mark the formidable work which kept the sturdy Welshmen at bay, but a hedge and ditch, which must be often cleared by the Wymstay hunters without the least difficulty. At the Wrexham Temporary Museum, among the objects collected a few years ago, were some Roman remains found beneath the line of Offa's Dyke, which had evidently been laid in later times above these more ancient deposits.

After an agreeable walk back to the Holyhead road, and a hurried look at the Dyke on the other side, the company proceeded to Chirk Park, and partly walking and driving reached the Castle, where they were met by Mr. Somerville, the agent of Mr. Biddulph, in the absence of that gentleman. They first inspected the servants' hall, where there is a large collection of muskets and other miscellaneous apparatus, which were used in the civil wars, and a number of other curious relics of the time of the Commonwealth. The muskets, Mr. Bloxam informed us, were fired from a rest from the centre of a column, and surrounded by pikes to keep off cavalry. It will be remembered that the famous Sir Thomas Myddelton, then owner of the Castle, played a prominent part in the civil wars. When member for Denbigh, he at first sided with the King, but afterwards went over to the other side; and the King having seized the Castle in his absence, in 1642, Sir Thomas Myddelton was appointed to the command of the Parliamentary forces in Wales. At Welsbpool, in conjunction with General Mytton, he defeated and shattered Prince Rupert's regiment of horse, and took Powis Castle, which was then a great Royalist stronghold. We are told that "by one of the whimsical chances of the times", Sir Thomas Myddelton, with the Puritan army, besieged his own house, and could not take it. Among the relics of olden times in the servants' hall, are some old halberds, some curious armour, a wide-brimmed Puritan hat and hat-case, and an enormous "black-jack", 22 inches in height and 30 inches in diameter, probably of the time of Elizabeth; and some singular square-toed boots which Mr. Brock thought were of the time of William III, and might have suggested the nickname of "Old Square Toes". The main

features of the Castle are now Elizabethan, though it was originally an Edwardian structure. In the courtyard is a stone inserted in a still later portion of the building, of the date of 1636, with the inscription, "This new building, with the tower, was built all in one year by Thomas Myddleton, Knight." In going through the state rooms the visitors examined with the utmost interest the treasures of art and antiquity which they contain. While looking at the portraits in the saloon, which are principally of the time of the Charleses, Mr. Bloxam stated that after devoting a great deal of care and attention to the subject, and examining many documents, he had arrived at the conclusion that the Duke of Monmouth was the legitimate son of Charles II. He had a great deal of evidence to show that the King was actually married to Lucy Walters, otherwise Mrs. Barlow. Amongst the things which attracted the special attention of the visitors was a cabinet, one of the finest in England, said to have cost £10,000, and given by Charles II to Sir Thomas Myddelton. The pictures painted on the cabinet, of the miracles of Christ, are ascribed to Rubens. The visitors were shown Charles I's bedroom; but the bed in which the King slept has been removed to another part of the Castle.

On their return to the courtyard, Mr. Loftus Brock made some observations upon the architecture of the Castle. He said he certainly had not expected to find Chirk Castle such a magnificent specimen of old work as it was. The exterior differed very little from the views of the last century representing it. Many remarks had been made with respect to the extreme lowness and massive character of the towers, and also with respect to their being of a comparatively modern period. There was but little of the exterior of the Castle much older than the time of Elizabeth, while the windows on one side were clearly of the date assigned to them over the doorway leading into the domestic apartments, viz. 1636. They could, therefore, readily imagine that the Castle was in capital order for the siege, which they had all read of with so much interest. A careful examination of the Castle, however, rewarded them by indicating many relics of a building of much greater antiquity. On one side, the approach and the little doorways leading to it were all indicative of an Edwardian castle of the date of somewhere about 1350, probably a little earlier. The round towers there told their own history. They were relics of the Edwardian castle, with many architectural features of the time of Elizabeth, and with the additions still later to which he had referred. The domestic chapel had, indeed, been a gem of its kind. It was one of the most interesting domestic chapels he had seen for a long time. It had a Decorated window with very good tracery; and there was a window on the north side of the same character, very pure in style, and now built against

by more modern work. There was also a Perpendicular window on the south side with very characteristic tracery. They had, therefore, within the chapel architectural relics of an earlier period than would appear upon a cursory inspection. It was filled with the peculiar fittings of a domestic chapel of the time of Charles I, and was on that account even deserving of a careful examination. There was a screen of that period, which was by no means a rood-screen, for it never had a crucifix. The pulpit, reading-desk, and other ecclesiastical fittings, were within the chancel-screen. The Communion-Table was noteworthy. It was not placed as was usual in the Caroline period, but was made in the form of an altar. The fittings, however, were in a very dilapidated condition, and he trusted the suggestion might be conveyed to Mr. Myddelton Biddulph that something should be done to rescue the chapel from its present state of decay.

Mr. Bloxam said that some of the fittings in the chapel were of the early part of the last century.

Mr. Brock said these were so dilapidated that it was difficult to say what they were.

Mr. Talbot said he wished to point out, with regard to a portion of the building assigned to 1636, that the present finish was not original, but that a parapet had been added. The fourteenth century wall of the Castle appeared to have been abruptly broken. The very fine old entrance-gateway, with two arches near the outer arch, was also, he supposed, of the fourteenth century.

Mr. S. I. Tucker, *Rouge Croix*, said he thought that a portion of the Castle, assigned to the seventeenth century, was of an older date, and in this he was confirmed by Mr. Brock.

Before leaving, many of the visitors ascended the watch-tower and ramparts, which are reached by a flight of stone steps, and from which a magnificent view of the surrounding country is obtained. It is said that seventeen counties can be seen from this "point of vantage", but that is, of course, an exaggeration.

Leaving the Castle, the party drove through the finely wooded park to the Hand Hotel, where an excellent luncheon was awaiting them in the schoolroom. After luncheon they drove back over Pont Cyssellthe, a bridge over the Dee at Cefn, similar to, but smaller than, the bridge at Llangollen, through Llangollen to visit Valle Crucis Abbey and Eliseg's Pillar.

After an examination of these very beautiful and well-kept remains, Mr. W. W. E. Wynne, M.A., F.S.A., gave an interesting narrative of how the late Lord Dungannon and himself excavated an enormous mass of earth from the interior of the nave, and thus revealed the entire ground-plan of the church, bringing to light many a hidden monument and tomb. Among them was one having an inscription of a very

early date on the lid, in memory of a member of the Trevor family, to whom the Abbey belonged. The stone is most carefully and reverently cared for to this day by Miss Lloyd, the guardian of the precious remains of this far-famed and most interesting building.

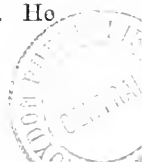
Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock then proceeded to read a very elaborate and well-prepared history of the Abbey, the delivery of which was frequently greeted with merited applause. This paper will be found printed above, at pp. 145-158.

Mr. Wynne of Peniarth said that his late friend Lord Dungannon, and himself, had the building excavated. There was not a single tombstone visible before that work was begun, except that in the upper part of the Monastery, now forming the top of a chimneypiece. The name on the stone was certainly not Welsh. With regard to the name of the Abbey, he thought it was sometimes called the Abbey of Llanegwestl, and sometimes that of Valle Crucis. In an arbitratory award to settle a dispute between some chieftains and the Monastery, now in his possession, it was called Valle Crucis. The award was dated 1247. On the west wall was an inscription in memory of Abbot Adam; and there was the record of an abbot of that name in the fifth year of Edward III, and again in the seventeenth year of the same King. He supposed that the part of the church was finished after his death, as the words "*Quiescat anima*" are found. Some Perpendicular work was introduced in the wall of the south transept, where there was a very good window of that style. The date on one of the tombstones was 1290, which was the earliest dated tombstone he ever heard of. Mr. Bloxam could tell them whether there was any earlier.

Mr. Bloxam said there were one or two of earlier date, but that was one of the very earliest.

Mr. Wynne said it was the tomb of a relative of the founder's family, the lords of Dinas Bran. It was protected by a movable cover, so that it might not be injured by people walking over it. In excavating it they found an immense number of human bones and one entire skeleton, which they had re-buried. These Cistercians did not appear to have adhered very strictly to their rules of discipline. One of the abbots had a bard who wrote a great number of poems, and in one of these, addressed to a friend, he invited him to "come and drink the abbot's ale." They found in the Abbey a great mass of rubbish, which was, no doubt, the *débris* of the central tower.

Mr. Brock said he thought they ought not to separate without expressing their deep sense of the obligation under which all archaeologists lay to Mr. Wynne. They owed to him almost all the beauty of that church. Mr. Wynne found it a heap of rubbish, and he had left it one of the most interesting objects of study in the Principality. Ho



hoped that some of the owners of similar buildings would take a lesson from Mr. Wynne. By charging a fee for admission they might not only obtain a fund sufficient to keep up the building, but also to employ some one to take charge of it.

Mr. Wynne said he was very much obliged for the remarks which had been made. The credit for the work, though partly due to him, was much more due to the late Lord Dungannon, who took a strong interest in everything that related to the antiquities of his country, and especially to the restoration of churches. Lord Dungannon proposed the restoration, and he (Mr. Wynne) gladly helped him in carrying it out.

Mr. Bloxam then made a few remarks upon the monuments of the church. He said it was extremely rare to find sepulchral effigies of abbots. He only knew two, and they were both of the fourteenth century. In Stoneleigh Abbey was a very curious MS., written by an abbot of the fourteenth century, called *Acta Abbatum*. One of the abbots appeared to have been regarded as a very simple-minded man, and it was remarked of him that the disposal of money was not in his way. The chronicle also said of an abbot, that the only good thing he did in his life was to rebuild the refectory. With regard to the domestic buildings, what was said to be the monks' dormitory was, he thought, the abbot's lodgings. With reference to the double piscina in that church, the only writer who had given an explanation of it was a learned French ecclesiologist, who said that the one side was used for the water with which the priest performed his ablutions previous to the sacrifice of the mass, and the other for the water with which the chalice was rinsed. Mr. Bloxam's remarks were interrupted by the pressure of time, and the party then proceeded to Eliseg's Pillar.

Mr. Bloxam had prepared a paper on the subject, from which he read some extracts, after expressing his regret that the elucidation of the subject had not been undertaken upon the occasion by a Welsh antiquary. That pillar was perhaps the earliest inscribed lapidary pedigree in this country, and carried them back several generations. Of the numerous inscribed post-Roman memorial stones in this country, extending from the sixth to the ninth century, the pillar of Eliseg is the most remarkable. These memorial or inscribed sepulchral stones are mostly rude and unshapen monoliths, with the inscriptions irregularly incised in misformed letters, altogether dissimilar to the regular-formed and sculptured sepulchral monuments and altars of the Roman era, with their well-cut inscriptions. Those of the post-Roman period, that is, of the Britons after the Romans, are oftentimes inscribed in a corrupted and false latinity, sometimes in a few words only, not disposed horizontally, but vertically, and in many cases they merely

contain the name of the person commemorated, and of his father, as that on the Margam mountain, the Bodvor stone, commonly called the Maen Llythyrog. "I can (continued Mr. Bloxam) find no mention of this monument in Leland, or the earlier editions of Camden, neither of whom appear to have seen it, or had any knowledge of it. As far as I have been able to ascertain, it was first noticed by Archbishop Ussher, about the middle of the seventeenth century. He transmitted an account of his discovery to Dr. Gerard Langbaine, a learned divine of those days. The pillar was thrown down during the civil wars and broken into two pieces. Mr. Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, a celebrated Welsh antiquary, saw it in this state in 1662, and took a copy, which Mr. Edward Llwyd transcribed, and sent in 1692 to the learned Dr. Mill, the principal of Edmund Hall, Oxford. Mr. Llwyd also inserted the inscription in his Welsh *Itinerary*. It there consisted of thirty-one lines. In 1779, Mr. Lloyd of Trevor Hall, erected the upper part of the column, containing sixteen lines of inscription on its ancient base, which he placed upon a rough tumulus, and set it up where it now stands. The remaining portion of the column has long since disappeared." For these facts he was indebted to Owen and Blakeway's *History of Shrewsbury*, published in 1825. After quoting Pennant, Mr. Bloxam gave the inscription from Mr. Vaughan's copy, and a translation of it. The following is the first portion of the inscription, which is in minuscule, or so-called Irish letters. The translation is as given in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*:—

"Concenn filius Catteli, Catteli
filius Brohemail, Brohmail filius
Eliseg, Eliseg filius Guoillauc.
Concenn itaque pronepos Eliseg
edificavit hunc lapidem proavo
suo Eliseg."

("Concenn, the son of Catteli; Catteli, the son of Brochmail; Brochmail, the son of Eliseg; Eliseg, the son of Guoillauc; Concenn, therefore the great-grandson of Eliseg, erected this stone to the memory of his great-grandfather, Eliseg.") With regard to the age of the monument, Mr. Bloxam said: "It is a late, perhaps the latest lapidary inscription of the kind we have. It may be of the eighth century, but how comes it to be so unlike in form the rude and unworked monoliths on which the other lapidary inscriptions are graven. I believe it to have been originally a Roman column from some Roman building, perhaps brought there from Deva, Chester, perhaps from Uriconium, Wroxeter. It has the peculiar entasis or swelling of classic art. It is not represented so in the various engravings that appear of it, and I cannot find that any photograph has been taken of it. The inscription is not legible, but if a cast was taken of it, it is possible that some portion

might be made out by artificial light and shade. An engraving of this pillar appears in the *History of Shrewsbury*; another, after a drawing by Dr. Parker, is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April 1809; and a third appears in Pennant's *Tours in Wales*, published in 1810. Pennant treats of it as follows:—It is said that the stone, when complete, was 12 ft. high. It is now reduced to 6 ft. 8 ins. The remainder of the capital is 18 ins. long. It stood upon a square pedestal, still lying on the ground. The breadth of it is 5 ft. 3 ins., and the thickness 18 ins. Within these few years, says Pennant, the tumulus was opened, and the relics and certain bones were found there, placed as usual in those days between some flat stones."

Mr. Brock mentioned a curious story about a skull, which was found when the excavations were made there, having been gilded and then re-interred.

The evening meeting began soon after 8, the chair being taken by the Right Rev. N. J. Merriman, D.D., Bishop of Graham's Town. After a short introductory address by the Chairman, philological archæology was discoursed to the members by Professor Rhys of Oxford, whose paper on the mythology of the neighbourhood was received with great delight, and will be printed hereafter; and by Dr. Margoliouth, whose endeavours to trace an affinity between the Cymri and the Israelites were not so readily acquiesced in. Analysis of Oriental archæological fragments, now in the British Museum, led him, he said, to conclude that the term *kymro*, "priest of an idolatrous system", was closely allied to the name Omri, the notorious king of Israel, who consummated the idolatrous system among the ten tribes who seceded from the house of Jacob. This paper will also appear in a future *Journal*.

At the close of Dr. Margoliouth's paper, Professor Rhys proceeded in a vigorous manner to demolish the ingenious theory which the rev. doctor had, with a great expenditure of labour and learning, constructed. He said that he (the professor) did not know much about the Semitic languages, but, from a Celtic point of view, the whole thing was a mistake. The word "*Kymry*" was perfectly capable of analysis, according to the rules of Welsh philology, and they had no occasion to go to the Hebrew or any other language for an explanation of it. Professor Rhys then explained the derivation of the word, which originally meant "compatriot", *kym* being the same prefix as *com* in the Latin. As the word was perfectly explicable as a Welsh word, why should they go to the Hebrew? It was a long way off. The learned doctor seemed to suppose that Gael and *Kymry* were synonymous. They were nothing of the kind. It was useless to compare a Welsh word of the present day with the Hebrew. The mutations of consonants and the gradual change known as phonetic decay must be taken into account. Welsh words of four syllables, found on ancient inscribed

stones, were in the present day reduced to two syllables. Dr. Margoliouth had drawn his picture without any perspective. Any number of theories might be constructed from the superficial resemblance of words in different languages.

Dr. Margoliouth, who was received with cheers, made a short reply.

Dr. Phené described a visit he had paid to the objects exhumed by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ, and characterised them as the greatest archæological results of the age; at the same time, he was disposed to disagree with some of the theories which had been advanced with regard to the identification and age of the remains.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 30TH, 1877.

The members and visitors left Llangollen in carriages at ten o'clock for Corwen. The morning was bright, with a rather sharp though pleasant breeze, and, with the exception of one or two showers, the weather continued fine throughout the day. As they left Llangollen, they entered the delightful valley of Glyndyfrdwy, so largely associated with the history and traditions of the great chieftain Owain Glyndwr. On the way, the visitors alighted at an ancient farmhouse, to look at a table which is said to have come from Owain Glyndwr's house. The table, which is a very primitive piece of furniture, has been at some time cut in two. Mr. Bloxam was inclined to think that both the house and the table were not older than the first half of the seventeenth century, though a splayed and deeply-recessed window in one of the rooms seems of much earlier date.

The visitors also inspected a tumulus, near which Mr. Bloxam and other authorities said was in all probability a small British military outpost or watch-tower.

On their reaching, at Sychuant, the supposed site of one of the residences of Owain Glyndwr, where there is a tumulus about 30 ft. high by the roadside, near the seventh mile stone from Llangollen, and called "Glyndwr's Mount", Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., the Excursion Secretary, read a paper containing an interesting historical sketch of Owain Glyndwr. Mr. Wright said that from that neighbourhood the great chieftain used to view his territory, for from one point he could, it is said, see forty square miles of his patrimony. A celebrated poet, Iolo Goch, had given a gloomy description of Glyndwr's palace, but whether there or at Sycharth, at which he frequently enjoyed the great chieftain's hospitality, was not certain. They might probably allow somewhat for the poetic licence of the bard when he compared the house

to Westminster Abbey. It appeared to have had a gatehouse and moat. Within its walls were nine halls, each furnished with a wardrobe, which has to modern antiquarians more than one signification, though Pennant thought the word applied to the clothes of the adherents of this great prince of Wales. Near the house, on a verdant bank, was a wooden house, supported on posts and covered with tiles. It contained four apartments, each divided into two, for the use of the guests. Here was a church of a cruciform shape, with several chapelries. The seat was surrounded with every convenience for good living. There was a warren, and of course a pigeon-house, a mill, orchard, and a vineyard. Fishponds, filled with pike and gwyniads, which were brought from Bala lake; a heronry for sport, and to supply the palace with game. The bard dwelt feelingly on the wine, the ale so sparkling, and the bread so white; and, as he descanted on the cook, he did not forget the kitchen. Two dates were given as that of Owain's birth,—1354 and 1349, both during Edward III's long reign of fifty years, the former being the generally received date. After looking at a tumulus close by, just above the Dee, and covered with trees, the archaeologists returned to their carriages and drove on to Corwen, which was the rendezvous of the army collected to oppose Henry IV.

The parish church of Corwen was then visited, and a paper on the subject was read by the rector, the Rev. W. Richardson. The church is dedicated to the Armorican missionaries, Mael and Sulien, who lived in the sixth century. There is a singular legend in connection with a rude stone which is built into the wall of the north porch. The stone was called "Carreg y big yn y fach rewlyd", "the pointed stone in the icy nook". It is said that all attempts to build the church in any other place were frustrated by the influence of certain adverse powers, till the founders, warned in vision, were directed to the spot where this pillar stood. The *Gossiping Guide* says that similar stories are told of other Welsh churches. Mr. Richardson remarked that this stone appears also to supply the name of "Corfaen", the "enclosure or choir of the stone", rather than "Corwen", the "white choir or church". The latter would not have been applicable to the church, both the freestone and the rough stone being of a rather darkish shade. Another curious legend is to the effect that the mark of a cross¹ on the stone over the south door of the chancel is the impress of Owain Glyndwr's dagger, which he threw down from the precipitous cliff just behind the town. In the churchyard is the shaft

¹ The total length is $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches, including the hilt, which is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long; the cross-guard is 10 ins.; the blade, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, and is sunk in the wall from half an inch to an inch. One of the daggers is preserved at Rûg House with other relics of the "Lord of the Water Valley."

of a very ancient cross, probably of the seventh or eighth century, called the "Sword of Glyndwr", 7 ft. high, with roll mouldings, with interlaced cablework on the top. On the north side of the chancel, under a semi-circular arch, lies the very curious monumental effigy of Iorwerth Sulien, a vicar of Corwen, in his sacerdotal vestments, the upper part of the figure being in relief, and holding the chalice of a priest, and the lower portion a flat surface, with the inscription, "Hic jacet Iorwerth Sulien vicarius de Corvaen ora pro eo." The monument belongs to the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. It has been said, but without good authority, to refer to St. Sulien, "the godliest man and greatest clerk in all Wales", who gave his name to a sacred well near Rûg Chapel, from which it is said water was fetched in olden times to fill the font of Corwen Church. The church was restored in 1871-1872 by Mr. Ferrey. It was originally cruciform, but the south transept has been entirely swept away, and a south aisle, with an arcade of heavy arches and pillars added. Some fourteenth century carved work let into the communion rails, and an oak chest in the vestry, made out of the trunk of some bygone giant of druidical groves, were the only relics of the past. The dimensions of this tree may be gathered from the fact that it is 25 ins. across, 29 ins. deep, and is 4 ft. 8 ins. long. Mr. Richardson in his paper said that, before the alterations made by Mr. Ferrey, there was little architectural character to the church. Most of the windows were round-headed ones of the Hanoverian period, without mullions or tracery, while those which possessed any tracery were of comparatively modern and very debased type. The tower, it would be noticed, remained untouched to gladden the heart of the new Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. A project for improving the tower was, fortunately as some might think, deferred on account of a lack of funds. There is a beautiful triple-lighted window at the east end. According to Mr. Thomas, the date of 1777 upon the chancel ceiling appears to indicate the time when the narrow lancets which had existed throughout the church in 1729 were closed up or replaced by round-headed Hanoverian windows, but no indications of old lancet windows were found when the present windows were inserted. Mr. Richardson said it was characteristic of Welsh churches that they were of great length in proportion to their width. Very frequently no break occurred in the roof, which ran from end to end, as it did at Llanyceil, the mother church of Bala, Llanfor, near Bala, and other churches. There was usually a chancel arch, but only a rood screen. He thought that the narrowness of the churches might be explained from the fact of their being stronger and more easily roofed over. The plan of a continuous roof was more likely to keep the rain out, which in Wales frequently found its way through the thickest and apparently best built walls. During

the restoration, the base of the original rood screen was discovered, which, instead of being in a line with the walls of the transept, was found to be considerably further eastward. The general opinion expressed by the antiquaries present was that the church was of the fourteenth century, though Mr. Richardson thought the east window probably indicated the date of a century earlier. The font is much earlier still.

After luncheon, which was provided by Mr. and Mrs. Jones of the Owain Glyndwr Hotel, in the schoolroom, John Roberts, a Welsh bard, and his four sons performed some Welsh music, and the party then drove to Rûg Chapel. This chapel, which is about a mile from Corwen, on the north-west side of the Dee, and is of the seventeenth century, has nothing in its exterior to attract notice, but the internal arrangements and decorations give it a quite unique and old world appearance. The only distinction between the nave and chancel is a Caroline screen, with a perforated fringe of older date. Seen through the openings is a very quaint reading desk, with Welsh mottoes on the panels. On the eastern side of the screen are two curious stalls, with small panels and turned posts, highly decorated with colour. One of these belonged to the lord of the manor, and the other to the incumbent of the parish. The upper part of the communion table is enclosed with panel work. The sittings of the church are very low, and quaintly carved. The bench ends are of very singular pattern, rising from a solid carved beam in the floor in a crescent-shaped support to the seat. The curious carving on their supports is part of the oldest work in the building. The roof is divided into four bays by moulded arches, and the intervening space is panelled by moulded purlieus and beams with illuminated bosses. The gallery has open balusters of the Stuart period, the supporting beam being ornamented with a late imitation of the bolt and band moulding, and the springers with quaintly-robed angels. There is a most eccentric looking candelabra in the centre of the church, and amongst the mural decorations is the figure of a skeleton, with representations of an hour glass and two half-burnt candles in ordinary brass candlesticks, with an inscription in Welsh, of which the following is a translation:—"As the candle burns so life passes away. My eyes and nose are gone, and I am silent. My flesh is consumed, and no one knows me."

The Rev. W. Richardson read a paper upon Rûg Chapel, which will be printed in a future place in the *Journal*.

In answer to a question, Mr. Richardson said it was generally supposed that the roof was brought from an old chapel five miles off. The inscriptions were in Welsh. If the chapel had been built in Roman Catholic times they would have been in Latin. The removal of the roof from elsewhere may be received with considerable doubt, since

from its style it agrees so completely with other woodwork in Wales of seventeenth century date, particularly with that of the south chapel of Llanrwel Church, which is said to have been designed by Miss Jones. It is to be regretted that in the recent restoration of the little chapel all the windows and other architectural stonework has been renewed and replaced with modern designs of the fifteenth century style, quite out of harmony with the building.

Mr. M. Bloxam said that the internal arrangements of the chapel were exceedingly interesting. The first time he passed by it, a few years ago, judging from the exterior, he thought it was all new work. It was one of those structures to which they might apply the old saying, "Fronti nulla fides", and it was certainly one of much historical interest. Unfortunately the arrangements of many of these chapels had been or were being destroyed. Sometimes they were the arrangements of the Puritan system, where they had seats arranged round the communion table. These were fast disappearing, and he regretted it very much. They had also the Laudian Church arrangements, where the chancel, as in pre-Reformation times, was separated by a screen from the body of the church, as in that chapel. Both these arrangements spoke of historical times, and of the polemics of those times. The emblems of death painted on the walls were very common in the latter part of the sixteenth and the earlier part of the seventeenth century. In the fifteenth century sepulchral monuments were sculptured effigies, but in the two succeeding centuries they found skeleton figures, which had been described as "the lively figures of death". He hoped those fittings would be allowed to remain as they now were, as an historical memorial of the church arrangements of the seventeenth century. He was very sorry to see either the Puritan arrangements or the Laudian arrangements disturbed.

Mr. Morgan, *Hon. Treasurer*, then proposed the thanks of the Association to Mr. Richardson for his courtesy and for his papers on Corwen Church and Rûg Chapel.

The archaeologists next drove to the Gaer, or Caer Drewyn, a most extensive station, of great elevation, overlooking Corwen and the Dee. The great area, enclosed by low polygonal walls of immense strength and thickness, although of loose stones carefully piled up and fitted together with regular faces of good work (as upright to-day as when they were first erected), was probably used as an early British fortress, or as a meeting-place of some of the tribes of the country. The word *gaer* appears in a way to be connected with the *ga* or *gau*, the well-known tribal system of territorial government, shown by Kemble to have obtained very extensively throughout England at an early period of our history. It is certainly difficult to see how water was supplied to this and other similar hill-fastnesses which are here to be observed

at every turn; and those who fled to these hills for refuge must, from this circumstance alone, have been easily compelled to retire before an enemy whose principal difficulty in reducing them was, perhaps, the inability of finding sufficient sustenance in the immediate confines. This fortress consists of a rough rampart formed of the loose stones of the country, about 15 feet wide at the base, with a rectangular enclosure to guard the entrance. At the north-east corner some stronger entrenchments could be seen. The antiquarians present were all agreed that the entrenchment was of British origin. It is true that some Roman remains have been found, but it is suggested that the Romans might have made a temporary sojourn here. They did not, it was said, like the British, construct their fortifications on such heights, but more often in the valleys.

Mr. Bloxam said it was most probably one of the frontier fortresses of the Ordovices, one of the three great British tribes. The Romans would hardly have erected the large circular huts found in the encampment. They might have taken possession of the ancient British works; but their regular entrenchments were low down, near the stream.

Mr. Wright referred to a tradition that Owain Glyndwr took possession of these heights, and entrenched himself there. It has been also suggested that Owain Gwynedd, a Prince who ruled in 1165, and who made Corwen his headquarters, might have occupied this position in his conflict with the forces of Henry II. Pennant speaks of his having traced the marks of "abundance of tents" from the encampment south of Corwen Church to the village of Cynwyd, two miles distant; but they might have belonged to Owen Glyndwr, who concentrated his forces here previous to the battle of Shrewsbury. In one part of the Caer Drewyn encampment a quantity of *debris* had been removed in order to show a portion of the wall still standing.

In the course of a few remarks made by Professor Hughes, he said he thought the camp belonged to the bronze age, and he showed a bronze implement which had been found there. The ancient British adapted their fortifications to the natural conformation of the ground, the height of the wall being determined by the gradient; and they constructed their entrenchments in such a manner as to enable them to see as far down the valley as possible. He did not think it at all likely that the fortification was strengthened by Owen Glyndwr.

The attention of visitors was not too much concentrated on these relics of a long past age to preclude them from enjoying the glorious prospect before them of the lovely valley and stately range of hills. Not only the Arrans and the Arrenigs, but Snowdonia, and even Snowdon itself, may sometimes be seen from the Gaer.

Many of the fields west of the Gaer have names very suggestive of

the troubled times of the past, and which accord so ill with the beauty of the scene. Thus, near the bridge seen in the distance, across the Dee, is the "Field of Pity"; next, the "Red Field"; close by is the "Field of Crowns"; while in the direction of Rûg is the field called by the suggestive name, "The Place where they heard them"; while adjacent is the "Field of the Bards". All these names are referred to by local tradition as relating to some or other of the many battles said to have been fought here, while the hills above Corwen Church are still called the "Place of the Enemy".

On descending the hill the party started on their homeward journey. They alighted, however, at Corwen, and went to the Rectory to look at a repoussé silver chalice now in the possession of the Rector of Corwen, which was found during the last century in a cellar at Nannau, and was supposed to have come from Cymmer Abbey. The Rector said the cup was considered to be of the thirteenth century, and of very great value. It was, however, pronounced to be of late though good workmanship. The date hazarded by one of the party was actually later than the date of the discovery of the cup,—a rather amusing instance of an excess of antiquarian incredulity. The design of the cup contains the emblems of Our Saviour's passion.

At the evening meeting the Right Rev. Dr. Merriman, the Bishop of Grahamstown, again presided. The Rev. E. Owen contributed a most interesting paper upon the circular hut-dwellings in North Wales known as *cyttiau'r gwyddelod*, and the state of civilisation of their inhabitants, who, from the evidence adduced, occupied abodes of the humblest kind, cultivated corn, had a knowledge of metals, ploughed their lands, prepared hay and winter fodder for cattle, venerated their dead, believed in the immortality of the soul; and among whom, judging from the absence of weapons, wars were, if not altogether unknown, at least not common. This paper will be printed in the *Journal*. He was followed by Mr. G. G. Adams, F.S.A., who read a paper on "Medals Commemorative of Events in English History." This paper will find a future place in the transactions of the Association.

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. Birch pointed out that when the title of Empress was under discussion, he employed himself archaeologically on the question, and found that the term *Imperator* had been used by many Saxon kings, so that the title was not a political but an archaeological fact. He also mentioned that the title assumed by Henry VIII as head of the Church was "*Supremum Caput Ecclesie Anglicanae*", and this title was resumed by George III on one of his later great seals.

Dr. Phené, F.S.A., followed with a paper "On some Similarities between Tre'r Ceiri, near Pwllheli, North Wales, and the Structures in

Brittany and in the East. Many of the ideas which Dr. Phené propounded deserved more consideration than it was possible to give them at the late period of the evening at which the paper was delivered. Many carefully coloured diagrams showed the remarkable monuments and emblems along the route from the Archipelago to Brittany.

Mr. Grover afterwards made a few remarks.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 31, 1877.

If ever there was a pleasant prelude to an archæological excursion, it was the ride from Llangollen to Dolgelly this morning by the Great Western Railway, by the pleasant banks of the Dee, bounded by tall craggy hills, fringed with foliage of rich hues. Here and there the valley widens to show ripening cornfields and verdant meadows. These fields were studded with tumuli at various distances, but still within sight of each other; all tracing a line from Eliseg's Pillar, and thence to Chirk. This gave a great interest to the rather long but exceedingly pleasant and picturesque ride. We saw again the rough stone entrenchment of Caer Drewyn on the tall hill on the left bank of the Dee, which we visited yesterday. By the Lake of Bala, so suggestive of legendary lore, by rainbow-tinted vales and purling brooks, and amid sunshine and showers, we reached Dolgelly, and at once proceeded to the Cistercian Abbey of Cymmer, some mile and a half distant. The road was varied and picturesque, full of old-fashioned pot-herbs; and one of the most ardent of the archæologists gave a description of the old flowers and their uses and legends, and the introduction of the hop, here growing wild side by side with the wood-germander, which in old times was used to bitter beer. Though the situation of the Abbey is picturesque enough, it in itself presents few points except for the ecclesiologist.

The valley of Gaullwyd was the chosen home of a community of white-robed monks. The ruins of the Cistercian Abbey of Cymmer,¹ or

¹ The following letter concerning Cymmer and Valle Crucis, to the Editor of the *Building News*, appeared at the time:

"SIR,—I am exceedingly glad that the Association have included in their progress visits to Cymmer and Basingwerk, for both are in a lamentable state of neglect. Strata Florida and Neath, alas! are in no better case; and a powerful remonstrance on their part, headed by Sir Watkin, and supported by the bardic and archæological congresses of Wales, may lead to timely and immediate measures for the preservation of the little that remains, and the excavation of the soil in the buried portions of the ruin. Of Basingwerk I have already written in your columns.

"Cymmer, with its long coterminous north aisle and rudimentary arcading

Vanner as it is commonly called, are very picturesquely situated. They are not so beautiful as those of Valle Crucis Abbey, but are well worth visiting even by people who are not antiquarians or ecclesiologists.

in three bays (now occupied as a granary, etc.), must have had the appearance of a double church,—an amorphous plan which had its parallel in a Scottish minster. The western tower (with traces of a newel-staircase either corresponding to one in the south-west angle of Valle Crucis, or else leading to the upper story of the western range of claustral buildings) bears a humble likeness to its fellow at Furness. But the remarkable point is that Cymmer could never have been cruciform, although the original plan may have been abandoned for want of funds, as all churches were begun at the east end, the transept being never built whilst the church was continued westward. There are traces of three archways on the south front of the detached building to the west, and of ancient masonry in a stable on the north-east, which may mark the infirmary.

“The departures from the strict Cistercian plan are not so very uncommon. The chapter-house at Cleeve is an aisleless oblong; at Margam, polygonal; Croxden had, perhaps, a chevet; Beaulieu was apsidal; Abbey Dore and Fountains have a transverse eastern aisle; Kirkstall had a central; its sister, near Ripon, a transeptal tower; whilst Melrose has an outer range of nave-chapels. Some of the small Devonian abbeys may be well compared with Cymmer.

“After I was at Llangollen, in the year 1873, at the desire of the Vicar I published in his local magazine an account of Valle Crucis, which, with many subsequent annotations, is now among the Additional MSS. in the British Museum. The ground-plan was separately produced as a woodcut in Black’s *Guide to North Wales*. In it may be seen the similarity in the position of the day-stairs to that of Cleeve; but on the opposite side of the chapter house is a small cell, quite unique as far as my experience goes. My impression is that it was the carol of the Scriba Capituli, and also used for conference, *submissâ voce*, in chapter time. The curious oblique door in the dormitory of Cleeve I suggested was used by the sacristan, as the chancel wall-passage was at Valle Crucis, the oriel in the aisle of Worcester, the gallery at Lichfield, and the watching-chamber in the transept of St. Alban’s, for the supervision of lights. I am inclined to believe that it had a further use, as a means of communication, over the vaulting of the southern transept chapels, with the belfry.

“Whilst preparing a forthcoming memoir on Buildwas Abbey, which will form a portion of a work on the four minsters round the Wrekin, I detected a remarkable similarity between the Salopian and the Welsh transept. The position of the claustral buildings is reversed; but in the eastern angle of the transept, in both instances, there is a staircase near a doorway. The latter was the entrance of the lay folk on the side away from the cloister-garth. The former was used by the sacristan, who occasionally slept in the corner of the church, and thus was enabled at once to proceed by an intramural passage to the central tower in order to ring the bell for matins. The *porta excubitorum* is still left, adjoining the transept at Benedictine Rochester; and at Lincoln (a secular church) the tradition of the watchers’ chamber—slept in by those who searched the minster at night for fear of fire, and rang the matin mass-bells—also near a transept, lingered on to the time of Browne Willis.

“The presence of fireplaces over and above that of the calefactory or common house is another instance of decadence in the observance of the ancient rule; and in the fifteenth century a canon of council forbade their continuance in Cistercian monasteries on the Continent. The abbot’s cell was probably at the south end of the dormitory of Valle Crucis. Only in very large abbeys there was a separate house for the use of the superior.

“Mr. Loftus Brock is in thorough sympathy with his subject, and his extended paper will be doubtless full of new interest. I may mention that the last Abbot of Cymmer, Lewis Thomas, was Suffragan Bishop of Shrewsbury.

“I am, etc.,

MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT.”

The Abbey is somewhat of a puzzle to antiquarians, because, although there is undoubted proof of its having belonged to the Cistercian order, its architectural features are very unlike those which are characteristic of Cistercian churches. The ruins now consist of a roofless nave. At the west end of the church, within the walls, stands a fine sycamore-tree. The Monastery was founded in 1199 by Griffith and Meredith, lords of Merioneth, and sons of Cynan, who was the illegitimate son of Owain Gwynedd, Prince of North Wales, by Angharad, daughter of Peredur ap Mael ap Bleddyn of Merioneth. Howell, son of Griffith, was also one of the founders. The visitors having assembled together in the Abbey, a paper on the remains was read by Mr. Brock, which will appear hereafter in the *Journal*. The architectural features were further pointed out by Mr. Wynne of Peniarth, Mr. John Reynolds, Mr. Bloxam, and Mr. Talbot.

The visitors then proceeded to what is called the Abbot's Hall, where Mr. Wynne gave an interesting account of the origin and history of the abbey, as well as of the ancient family of the Vaughans or "Vychans", who came into possession of the abbey and monastic buildings after the dissolution of the monastery. The foundation was afterwards confirmed by Henry III, and again by Henry VI. Amongst the papers left to him (Mr. Wynne) by his venerated friend, Sir Robert Vaughan, was a very curious memorial of a trial, relative to a water-course there. It appeared that very little corn was grown in that neighbourhood, and that the abbey got all its corn from its estates in Carnarvonshire. At the commencement of the last century the abbey was inherited by a daughter of some member of the Vaughan family, who, it was said, went to live in the abbot's house, and that, as she found it extremely uncomfortable, the house was altered a good deal at that time. The roof, however, was the original roof of the abbot's hall. Miss Lloyd and himself had some excavations carried out in the abbey two or three years ago. They hoped to find some tombstones, but all they found was an enormous quantity of human bones. There was a very interesting tombstone to the memory of the Vaughan family, which he recommended them to see. A member of the family appeared also to have been buried on the north side of the abbey archway. Howel Sele, the chieftain who was the victim of Owain Glyndwr's revenge, was a member of the Vechan or Vaughan family. The legend of the discovery of his skeleton in a large oak, in which Owain Glyndwr was supposed to have immured him, was referred to in Sir Walter Scott's *Marmion*, and also in a ballad by the Rev. Geo. Warrington, in which were the following lines:—

"Back they recoiled! The right hand still
Contracted, grasped a rusty sword,
Which erst in many a battle gleamed,
And proudly decked their slaughtered lord.

“They bore the corse to Vaner’s shrine,
With holy rites and prayers addressed.
Nine white-robed monks the last dirge sang,
And gave the angry spirit rest.”

Mr. Bloxam next made a few remarks about the plan of the Abbey, in which he said that it resembled the small Priory of Ulverscroft in Leicestershire. He did not think that that room was part of the Abbot’s hall, although the roof was undoubtedly ancient. It was not where the Abbot’s house would be. The chimney and fireplace were clearly of a much later date.

Mr. Wynne said he certainly did not think that a hall of that size would have been built after the Reformation. It might not be the Abbot’s refectory, but it must have been a hall used for some great purpose.

Mr. Bloxam said he should think the date of the buildings was late in the sixteenth or early in the seventeenth century.

It was suggested that the chimney and fireplace, and other features of the building, had been inserted at a later date.

Mr. Brock said that in making a survey for the plan to accompany his description, he had discovered in the exterior of the hall traces of masonry which indicated that it was of an early date, and it might be within the bounds of possibility that the hall was a portion of the old monastic building with its ancient roof. The features of a later date, which Mr. Bloxam’s quick eye had detected, were, he thought, probably additions. Mr. Wynne’s suggestion that it was the guest-house was very likely correct.

A member of the Association pointed out that the chimney was clearly not part of the original design.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Wynne for his kindness in meeting them, and in giving them so much valuable information about the Abbey, and also the Abbey of Valle Crucis, was heartily accorded.

Mr. Wynne, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, mentioned the fact that an exceedingly large and valuable collection of Welsh MSS. had been left to him by the late Sir Robert Vaughan. Some large bronze cooking vessels of the fourteenth century, which had been found at Nannau, were exhibited in the hall.

On the return from the Abbey, the party sat down to a very admirable luncheon at the Golden Lion Royal Hotel, Dolgelly.

After luncheon some of the members visited the church, where the principal object of attention was an effigy of one of the family of Vaughan, remarkable for the peculiar combination of chain-mail and plate-armour. It is believed that it was removed from Cymmer.

The ancient house which has, without the least foundation in fact, been supposed to have been the parliament house of Owain Glyndwr,

was also examined. Mr. Breese, Local Secretary of the Cambrian Archaeological Association, stated that some time ago a committee was formed, and plans prepared, for the reparation of this house, under the impression that the story was true.

Mr. Brock said that although the house was much later than Owain Glyndwr's time, it was well worth preserving, and he hoped something would be done to preserve it.

About half-past two o'clock the archaeologists went by the special train to Llandderfel. It had been arranged that they should stop at Bala, and drive to the ancient manor-house of Rhiwaedog, which was to be described by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock and others; but this part of the programme was abandoned for want of time. While the special train waited at Bala for another train to pass, some of the passengers went to look at the tumulus and site of Bala Castle, close by the railway.

On reaching Llandderfel the train stopped in order to enable the archaeologists to visit Llandderfel Church. There is nothing noteworthy in the architecture of this church, except a very good fifteenth century roof, a finely carved oak rood-screen, and the exceptionally grotesque and ludicrous corbel-heads outside the church. The church is chiefly remarkable for its patron saint, St. Dervel Gadarn, to whose wooden image pilgrimages used to be made from all parts of Wales; the remains of which, part of a very extraordinary wooden horse, and a spear or crozier, are still to be seen. The principal points of the tradition concerning this image are thus told in the *Gossiping Guide*: "St. Dervel Gadarn, or Dervel the Mighty (a son of Emyr Llydaw), a saint of the sixth century, was the patron of the church, and a great wooden image of him was set up. Some say it was placed astride the very remarkable animal now in the church. The story goes that it had been predicted of this image that it should one day set a *forest* on fire. Now there was much wood about Llandderfel, and the good folks naturally thought that if the trees were to be burnt, it would be more profitable that they should be consumed on their own hearths than in the destruction of the object of idolatrous worship; and it turning out about this time (1538) that a friar named *Forest* was condemned to be burnt at Smithfield, for denying the King's supremacy, they gladly dismounted the idol, and sent it to London. So the friar 'was suspended by his middle to a gallows which had on it the following inscription:

‘David Dornel Gutheran,
As sayeth the Welshman,
Fetched outlawes out of hell.
Now he is come with spere and shield,
In harnes to burn in Smithfield,
For in Wales he may not dwel.

‘ And Forest the friar,
 That obstinate lyer,
 That wyfully shall be dead,
 In his contumacye,
 The gospel doeth deny,
 The Kynge to be supreme heade.’ ”

Mr. Brock, in the course of his remarks upon the church, said it was a simple Welsh village church on the site of another of very great antiquity. The greatest interest of that church was its connection with St. Dervel. The statue of that saint was one of the most renowned in North Wales. It was held in high veneration in the sense in which the Roman Catholic Church still used that word, and pilgrimages were made to it. In saying this he need not shock the susceptibilities of any Welshmen. Mediæval history told them that such pilgrimages were so common that there was scarcely a county without its celebrated statue. He had seen a denial of the statement in respect to the veneration paid to the statue; but the *Parker Letters*, edited by Mr. Thomas Wright, their Vice-President, and published by the Camden Society, clearly indicated that such statues as that of St. Dervel were held in veneration in other parts of the country. With regard to the dedication of the church, they who resided in many other counties were not accustomed to the dedication of churches to saints in such remote times as St. Dervel. This, however, was one of many churches in Wales (probably the greater number) dedicated to saints of such remote antiquity that their lives were lost in the dim ages which tradition only could reach. It proved that long before religion was established elsewhere, the Gospel was known in Wales. The ministers of the old British Church divided Wales into districts, and some good, holy man took up his abode in each. Of course at that early period Wales was not divided into parishes; but districts were formed, over which these good men presided. He was sure every Welshman ought to find pleasure in the fact that his ancestors embraced the Gospel at a period when the great bulk of the inhabitants of Britain were plunged in barbarism and idolatry.

Mr. Breese said that two or three years ago he had the honour of contributing a paper to the *Archæologia Cambrensis* on the subject of St. Dervel. He was a saint who lived in the sixth century, and his pedigree was given in Rees' *Lives of the Saints*. Mr. Brock had truly observed that there were no parishes,—in fact, parishes were not formed in England until the time of King Edgar, two centuries after. He sought refuge, like many Welsh saints in those days, from the turbulence of the times, and retired with St. Dnbritins, Bishop of St. David's, to the Isle of Bardsey, and there he was supposed to have been buried. Great historical interest attached to the figure of the

saint. From the original letters they found that Ellis Pryce, who was appointed commissioner by Cromwell for destroying superstitions "idols and statues in Wales", fixed upon the statue of St. Dervel for destruction; and a petition was presented by the parson and parishioners to the King's Council, stating that the statue produced enormous profit, and that a large number of pilgrims who supposed it to possess healing virtues came to visit it, and that its destruction would therefore inflict very great loss on them. There is no doubt that the statue was used for burning Forrest, who was confessor to Catherine of Aragon, for denying the King's supremacy.

After inspecting Llandderfel Church, the party then walked to Palé, the beautiful seat of Mr. Henry Robertson, M.P. On arriving there they were most courteously received and entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Robertson. During their stay here they went to look at some large stones in the grounds, which some persons had supposed to have formed a cromlech. The general opinion, however, was that it was not the work of man, but of nature, and that its partial resemblance to a cromlech was purely accidental.

The party afterwards returned by the special train for Llangollen, where they arrived about half-past seven.

The evening meeting was presided over by Mr. Theodore Martin, C.B. A paper by Mr. Stephen Tucker, *Rouge Croix Poursuivant of Arms*, upon the arms of the Principality of Wales, was very well received. Although the proposition which Mr. Tucker so ably demonstrated, namely, that there is little trustworthy evidence in favour of Welsh family heraldry before the sixteenth century, was naturally not a very palatable one to many of those who were present, yet it was impossible to gainsay the arguments adduced in support of the theories he advanced; and we may fairly take it that all but students of practical heraldry were surprised when it was asserted that if it should ever be desired to add an especial quartering for the Principality of Wales to the coat-armour of the Princes of Wales, that quartering must be blazoned *argent*, three lions passant guardant in pale, with tails coward, *gules*! But this is the only shield the heralds could properly assign to them. The text of this paper will appear in a future place in the *Journal*.

The ancient laws and statutes of Wales, as shown by the codes published by the Record Commission, and other similar works, were epitomised by Mr. C. H. Compton into the form of a lengthy paper. A great deal of light might be thrown upon the manners and customs of the Welsh in the early days of their independence, and again in the fifteenth century, and upon the peculiar relationship which unites the simplest items of domestic life with the traditions of the country, by a systematic classification of the interesting details of these laws; but that is an aspect of them which has yet to be reviewed. This paper will also appear hereafter.

A third paper, "On the Welsh Converts of St. Paul", by Mr. J. W. Grover, introduced a lively discussion upon the disputed question of pre-Augustine Christianity and the visit of St. Paul to the shores of Britain; and although these important topics were by no means definitively settled, Mr. Grover threw some fresh evidence into the scale in favour of the early intercourse between the primitive Christians of Rome and the royal Welsh captives of the imperial arms. So much interest was aroused by this, which has been printed at pp. 1-11, that we understand the paper, as well as the one by Mr. Tucker, is to be translated into Welsh, and so published, for the better dissemination of their theories throughout the district.

(To be continued.)

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20TH, 1878.

H. S. CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following associate was announced : A. W. English, Esq., J.P., Wisbech.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, announced that, in consequence of the representations of the Association at the late Congress, the ruins of the Castle of Denbigh had been carefully placed in a safe condition.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Curator*, stated that he had received a communication respecting the remains of a Roman villa at Splash Point, Eastbourne, uncovered during the progress of some excavations.

Mr. Worthington Smith, F.L.S., exhibited a very large and important collection of flint implements, sling-stones, and arrow-heads, found near Luton, Bedfordshire. In the discussion which ensued, Mr. H. Prigg, of Bury St. Edmund's, bore testimony to the enormous quantities of similar objects, principally scrapers, found upon the surface of the soil at Bury. Mr. Smith also exhibited a series of *camera* drawings of the cromlech at Plas-Newydd, Anglesey, measured and prepared by him on the site, in August 1877.

Mr. H. Prigg exhibited a bronze weight for a steelyard, or bell-hammer, bearing three shields of arms of *Clare*, found in a ditch near St. Botolph's Hospital, Bury St. Edmund's; also a leaden casting, probably a weight, bearing the several devices of a horseshoe, a hammer, and nails.

Mr. C. H. Luxmore exhibited a group of curious objects in iron, obtained in Spain, of which the following is a description :

1. Bust of a youthful person, possibly St. John the Evangelist, with flowing hair. The *apparel*, or band, of his tunic, is closed with a circular concave brooch or morse. The arms and hands riveted to this bust are out of all proportion, and greatly mar the effect of this otherwise good example of chiselled ironwork of the close of the fifteenth century.

2. Two small turrets, nearly the same size, but not a pair, both showing traces of gilding. The merlons have sloping tops, and the middle of the shafts is crenellated, and their bases are finished off in the manner of a corbel. These little towers are half-rounds with perforated staples at back, by which they were secured, without doubt, to a miniature castle,—possibly a shrine representing the arms of Castile. Date, sixteenth century.

3. Little effigy of a dog; the narrow bar on which it stands is drilled in two places to permit its fixture to some object; but what that object was, it is difficult to guess. Descending from the front end of the bar is an escallop-shell, the emblem of St. James of Compostella. This pretty piece of chisel-work is of the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

4. Military turn-screw, full $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches long. The broad, flat sides are stamped with a rich pattern composed of numerous pine-cones, stars, and crosses, surmounted by open crowns. The flat edges are stamped with a species of Grecian fret. Date, sixteenth century. In Demmin's *Weapons of War*, p. 534, are figures of three priming turn-screws for wheel-lock pistols, of simple design; and in Skelton's *Meyrick*, Pl. 125, are given two richly wrought wheel-lock spanners of the sixteenth century with turn-screws at their ends. Turn-screws form part of the sportsman's companions described in this *Journal*, xv, p. 288; xix, p. 330.

5. Butt of a pistol, engraved on either side with a pomegranate, the badge of Granada, and having in the centre an embossed face with wide mouth and upturned moustache. Date, middle of the seventeenth century. In the Cuming collection is a pistol of the time of William III, the brass butt of which has a boldly wrought satyr's mask in the centre.

The Chairman exhibited a mould for pilgrims' signs, in the possession of the Rev. S. M. Mayhew; and Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., another representing the dead Christ, and the gloves of St. Thomas à Becket, found at Canterbury, and probably used in manufacturing the *signacula* supplied to pilgrims who visited the shrine of St. Thomas. The following paper was read in connection with these objects:

ON STONE MOULDS FOR RELIGIOUS SIGNACULA.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

The great and admitted rarity of early moulds or matrices for the production of saintly *signacula*, or pilgrims' signs as they are familiarly called, is a sufficient warrant for devoting a brief space in our *Journal* to a notice of a few highly curious examples which have turned up in London and elsewhere.

It is by no means an easy matter to determine the exact date of

every *signum* which has been brought to light; and of course the same difficulty as to age attends the moulds in which such religious badges have been cast. Possibly the very oldest of these moulds that has yet been observed is the one found in Coleman Street in 1873, and engraved in our *Journal*, xxix, p. 421, where it is assigned to the early part of the twelfth century. The device on this valuable ecclesiastical relic is a *cross-passion*, both its members being very broad; and within it is another cross of the same form, but of much slenderer proportions, and with its extremities spreading out somewhat in the style of a *cross pattée*. Surrounding the inner cross are the words, SIGNVM SANCTE CRVCIS DE WALTHAM. There is a sort of loop or handle on either side of the upper part of the great cross; and on either side of its base is a *cross pomel* resting on an arm or bracket. The legend shows that this remarkable badge appertained to the celebrated Abbey of St. Cross at Waltham in Essex, where was preserved a wonder-working crucifix which had been found at Montacute, and through the miraculous virtues of which the Saxon usurper Harold was cured from an attack of palsy. This fine mould now forms part of the collection of London antiquities in the Guildhall Museum.

The mould which would appear to stand next to the foregoing in age was discovered at Swinnie, near Jedburgh, in Roxburghshire, in 1862, and is engraved in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (xi, p. 75), in illustration of a learned and interesting paper by Mr. J. Anderson. This curious object was probably made little later than the year 1300, and is cut on a piece of stone $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. It consists of a disc $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch diameter, with a species of cable-border, a profile bust occupying a considerable portion of the field. The head seems to be covered with a low crown, and the various markings about the neck and shoulders indicate habiliments of a rich fabric. Before the face appears what I take to be a rude representation of an orb and cross; and behind the head is a sceptre with four short transverse members, and which may be compared with the one held by Harold in the Bayeux Tapestry. Mr. Anderson says: "It would have been interesting if we had been able to identify the saint who is thus represented, or the shrine to which the *signaculum* pertained; but the whole subject is involved in obscurity." It may seem presumptuous on my part to even hazard a conjecture as to the person exhibited on this remarkable *signum*; but I have a strong idea that the bust is intended for that of William the Lion, who succeeded to the Scottish throne in 1165, and died at Stirling, December 2, 1214. This monarch was renowned for his sanctity,¹ and is regarded as the founder of the Con-

¹ In the *Gent. Mag.* for July 1794, p. 593, is a copy of what appears to be a seventeenth century picture of "St. William, King of Scots", preserved in the Trades' Hall, Aberdeen. In neither the money of this monarch, nor in the

vent of the Trinity Friars at Aberdeen, where he is said to have had a chapel, and at times lived in holy retirement. He was interred in the Abbey of Arbroath in Forfarshire.

Proceeding in chronological order, we come next to a mould of the fourteenth century, found some years since in Canterbury, and which is now in the possession of my good friend Mr. Cecil Brent, who has favoured me with a wax impression of it. The devices on it are of a very unusual and complicated character, and of difficult interpretation. In the centre is an object which may be likened to the letter I, with its broad shaft covered with fine lattice-work, and having a wide, concave stroke at top, and a convex one at bottom. This letter, if it may so be denominated for convenience, rests on what appear to be three truncated branches spreading from the top of the stout stem of a tree. Planted in the hollow of the transverse portion of the I is the crucifixion, the rood being supported on either side by a diagonal prop, which, with the arms of the Divine Martyr, might at first sight be taken for a St. Andrew's cross. The body of Our Lord does not hang straight upon the rood, but is somewhat contorted. A cruciferous nimbus encircles the head, drapery reaches from the loins to the knees, and the feet are nailed one over the other. The whole subject is surrounded by great coarse rays. In this mould may have been cast *signacula* relating to some relic of the Passion, formerly exhibited to the devout pilgrims at Canterbury, where was preserved the so-called "Pillar of Flagellation", a fragment of the rock on which the holy rood was fixed, and another of the Holy Sepulchre, and we may add, the stone on which the Redeemer stood before he ascended into Heaven.

In February 1848 there was recovered from the Fleet Ditch a fourteenth century mould, of stone, for casting two figures of the winged bull, the well-known emblem of St. Luke. The devices are carefully executed; but unfortunately the slab is fractured at either end, so that there only now remains the fore-half of one creature, and the hind portion of the other. Both bulls stand on curved labels, in the manner shown on the seal of Walter Reynolds, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1313; and on the tomb of Lady Elizabeth de Montacute in Christ Church, Oxford, 1355. This mould is in my own collection, and as it has already been described and figured in our *Journal* (xix, p. 99), it is needless to dwell further on it.

At no very considerable distance from the spot where the foregoing relic was found, namely in Farringdon Street, has lately been exhumed

above sign, is there any trace of beard; but the painting gives the royal saint an abundant head of hair, a noble pair of moustaches, and a full beard descending below the waist. He wears a helmet in the shape of a lion's mask, surrounded by a rich nimbus. He grasps a long staff with his left hand, and has a closed book resting in his right. Around the shoulders and waist is wreathed a chain of large links.

a group of three moulds wrought on the same piece of argillaceous slate from the Granwacke series. The slab measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, full $2\frac{7}{8}$ wide at top, and $2\frac{5}{8}$ at bottom, and about half an inch in thickness. On one surface is cut the full-faced bust of a monarch with rather long visage, and with a crown composed of a narrow band surmounted by three triple groups of pellets, something like that seen on the money of Henry II. The dress is covered with a reticulated pattern, remindful of that seen on the costume of effigies on the Byzantine coins; and rising above the left shoulder, in a diagonal direction, is a fleur-de-lys topped sceptre, the form and position of which may be found on English pennies commencing with Edward the Confessor and closing with Henry III. This matrix is probably as early as the fourteenth century. On the opposite face of the slab are two moulds of much later date than the one just described; the upper one representing the Virgin and dead Christ; the lower, a pair of episcopal gloves. The holy mother is full-faced, with a nimbus filled with a chevron encircling her head, and her long garments are covered with coarse cross-hatchings. She is seated, and across her knees reclines the nude body of the martyred Saviour with rays emitted from the head. The execution of these two figures is utterly barbarous, the person of the Redeemer being out of all proportion, and each arm consisting of a single line with four diverging strokes at the end, intended to pass as hands. The idea of this group may be found as early as the thirteenth century, as may be proved by a Greek painting in distemper, on wood, given in Agincourt's *History of Art by its Monuments* (iii, p. 90); but the mould cannot be older than the close of the fifteenth century. Beneath this group is wrought a mould for a pair of gloves, doubtless intended as a representation of those of Thomas à Becket, formerly kept among the other relics of the prelate at Canterbury, and which are entered in an old inventory as "his gloves adorned with three orfreys". The gloves on the matrix have broad orfreys about the wrists, and jewels on their backs; but their general aspect is less elegant and ornate than are the pewter *signacula* engraved in our *Journal*, xxiii, p. 329.

The presence of Becket's gloves on this mould would seem to restrict its use to Canterbury, and it is therefore highly desirable to inquire whether there were any other relics at this hallowed locality which would account for the associating the Virgin and dead Christ and the royal bust on the same slab. It is just possible that one mould is a rude copy of some miraculous picture or carved work that adorned the altar, shrine, or chapel, of the Virgin Mother at Canterbury, and of which, perchance, no other record exists. But how about the royal personage so carefully incised on the opposite side of the stone? England can boast of a host of saintly kings, of some of whom *signa-*

cula are extant, as, for instance, Kenelm of Mercia, Edmund of East Anglia, Edward the Confessor, and Henry VI. The bust on the mould may be intended for that of one of the monarchs here mentioned; but we must not forget that Kent had its St. Ethelbert, the great patron and protector of Augustine, the first Bishop of Canterbury. There is neither letter nor emblem on the mould that would help to the identification of the sovereign; and nothing, therefore, better than mere conjecture can at present be advanced respecting him.

This slab, with its trio of matrices, is the property of our valued Vice-President the Rev. S. M. Mayhew; and it is worthy of note that it and the stone with the winged bulls of St. Luke were both found within the precincts of the Monastery of the Black Friars, as the Dominicans were styled.

The latest stone mould for a religious badge, of which I am cognizant, was exhumed in the City in February 1868, and of which a few casts in lead were taken by the late Mr. J. W. Bailly, one of which he kindly gave me. This badge belongs to the class designated "*Madonna Medals*", and is apparently of French fabric of the end of the sixteenth century. It is nearly 1 inch in diameter, with a loop at top for suspension, and bears the effigy of the Virgin Mary standing on the crescent moon, and supporting on her right arm the child Jesus, the group being surrounded by an aureole of alternate straight and flamboyant rays.

In the collection of our associate, Mr. Robert Fitch, is a casting-mould of an earlier date than most of the foregoing examples; but it is left for final mention, as it was not designed for pilgrims' *signacula*, although it was evidently wrought for a religious purpose. The stone is deeply sculptured with a group of figures representing the Massacre of the Innocents, and the costume introduced enables us to fix the period of the work to the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. On one side is seated a personage who may be intended for Herod, but the breakage of the edge of the slab leaves it doubtful whether he wears a crown or high cap. His flowing mantle is closed on the breast with a quatrefoil-shaped morse; and he has, held in the right hand, either a sceptre or sword, and evidently watches the progress of the slaughter with stoical complacency. There is much about the head of this effigy which reminds us of the one from the front of Wells Cathedral, given in our *Journal*, xiii, Plate 4, fig. 2. Both soldiers are equipped in chain-hauberk, one being provided with a *coif de mailles*, which protects the mouth in the manner seen in the Wells statue in this *Journal*, Pl. 3, fig. A. The other soldier has a flat-topped, cylindric *heaume* which conceals the whole face, but is pierced with perpendicular air-slits. The children are nude. There is a lithograph of this very choice specimen in our *Journal*, xiv, p. 270. It is

needful to add that the mould was exhumed at Norwich in 1858, and was probably designed to cast the front panel of a shrine to contain a relie of the innocents whose unhappy fate it so vigorously portrays.

That pretended relics of the massacre were palmed off on the credulous is attested by the beautiful shrine in the Magniac collection, representing a sandaled foot wrought in silver, and set with jewels, in the year 1470, by an artist named Oswald, and which, according to an inscription on it, once held a foot of one of the poor children, which was presented to the Cathedral of Basle by St. Columbanus. Richard Twiss, in his *Travels through Portugal and Spain* (p. 105), states that among the relics preserved at the Escorial was the body of "one of the innocent children murdered by order of Herod"; and Roger de Hoveden (*s.a.* 1190) affirms that there were a hundred and forty bodies of these said innocents shown at the Abbey of St. Victor at Marseilles.

Considering the great number and variety of pewter *signacula* which exist to the present day, it seems surprising—nay, almost unaccountable—that so few early moulds of stone should have survived, or at least come to notice. But this remark may be applied with equal truth to the moulds for other objects besides those for pilgrims' signs. A few lithic matrices for Keltic swords, spear and axe-blades, celts and paalstabs, have been discovered in different parts of the Britannic islands. Yorkshire has produced terra-cotta *forma* for Roman coins, and London its stone moulds for leaden tokens and dumps and round-headed pins; but if all these examples were brought together, they would scarcely cover a surface of two square yards. With these facts before us, we should hail with pleasure and thankfulness any augmentation to our meagre stock of knowledge in regard to the moulds for religious *signacula*.

Mr. J. W. Grover exhibited two bronze celts from Worthing, with some remains of pottery found with them, 5 feet below the surface of the ground, and promised to lay some account of the find before a future meeting.

Mr. Prigg detailed the result of excavations he had made within a singular earthwork on West Stow Heath, Suffolk. A circular enclosure, about 340 feet in diameter, contains traces of occupation of very early date, and the fragments of pottery produced were pronounced to be Celtic in character. Flint implements were also found. The enclosure consists of a raised circular bank for about half the extent, and the remainder is an ordinary ditch. A discussion ensued, and the analogy of the enclosure with other unclassified circles was pointed out by various speakers. The paper will be printed on a future occasion.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock then read a paper in which he described the recently discovered cavern at Eltham Park. This cavern had been explored purposely, when it was illuminated by the owner of the pro-

perty. It is 37 feet broad, and 53 feet long; and reached by a shaft 142 feet deep, lined with brickwork of no great age. The chamber, however, is of remote antiquity, resembling, as it does, so many of the chalk-caverns of Essex, and the "bottle-pits" of Chislehurst and other parts of Kent. A long discussion followed, and Mr. Brent mentioned a remarkable excavation at Bickley. He has traced it for more than a mile in extent, and it is said to extend for three miles.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 3.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associate was duly elected: W. Roper, Lancaster.

Thanks were returned for the following presents to the library:

To W. H. Cope, Esq., for "A Short History of Penzance and the Land's End District." By the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma. 1878.

To the Society, for "Sussex Archaeological Transactions", vol. xxviii. 1878.

To J. Reynolds, for "Notes of English Monasticism with Reference to Cleeve Abbey." Williton. 8vo., 1878.

Mr. Luxmore, F.S.A., exhibited a beautiful series of Spanish keys of late sixteenth century and seventeenth century date. They were of elaborate and elegant workmanship, presenting many peculiarities of design; some of the barrels being formed to work in T-shaped sockets, while others were of delta-like form.

Mr. R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A., and Mr. Lambert, F.S.A., pointed out many of the beauties of the workmanship in the discussion which ensued.

Mr. Glaskett, in illustration of the ancient caverns of the south of England, referred to at the preceding meeting, exhibited some sketches of the caverns in the sandstone rocks at Hastings. These exhibited the bizarre forms of these curious subterraneans, and which are most probably of natural formation, but undoubtedly adapted for the wants of man at a very early period.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, in illustration of Mr. Morgan's paper, produced a large number of views of Spain, including several engravings of very early date, illustrating many of the primitive objects still in daily use, and a series of views of the Roman aqueducts and the principal early remains.

Mr. Thomas Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, exhibited one hundred and fifty lava casts of profiles of the series of Roman emperors and empresses, generals, philosophers, poets, etc., of Roman times, brought from Rome by a member of Mr. Morgan's family in 1826; coin, second brass, of Constantine II, ditto of Honorius, brought by him from *Ita*

lica; two coins of Hadrian, first brass, with the reverse, HISPANIA, from Mr. E. P. L. Brock's collection.

The following series of coins were brought by Mr. Morgan from Portugal in 1837, and have not been exhibited before: one hundred and three Roman silver consular denarii, arranged in families according to Mionnet; nine imperial silver denarii; seventy Roman, first, second, and third brass, various, including one medallion. The catalogue was produced, which had been submitted to our associate Mr. H. A. Grueber of the British Museum, whose unavoidable absence was regretted. The following letter from him was read, suggesting a chronological arrangement of the consular coins; and as time pressed for examining them, the Chairman hoped that another opportunity would be given.

"DEAR SIR,—As you have arranged your coins according to the systems of Mionnet and Cohen, that is by families, it may be interesting to you to have a few remarks upon them from a chronological and historical point of view, *i.e.*, after the system of Mommsen.

"On examining your list of coins, I find that the whole series embraces a period of about one hundred and ninety years, that is, from B.C. 220 to B.C. 31. No. 4, p. 19, which you describe as a denarius, 'unknown to which family it belongs', may be considered as the earliest coin of the whole series, its date of issue being about B.C. 220; whilst No. 9, p. 2, a coin of the *Antonia Gens*, which was struck by M. Antony during his sojourn in the East, and which could not have been issued before B.C. 39, nor after B.C. 31, must be considered the coin of the latest date. I am inclined to assign this last coin to the later rather than the former date. My reason for placing No. 4, p. 19, at the beginning of the series arises from the fact that when the new coinage was first issued at Rome in B.C. 269, the only inscription on the coins was that of ROMA. Very shortly afterwards, about B.C. 235, the moneyers who had charge of the mint, and who were appointed by the Senate, began to place on their coins a variety of symbols, most probably for the purpose of preventing, so far as possible, forgeries, which even at so early a period were not uncommon. This step was followed by the adoption of the moneyer's initials, or his name in monogrammic form; and later, or after a period of a hundred years from the first issue of the denarius, about B.C. 170, we find the moneyer's name in full. The coins themselves afford us abundant proof of this gradual development. One of the earliest coins with the moneyer's name in full is No. 56, p. 7, a denarius of the *Junia Gens*, inscribed C. INNI. C. F. The first issue of the denarius is marked by a very Greek-like style of art, the head of Rome being in high relief. These coins are somewhat rare. The adoption of symbols and moneyers' monograms did not prevent the striking of a few denarii and copper coins without either of these marks; and it is to this class, without having seen your coins, that I would attribute No. 4, p. 19.

"The coin of latest date in your collection, as I have already mentioned, is the denarius issued by M. Antony during his residence in the East, and is one of a series which commemorates the number of legions of which his army consisted. The other coins appear to be

spread in about equal proportion throughout the period from B.C. 220-31. It is possible to fix the date of many other coins mentioned in your list, either from analogy of types, or else by the aid of history. For the purpose of illustrating this statement we will select two coins. From analogy of type it is known that No. 2, p. 19, with reverse, Luna in a *biga*, was issued about B.C. 180, there being other coins of similar type and workmanship which have the moneyer's name in monogram.

"The copper coins also with these moneyers' monograms are of the so-called heavy uncial series, and must, therefore, have been issued before B.C. 150. We thus obtain the date of the issue of a coin which, if taken alone, would afford us no clue of its date (No. 12, p. 2), a coin of the *Aurelia Gens*, which has on the reverse, besides the moneyer's name, M. AVRELI, two other names, L. LIC. (L. Licinius) and CN. DOM. (Cnæius Domitius), these being in the exergue. This coin belongs to the second class, that is, one whose issue can be fixed by the aid of history. It is at once evident to any one at all acquainted with this branch of numismatics, that L. Licinius and C. Domitius did not strike this coin, but that M. Aurelius was the moneyer; because there are other coins with the same names in the exergue, but with C. PORCI. LICI. and L. COSCO. M. P. as moneyers.

"The question now to be solved is, who were these two personages, L. Licinius and C. Domitius? And this can be easily done. We know from the evidence afforded by finds, that these coins were issued before the breaking out of the social war in B.C. 90; and taking this as a guide, upon referring to a Roman history it will be seen that in B.C. 92 L. Licinius and C. Domitius filled the office of Censors at Rome. We thus obtain the exact date of the issue of these coins. Instances of such means of identification occur throughout the whole series, and it is by such lines of research and study that a complete chronological arrangement of all the coins struck at Rome from B.C. 269 to B.C. 3, when Augustus abolished the office of moneyers, can be arrived at.

"As illustrating Roman history, we have in the coinage of Rome an abundance of material. I will, however, call attention only to two coins in your collection. The first is No. 68, a coin of the *Minucia Gens*, which has on the reverse an Ionic column surmounted by statue between two men, one of whom holds a *patera* and a loaf of bread, and the other an ear of corn; at the feet of the latter, a demi-lion, from whose head springs an ear of corn. This curious type is the representation of a monument which was erected at Rome in honour of L. Minucius Angurinus, outside the Porta Trigemina, by the people to commemorate his successful endeavours to reduce the price of corn on certain days of the week. This event took place in B.C. 439.

"Another coin of interesting style is No. 41, p. 5, a denarius of the *Didia Gens*, which has on the reverse a warrior thrashing with a whip another armed with spear and shield. In this type is commemorated the successful efforts of T. Didius, in B.C. 138, in suppressing the revolt of the slaves in Sicily. The coin was struck about fifty years after the taking place of this event.

"There are many other coins of very interesting type; but these two instances are sufficient, I think, to show the importance of the Roman so-called family coins as illustrating Roman history.

"I am afraid you will find these remarks very scanty; but as, at

the last moment, I find it impossible to be present at the meeting of the Society this evening, my object is only to point out how instructive this class of numismatics, so much despised by collectors, can be made if studied in connection with the history itself of Rome.

“Yours very truly,

“H. A. GRUEBER.”

The Chairman thought it probable that the casts of the profiles had been taken from ivory carvings, the outlines being very sharp, and of excellent workmanship, probably of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. He congratulated Mr. Morgan on being the possessor of this beautiful series.

Mr. Morgan then read a paper headed “Through Spain to Italica”, illustrated by a plan of the amphitheatre there, with sections and details drawn to scale by D. Demetrio de los Rios. This paper will find a future place in the *Journal*. The walls of the room were hung with numerous illustrations of the buildings and architecture of the principal places in Spain referred to in the paper, and of the Roman monuments there, kindly lent by Mr. Brock from his valuable collection; and other engravings to illustrate the pottery and arts of the Moors in Spain were furnished by Mr. H. Syer Cuming.

In the discussion which ensued Mr. Grover, F.S.A., called attention to the enormous size of the principal Roman amphitheatres; and to illustrate the large size of that of Italica indicated that the Albert Hall, which will accommodate about eight thousand persons, could very readily have been built within the open arena alone. He passed in review the humble structures erected by the Romans in England, and expressed the belief, grounded upon careful observation of these monuments, that they were formed only of earth, with probably wooden seats. No traces remain of masonry-constructed edifices, nor of any of very large dimensions. Had any such ever existed, they were most probably of wood. He gave some interesting particulars of the use of organs at a very early period, worked by water power, during the performances within the buildings.

The discussion was continued by Mr. Previt ; and Dr. Phen , F.S.A., gave some details of the less known Roman amphitheatres which he had explored during his recent tour in Asia Minor, where many remain in a very perfect condition, their great age being taken into consideration. After taking notice of the terrible slaughter of men and beasts in the arenas, it might be of interest to British archaeologists to consider the origin of this shocking custom, which was unknown in the time of the consuls. It grew into public favour after the period of Julius Caesar’s journeys to Gaul and Britain; and it was suggested that he might have observed the hideous religious sacrifices of the ancient Gauls, when human victims were mingled with wild beasts,

surrounded by a cordon of fire, and either burned or destroyed by one another. We may consider that this custom prevailed also in England from the analogy of the common uses of the two peoples. Mr. Cuming, in bringing the discussion to a conclusion, pointed out the probable position of the Roman amphitheatre of London, placed by Mr. Roach Smith on the sloping land in Seacole Lane, now covered by the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway.

In connection with Mr. Morgan's paper, Mr. H. Syer Cuming made the following observations on early Spanish fictilia :

"There are two classes of early Spanish pottery which are frequently confounded together, but which ought to be clearly distinguished one from the other, as they differ both in date and origin. The first is of Arabian fabric, embracing a period between the commencement of the eighth century and end of the eleventh century. The second is of Moorish manufacture, its era lying between the end of the eleventh century and that of the fifteenth century. The Mosque of Cordova, erected in the tenth century, is a good type of Arab or Saracenic art ; the famous Alhambra of Granada, of Moorish taste and skill ; and in both of which buildings fine examples of fictilia exist. Europe is deeply indebted to the Moslem masters of Spain for much valuable teaching. They were well acquainted with the art of glazing pottery, and employed plumbo-stanniferous enamel as far back as the eighth century. The *azulejos*, or glazed tiles, seen in the Cuarto Real, and Alhambra of Granada, and Alcazar at Seville, are beautiful examples of the enamel in question. The oldest Hispano-Moorish tiles were surface-painted ; the later had the devices stamped with a mould, and the colours run in between the raised lines. A notice of such tiles is given in our *Journal*, vol. vi, p. 88. There are reasons for believing that Malaga was the chief centre of the Moorish pottery-works in Spain, and that there were wrought the two magnificent amphora-like jars found beneath the pavement of the Alhambra, and long preserved in Granada. Of these jars there are large engravings by Sixdeniers and Thomas Smith. Every portion of these graceful vessels is enriched with elaborate Arabesque patterns, with quaint animals, inscriptions, and shields introduced in certain portions. The designs on these jars are in two shades of blue on a white ground, and they exhibit that singular play of gold or copper lustre so frequently observed in the earlier fictilia of Italy and Spain.

"The Moorish pottery next in antiquity to that of Malaga is probably the ware produced in the island of Majorca, on the east coast of Spain, from which place the title of *Majolica*, for the finer kinds of Fayence, is said to be derived. Though the final conquest of the Moors of Spain was effected in the year 1492, their taste and teaching are manifested in the later pottery of Valencia, Seville, Barcelona,

Paterna, Toledo, Talavera de la Reyna, and other places. Many of the *alcarrazas* produced in Andalusia at the present day are of the exact contour of the water-coolers used in ancient and modern times in Northern Africa. Some remarks on such vessels may be seen in this *Journal*, vii, p. 170 ; xxvii, p. 522."

The following paper was then read :

ON SOME CURIOUS RESERVATIONS IN LEASES GRANTED BY
BISHOPS OF HEREFORD.

BY C. H. COMPTON.

Among the lands acquired for the purposes of Queen Victoria Street in the city of London, the fee simple of a yard and tenements called "Labour-in-Vain Yard", near old Fish Street, in the parish of St. Mary Mounthaw, parcel of the estates of the see of Hereford, was conveyed to the Metropolitan Board of Works by the Right Rev. Renn Dickson, Bishop of Hereford, on the 6th of July 1866. The title shown was possessory, *i.e.*, it was evidenced by a succession of leases made by the Bishops of Hereford from time to time, the first being a lease dated 12th April 1662, from Herbert Lord Bishop of Hereford, of his great capital messuage in the parish of St. Mary Mounthault, in the city of London, and all manner of houses and buildings to the same belonging, with the garden and appurtenances, to Leonard Bennett, his heirs and assigns, for the lives of himself, John Plumer, and Frances Hales, under the yearly rent of £8 and one red rose ; and the Right Reverend Father reserved a right to lodge in part of the messuage during his pleasure.

The next lease is dated 17th April 1766, and is a demise from the Right Hon. and Right Rev. Lord James Beauclerk, Bishop of Hereford,¹ to William Lindeman. It recites that the aforesaid great capital messuage and buildings were burned down at the dreadful fire in the year 1666 ; and that at the Court of Judicature for determining differences touching houses destroyed by the fire, a further term of forty years had been granted of the premises ; and the lease of 1766 then grants a further term to William Lindeman, his heirs and assigns, for three lives, reserving a rent of £16 and one red rose yearly during the said term, on the Feast of St. John Baptist, if it be lawfully demanded.

The leases subsequent to this were granted for twenty-one years,

¹ This Lord James Beauclerk was the seventh son of the first Duke of St. Albans, who was a natural son of Charles II by Nell Gwyn. The family coat of arms is the arms of King Charles II, with a baton sinister *gules*, charged with three roses *argent*, seeded and barbed proper. The connection of the red rose with the episcopal, and the white rose with the temporal, functions of this Bishop of Hereford is a curious coincidence worthy of note.

from time to time, until the 13th of October 1860, the date of the lease which was existing when the Board purchased the property ; in all of which leases the £16 and one red rose were reserved in precisely similar terms to those of the lease of 1766.

I have not been able to meet with any leases prior in date to that of 12 April 1662, before mentioned ; but as it was a well known practice on the grant of episcopal leases, until quite recent times, to renew them on payment of a fine, and to reserve the ancient rents, I have no doubt that the reservation of the red rose had its origin in the contentions of the rival houses of York and Lancaster, though I cannot find traces of any Bishop of Hereford having become historically conspicuous during that eventful period of English history.

In the last quarterly number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, which has been presented to our Society, there is a note contributed by the Rev. D. R. Thomas, vicar of Meifod, Welshpool, the Editor, referring to an entry in a terrier of the parish of Meifod, dated 1774, of “a perpetual claim of a modus of a red rose and two peppercorns in lieu of the tithe hay, out of the tenement or farm of Ystyn Colwyn, that hath been yearly offered to the vicar and impropiator of this parish ; but not upon any certain day. Neither have we, they, or any of us, allowed it as such ; or have we ever heard or believe that the predecessors or owners of the said tithe ever acknowledged it or allowed it as a modus, or hath it been inserted or taken notice of in any terrier of this parish.” And it is asked whether any similar claim occurs elsewhere, and whether there is any instance of a red rose having been bestowed as a mark of privilege or favour upon supporters of the house of Lancaster ? I do not think that this claim of a modus of a red rose can be considered in the light of a privilege or favour. It was a reservation to be rendered to the tithe-owner by the tithe-payer in lieu of tithes in kind, and may have had its origin thus : A lease of the tithes may have been made to the land-owner, reserving a rent of one red rose, as in the leases from the Bishops of Hereford. The effect of this would have been to have suspended the payment of tithes during the existence of the lease ; and when the lease expired, the red rose may have been continued to be rendered in lieu of the tithes, and the claim of a modus set up. If this be the right explanation, the rendering of the red rose in both cases would have had a similar origin, viz., a reservation of rent involving an acknowledgment of fealty to the house of Lancaster.

I have submitted this view of the case to Mr. Thomas by letter, and have received in reply a letter from him, in which he questions my theory, “as”, he says, “the claim, though made, does not appear to have been acknowledged, and the tithe itself continued to be paid” ; and he adds, “the terrier of 1774 is the only one of the several we

have that contains any allusion to it ; nor have I met with any reference to it elsewhere. I will try, however, and see whether the title-deeds of the property contain any notice of it. The rectorial tithes of the parish, now belonging to Christ Church, Oxford, were granted by Henry VI, in 1439, to Bishop Low¹ of St. Asaph. Could this have been the origin ?”

I am still inclined to think that the red rose and two peppercorns were originally reserved as rent. The red rose may have been reserved out of the rectorial tithes belonging to King Henry VI, and the two peppercorns out of the vicarial tithes ; but the fact that the tithe continued to be paid does not accord with this theory. Mr. Thomas’ letter suggests some valuable matter for further research, particularly how Henry VI (prior, of course, to the dissolution of the monasteries) came into possession of rectorial tithes. Extra parochial tithes belonged to the crown by the common law, but these were parochial.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Excursion Secretary*, detailed the further arrangements made for the Congress at Wisbech, and gave an extended list of the places proposed to be visited.

An announcement was then made that the Council had passed an unanimous vote of condolence with the family of the late Sir Gilbert Scott upon his sudden decease. The interment was announced to take place in Westminster Abbey on the following Saturday. Much regret at the loss to archæological studies was expressed by several of the speakers, some of whom had hoped to meet Sir Gilbert at the coming Congress at Wisbech ; his brother, the Rev. Mr. Scott, being vicar of Wisbech, and the Chairman of the Local Committee.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 27.

H. S. CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Miss Tilden, of the United States of America (care of S. B. Merri-man, Esq., 25 Austin Friars), was duly elected an associate.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the several presents as follows :

To the Society, for “Archæological Journal”, vol. xxxiv, No. 135.

“ ” for “Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire”, Part xxii, April 1878, vol. xi, 1.

“ ” for “Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries”, Second Series, vol. vii, No. III.

¹ Bishop Low, of St. Asaph, was born in Worcestershire, an Augustine Friar, a Doctor of Divinity, and Provincial in England of his order ; and by King Henry VI made Bishop of St. Asaph, and afterwards translated to Rochester. (Holinshed, ed. 1586, p. 662.)

To the Tyneside Club, for "Pamphlets relating to Excavations at South Shields."

Dr. Stevens reported the discovery of an ancient stone coffin at Winchester. It is probably of Roman date, but no personal objects were met with. This discovery affords another instance of the occurrence of ancient remains in this city; but the ground is not often disturbed.

The neglected condition of the recently excavated Roman station near South Shields was announced, and the injury which was daily resulting from the unprotected condition of the remains. The Council had passed a resolution calling the attention of the local authorities to this unsatisfactory state of things, and urging the preservation of at least the most interesting portion of the buildings excavated.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., exhibited four perfect and beautiful yellow glass bowls of small size, found at Cyziens; and three other perfect little vessels (*Clechoæ*) brought to England by Mr. F. Calvert from the Dardanelles. The difference in design between these graceful vessels and others found in England was very apparent.

A discovery of much archæological interest was then announced. The existence of an unexplored Roman villa at Ithen Abbas, near Winchester, had been mentioned at the meetings on more than one occasion during the present session, and the intention mentioned of excavating at least one portion. Funds had been raised by local subscription, and a few tentative searches were made with encouraging results, the works being directed by the Rev. C. Collier, F.S.A., of Winchester Training College. Two beautiful pavements have been laid bare; one perfect, and the other in almost perfect condition. Carefully prepared drawings, made by Mr. Collier, were exhibited by him, and the following description of the excavations was read:

ON AN UNEXPLORED ROMAN VILLA AT ITCHEN ABBAS.

BY THE REV. C. COLLIER, F.S.A.

By the kindness of E. Shelley, Esq., of Avington Park, the owner of the land, and the ready kindness and help of Mr. Way the tenant, we commenced our excavations on the site of the Roman villa last month. About 18 inches below the surface we reached the pavements as given in the sketches sent herewith. I may state that the situation of the villa is on the high ground rising northward from the Ithen Valley. There is a fine look-out over the neighbouring country. The inhabitants residing on the spot would have ample opportunity of knowing the approach of an enemy from any quarter. The situation of the villa is so exposed that the late prevailing east winds effectually hindered us from taking accurate measurings or bearings; but you

may fairly consider that the rooms would seem to lie north-east and south-west. The two rooms opened would be, say 16 ft. by 8 ft. and 6 ft. by 6 ft. The ornamented portions (and those only are sent in the sketches) have borders of red tesserae around them, to the extent of, say 18 ins. On the south side of pavement No. 1, in the walls, were found flue-tiles, by which the warm air of the hypocaust was admitted into the room. The exact form of the hypocaust-flues is not yet known to us. The arched entrance under the wall from the fire-place outside remains, but the tiles are loose and brittle. As elsewhere, and under similar circumstances, a quantity of shells and bones had been found; but only two coins have yet been met with. One is a small brass of Constantine, having on the reverse the words *SARMATIA DEVICTA* round a figure of Victory; the other coin is so much eaten away that the inscription cannot be made out. The head on the obverse is helmeted. I shall examine both coins more carefully, and give you further information about them. I have had the tiles carefully examined, but not a single letter in the shape of an inscription has been found. Many of the roof-tiles yet retain the nails by which they were held in their places. The plaster of the rooms remains, in some places, to the height of 12 ins. from the floor. Remains of about eight different kinds of vessels of pottery have been collected, but no glass has been found. There are portions of vessels of Samian ware, and of a vessel with a remarkably smooth and glassy surface. Some pieces of rusty iron were found in one of the flues.

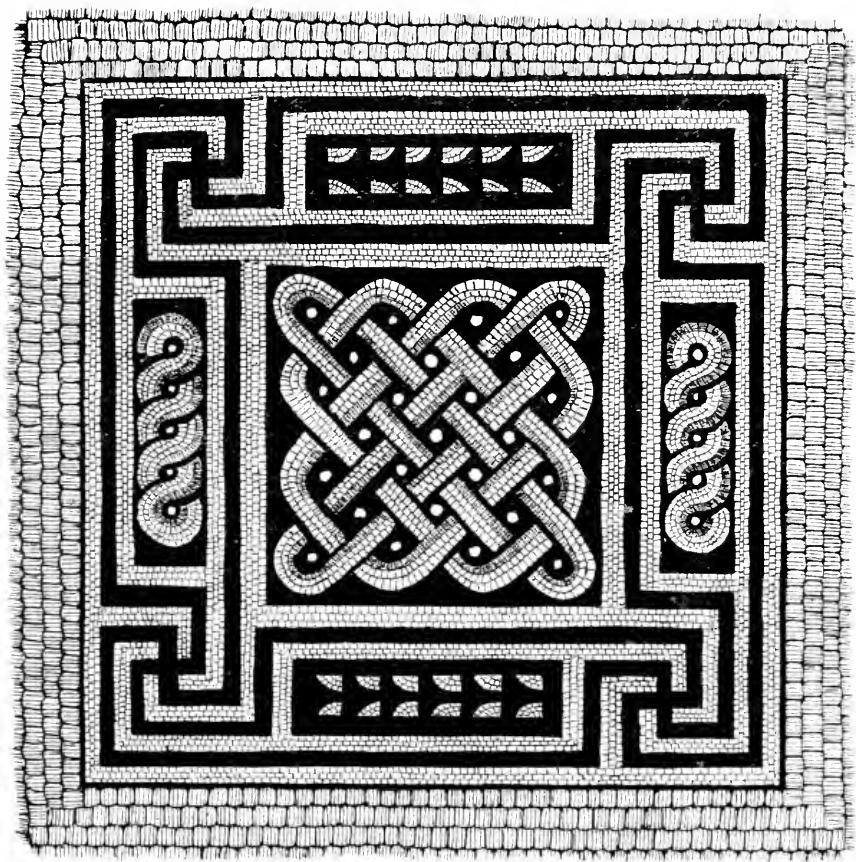
We hope to pursue our explorations. Mr. Shelley and his tenant Mr. Way (a relative of Mr. Roach Smith) take great interest in the matter, and Mr. Shelley has promised to provide a proper cover for the pavements. The sketches I send are correct both in the design and the colours.

The drawings of the beautiful pavements were examined with considerable interest, and the Chairman called attention to the double-handled vases. This pattern also occurred on the pavement found on the site of the India Office, and most probably indicated the use of the room for dining or festive purposes, accompanied as the latter example was with the form of Bacchus.

A drawing of a fragment of pottery was also exhibited, and Mr. Loftus Brock considered that its peculiar ware was from the Roman potteries in the New Forest. He called attention to the occurrence of these pavements at a distance not very great from those discovered at Bramdean, and expressed a hope that these would be as well preserved. Probably other discoveries will reward further search.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited a few examples of recent London finds. The earliest are two keys and a small watch-seal, the three objects being hung on an iron ring. The largest key belonged to a

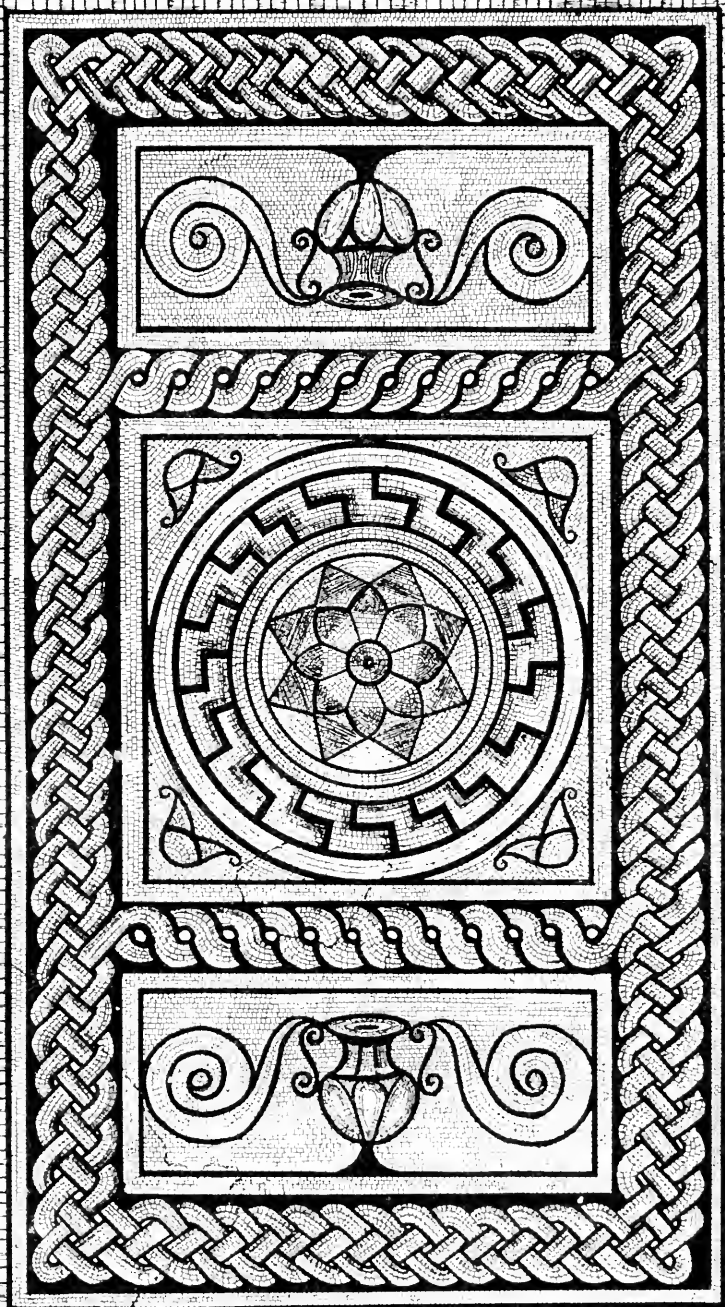
ROMAN PAVEMENT, FOUND AT ITCHEN ABBAS.
NEAR WINCHESTER. MARCH. 1878.



ABOUT 6 FEET SQUARE.

*Colours, black white and red,
on both pavements.*





PARIS

chest, and is of iron, with solid stem and reniform bow. The second key is of the same general fashion with its companion, but is of brass with hollow stem, and belonged to a casket. Date of both specimens *circa* 1600. The little seal is of silver, its octagon face bearing the arms of Norwich, viz., a castle; in base, a lion passant. Exhumed at Clerkenwell.

The two following objects were found on the site of the Abbot of Battle's House, Maze Pond, Southwark. The first is a three-pronged fork of silver, 6 inches long; the broad upper end being embossed with leaves, and the back of the flat stem stamped with the three Hall-marks, viz., the letter C, indicating the year 1680-81, the lion passant, and the leopard's head. A silver fork, of similar design to the foregoing, but of rather earlier date, is engraved in the *Gent. Mag.*, July 1790, p. 596; and another specimen is in the Cuming collection. The second item is a *fausse-montre*, $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch diameter. The silver or white metal rim is prettily embossed with rosettes, the face is marked with Arabic numerals, and the *dos* decorated with a back-painting of a full-faced bust of a young queen.¹

In the discussion following this exhibition, the Rev. A. Taylor described the Assyrian fork brought to England by the late Mr. Smith, now in the British Museum, and probably the oldest one in the world.

Mr. Lambert, F.S.A., exhibited a fine collection of locks and keys, among which was a very remarkable example, the lock being filled with elaborate, pierced workmanship, through which the complicated wards of the key passed with the greatest ease. It was pronounced by the Chairman to be of the time of Henry VII, but several of the other examples were earlier.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., exhibited a perfect *bullæ* of Pope John XXII, having on the obverse the well known heads of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Mr. Cuming then read a paper "On Good Friday Buns", which will be printed on a future occasion.

An animated discussion ensued. The Rev. A. Taylor spoke of the references to the sacred cakes of the heathen nations mentioned in the Old Testament.

Mr. Basil H. Cooper demurred to the endorsement, in so valuable a paper, of the traditional derivation of our word *bun* from the Greek accusative *boun* (a heifer), as quite antiquated by the teachings of modern comparative philology.

Mr. Lambert pointed out that the equivalent of *bun* appeared in the modern *banrock*; and the root was in the word *panis*, with the *p* softened into *b* by no uncommon transformation. White bread is still

¹ For notices of *fausses-montres*, see *Journal*, xi, p. 259; xiii, p. 330; and for back-paintings, xxix, p. 81.

called *simmel* in Germany ; and Mr. Blashill referred to this as its old name in England.

Mr. Cuming, in replying, said that *bun* has been supposed to be one of the few antediluvian words that have come down to us. It is the same, or nearly so, in almost all languages. Some "simmel cakes" were very small, while others, on the contrary, were very large.

Mr. John Brent, F.S.A., read a paper on "Recent Roman Remains at Canterbury", which will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*. He exhibited a large number of Roman coins and various other articles of the same early date, many being personal articles. In the discussion which ensued it was shown that this discovery afforded another instance of the occurrence of Roman articles in running water, and afforded ground for belief that this was a sacred spring resorted to with offerings, of which so many other instances have recently been met with.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 1ST.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The Chairman read the following Report :

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1877.

"In presenting the balance-sheet for the year ending 31st December 1877, which the Auditors have verified, it will not be a matter of surprise, after what I shadowed forth last year, if there is no surplus to invest in accordance with the rule to that effect, which was last year held in abeyance.

"The result of the financial year 1877 shows that our expenditure has exceeded our income by £21 : 19 : 7, which sum added to the previous year's deficit of £9 : 17 : 9, leaves the account overdrawn £31 : 17 : 4 on 31st December last. This, however, has arisen from an extraordinary expenditure in the sums paid on the *Index* printing account, the liability on which has now been reduced to £30, which I propose, with your permission, to pay off this year, and so extinguish it altogether. This payment will again prevent us from making the investment before referred to, of one half the sums received during the year for entrance-fees and life-compositions. The sum to have been invested under this head would have been £41 : 9 : 6, which must, therefore, stand over till the necessary equilibrium is established between receipts and payments.

"The usual economy has been exercised in the expenditure; and

the *Journal* at the same time has been well maintained, a large volume having been issued of 533 pages, and with no less than forty-three illustrations. As regards the receipts of the Society, they may be considered satisfactory and progressive, from the increased number of subscriptions; but the Congress at Llangollen last year, though a success in every other respect, did not yield financially as much as could be wished, the net returns having only been £38:15:2. This item of revenue is always somewhat precarious, and fluctuates from year to year. The sum realised by the sale of the Society's publications has been £38:5:9, and from the sale of the *Index*, £4:10. A little extra expense in advertising has been rendered necessary to keep up with the times, and make known our evening meetings, which have been better attended than usual in consequence.

"The financial position of the Association may be considered satisfactory; but the subscriptions of the current year have been coming in rather slowly, and I take this opportunity of asking associates who may be in arrear to make their payments with as little delay as possible, whereby the interests of the Society will be greatly promoted.

"I have now only to thank every member of this Association with whom I have been connected, for their very zealous co-operation in forwarding the work in which we are all engaged, and to express my hope that the coming Congress at Wisbech may be largely attended; and that the programme of the proposed proceedings there, sketched out by our Excursion Secretary, Mr. George Wright, may lead to interesting researches both on the spot and in the wide domain of literature.

"THOMAS MORGAN, *Hon. Treasurer.*"

The adoption of this Report having been unanimously agreed to, Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Sec.*, read the following

SECRETARIES' REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1877.

"The Honorary Secretaries have the honour to lay before the associates of the British Archæological Association, at the Annual General Meeting held this day, their Report upon the state and progress of the Association during the past year 1877.

"1. By a comparison of the numbers of associates in the current Part of the *Journal*, with that of the corresponding period last year, a total of 473 names is shown against a similar total of 440 last year. We can thus show an increase of 33 new names. The corresponding increase last year was 16, and in the year before 7. There are among the newly elected associates several gentlemen of well known antiquarian and literary eminence, and we trust we are correct in assuming that the British Archæological Association will continue to increase its

strength at the satisfactory rate of progress which has been so evident of late.

"2. Biographical notices of the Associates whom we have lost by death have, as far as is practicable, been prepared from materials submitted to us for the purpose. These will be found in that part of the *Journal* devoted to that object.

"3. During 1877, seventy-two complete works, or parts of works, have been presented to the Association; but the Honorary Secretaries deplore the fact that no improvement has yet been adopted so as to render the valuable and constantly increasing library of archæological works of reference available.

"4. Forty-two of the most important papers read at the Congress held at Bodmin and Penzance, or during the progress of the session in London, have been printed in the *Journal* of the past year. The Honorary Secretaries are glad that they are enabled to announce that there is no lack of material for the proper continuation of the *Journal*, as there are on hand several valuable contributions to British and foreign archæology from the pens of associates and others. These papers, as far as the very limited space at the command of the Editor will permit, will be inserted in forthcoming issues of the *Journal*. And the Honorary Secretaries here would wish to point out that large sums are expended on the publication of the *Journal*, whereby a very large amount of the subscription is returned to the associates. They also would remind local members of the Council, and associates generally, to lose no occasion of laying before the meeting early accounts and notices of fresh discoveries and interesting researches, thereby assisting to maintain the important position of the *Journal* as a record of archæology, and as a book of reference to all matters which enter into the scope of the Society.

"5. With respect to the portions devoted to headings of "Antiquarian Intelligence", it has been found that a useful medium of communicating new and important matters has been in this way set on foot; and the Honorary Secretaries earnestly thank all who have thereby assisted them by prompt correspondence with regard to local discoveries."

W. DE G. BIRCH } *Hon. Secs.*
E. P. L. BROCK }

Mr. Morgan then moved the following resolution, which was carried unanimously :

"That it is desirable to record among the 'Proceedings' of the Association a meeting held at 9 Victoria Chambers, on the 10th of April last, for the purpose of testifying to the appreciation of the valuable and gratuitous services rendered to the British Archæological Association by Mr. George R. Wright, F.S.A., during nearly the whole term of its existence."

A fund was raised by these subscribers for the purchase of ten volumes of a British topographical work, and to form a purse of money, which were together presented to Mr. George R. Wright in recognition of these services. The chair was taken by the Treasurer of the Association; and as the fund was subscribed to by a large number of our associates, including many past Presidents, Vice-Presidents, members of our Council, as well as members of the body at large, it is moved that the minutes of the said meeting be entered among the "Proceedings" of this Society.

The ballot was then taken, with the following result:

President.

[THE EARL OF HARDWICKE.]

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.; THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.; THE MARQUIS OF HERTFORD; THE EARL OF CARMARVON; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGECUMBE; THE LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L.; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BOUTTON, BART.; SIR W. C. MEDLYCOTT, BART., D.C.L.; JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A.; KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, M.P.; GEORGE TOMLINE, F.S.A.; SIR W. W. WYNNE, BART., M.P.

THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM
SIR H. W. PEEK, BART., M.P.
H. SYER CUMING, F.S.A. SCOT.
JOHN EVANS, F.R.S., F.S.A.
A. W. FRANKS, M.A., F.S.A.
GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.
REV. S. M. MAXHEW, M.A.

T. MORGAN, F.S.A.
J. O. H. PHILLIPPS, F.R.S., F.S.A.
J. R. PLANCHÉ, *Somerset Herald*
REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH, M.A.
REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.
C. ROACH SMITH, F.S.A.
JOHN WALTER, M.P.

Treasurer.

THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A.

Secretaries.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L.
E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A.

Draughtsman.

G. F. TENISWOOD, F.S.A.

Palæographer.

E. M. THOMPSON.

Council.

GEORGE G. ADAMS, F.S.A.
GEORGE ADE
THOMAS BLASHILL
CECIL BRENT, F.S.A.
C. H. COMPTON
WILLIAM HENRY COPE
T. F. DILLON CROKER, F.S.A.
R. NORMAN FISHER
J. W. GROVER

WENTWORTH HUYSHÉ
J. S. PHENÉ, LL.D., F.S.A.
J. W. PREVITÉ
REV. ALEXANDER TAYLOR, M.A.
E. M. THOMPSON
STEPHEN I. TUCKER, *Rouge Croix*.
G. F. WARNER, M.A.
J. WHITMORE.

Auditors.

J. ROMILLY ALLEN.

GEORGE PATRICK.

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31ST DEC. 1877.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Annual subscriptions and donations	£304	5	0
Life-compositions and entrance-fees	82	19	0
Balance, receipts of the Llangollen Congress	387	4	0
Sale of publications	38	15	2
Sale of the Index	38	5	9
Four half-yearly dividends on investments	4	10	0
Balance due to the Treasurer	2	16	8
	31	17	4
	£503	8	11

Investment at cost . . . £44 12 6
 Less balance due to Treasurer . 31 17 4

In hands of the Treasurer . . £12 4 2

We have examined the accounts and vouchers connected with the above balance sheet, and have found them correct.

F. J. THAIRLWALL } Auditors.
 WENTWORTH HUYSE

April 27th, 1878.

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Balance over-drawn from last year	.	9	17 9
Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i>	.	258	9 0
Illustrations to the same	.	88	0 11
Paid T. Richards on account of his bill for printing the Index	.	31	6 0
Miscellaneous printing and advertising	.	25	2 3
Delivery of <i>Journals</i> and Index	.	20	10 9
Rent for 1877, and clerk's salary	.	56	8 0
Stamps, stationery, postages, carriage of antiquities, etc.	.	13	14 3
		£503	8 11

During the taking of the ballot, after the customary resolutions had been proposed and carried unanimously, Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., explained several details in connection with the forthcoming congress at Wisbech, and on concluding, the following retrospect was read by the Chairman.

NOTES ON THE PAST SESSION.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

It must be gratifying to all true lovers of archaeology to see how the practical labours of our associates during the past session have added to the stock of established facts, which day by day and year by year are building up history upon a more solid foundation than heretofore, not only as regards that period of time which is called prehistoric, but also that which follows it, from the sixth to the twelfth century—an epoch now emerging from what might have been called, and certainly as regards our own country should be called, the semi-historic, by reason of defect of materials to fill up the picture. The “cloud of error” has hung with more or less density over all lands, from Cadiz to Calcutta, since Juvenal complained of it, and it cannot be wrong to work at removing as much of the cloud as possible, that our progress may be guided by the Divine light of truth—a safer beacon than the uncertain glimmer of artificial or imperfect history, however well put together.

We are indebted to the contributions of the Rev. W. C. Lukis and the Rev. Canon Ridgway for a careful exposition of facts, already established, with reference to megalithic monuments, and to Mr. C. W. Dymond, for altogether new and detailed measurements, ground plans, and descriptions of that fine specimen of a rude stone circle, Stanton Drew, in Somersetshire, showing the diameter of the large circle there to measure 368 feet, and of four in Cumberland, that is Long Meg and her daughters near Little Salkeld, which is one of the large circles or ovals of 305 feet by 360 feet, and three others in Cumberland of smaller diameters.¹ He has also given us good measurements and descriptions of the Mên-an-Tol and Chywoon Quoit in Cornwall. Dr. Wise has contributed a detailed account of the circle and avenues of stones at Callernish, in the Island of Lewis.² We have been favoured too with an account of another large circle of stones in another part of the country, that at West Stow Heath, by Mr. Prigg, and he makes the diameter of this circle to be 360 feet, which I point out, because these large circles are rare. These new measurements supply a desideratum for checking and rectifying ancient descriptions and measurements by Aubrey and others, which have been copied by

¹ *Journal*, xxxiii, p. 297.

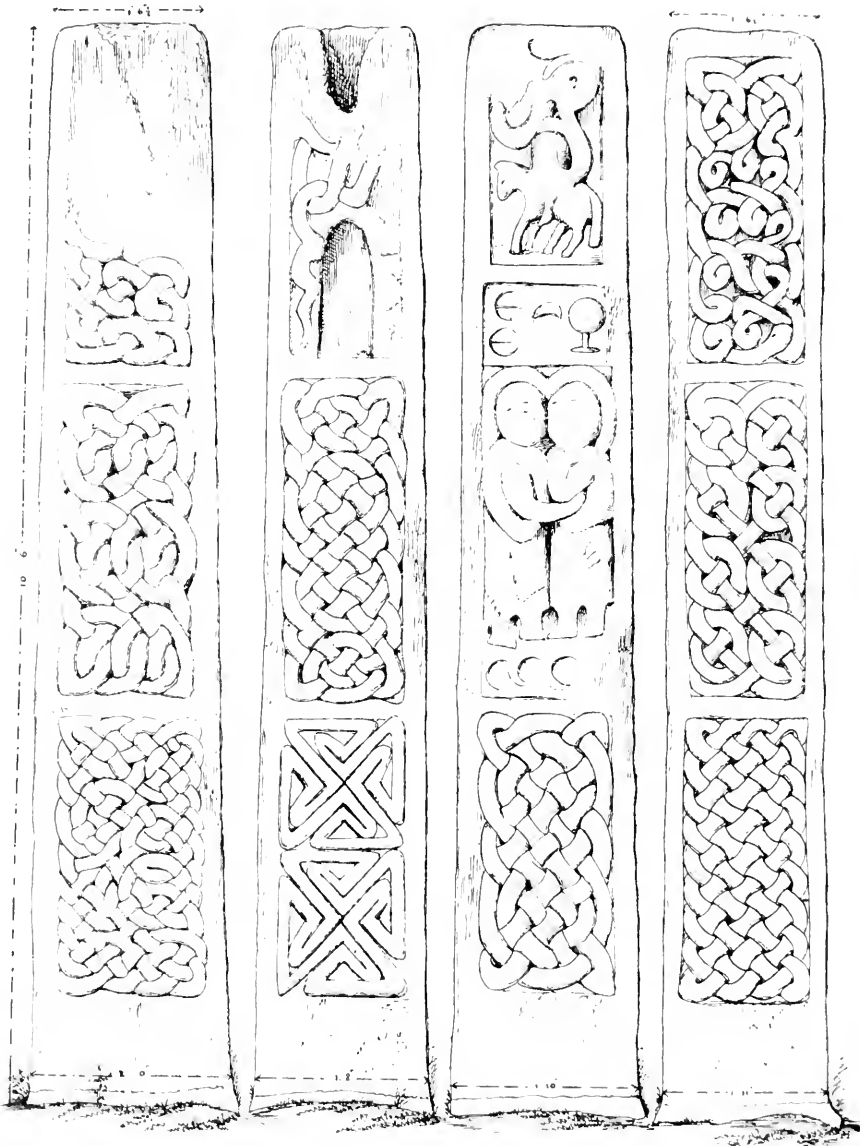
² *Ibid.*, p. 158.

subsequent writers, and are often inaccurate. Ancient stone crosses in Staffordshire and elsewhere have been admirably illustrated, and careful drawings made of some of the best examples by Mr. C. Lynam, with his valuable classification of them, and we may congratulate the Society on the efforts which have been made to place the chronology of these crosses upon something like a satisfactory basis, by comparing the ornamentation of the stone with that on the parchment documents of the different periods. With these beautiful drawings before us, and assisted by a collection of rubbings made by Mr. J. Romilly Allen from a large number of the crosses themselves, showing the designs in black and white without change or favour, a better opportunity is now given for such a comparison than antiquaries have had in times gone by.

I may refer here to a noteworthy example of a cross which points to an historical date. It is given in the *Journal* of the present year at page 122. The cross or monolith is described as standing in the hamlet of Coplestone, about five miles from Crediton, on the Barnstaple road, where four ways meet. Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a drawing of it from a plaster cast of the cross, made by Sir Henry Dryden. He gives reasons why it should be considered a memorial cross to Putta, second bishop of Devon, who was murdered on the spot by one of the followers of Uffa, Earl of Devon. The sculpture is of the period A.D. 901 to 940, and a figure on horseback carved on one side of the stone is conjectured by Mr. Way to be that of the bishop on his journey. The labours of our late treasurer in the illustration of Anglo-Saxon architecture have been followed up in the same impartial spirit by the practical and professional investigations of Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, Mr. J. T. Irvine, and Mr. C. H. Talbot; and we may refer with satisfaction to the information which those gentlemen have furnished upon the Saxon church of Boarhunt, in Hampshire, with full measurements to scale by Mr. J. T. Irvine, and upon the arches and pilasters at Britford Church, near Salisbury, exhibiting as these do the characteristic *fretwork* carving, and the imitation of Roman mosaics. We are carried back through these intermediate stages of architecture to the Roman period, which has been very fully illustrated this session by new and important discoveries, and without particularising the many *finds* of the usual Roman remains, which are described in the *Journal*, I would wish to draw attention to some which have a special interest, as identifying certain sites or throwing light upon the Roman topography of Britain.

At Carlisle three different sections of stockades have been found composed of oaken piles, which, if Roman, as they are supposed to be, show that a continuous stockade surrounded the city in Roman times. This has been pointed out by Mr. R. S. Ferguson. The discovery of a wall bearing a colonnade, with columns *in situ* from 21 to 23 feet

COPLESTONE CROSS. DEVON.



apart, within the area of the camp at Templeborough, near Sheffield, may lead to further discoveries on this site, which is now being opened up by the energy of Mr. J. D. Leader. He has given us an engraving of the larger columns, as well as of the smaller ones of a peristyle, and of the wall; and his discovery of other Roman remains and road, at a lower level, point to the occupation of the spot at another and earlier historical period. The tile of which he has sent a drawing¹ gives the name of the fourth cohort of Gauls, presumably stationed there, or sent to work at the entrenchments. We know only that the præfect of the Cataphractan cavalry was quartered at Morbium when the *Notitia Imperii* was compiled; and as the Gallo-Grecian cavalry are called *Cataphracti*, or covered with armour, and associated with the Gallic infantry by Livy, and the Galli are also described by Tacitus as *Crupellarii*, likewise protected by heavy armour, we have a coincidence between the inscription on the tile and the *Notitia*, written about the time of Honorius, which is highly important. A Roman brick grave outside the eastern wall of Verulam may determine the site of the Roman cemetery there. In Roman villas partially excavated we should take note of the sites in the southern counties, where two have lately been found. The first at Abinger, near Dorking, brought to our notice by Mr. B. Hicklin, and the second at Preston, near Brighton, reported on by Dr. Joseph Stevens, and interesting as another instance of a Roman focus of civilisation on this coast of Sussex, to add to the others already known in those parts.²

The Roman discoveries at Canterbury, which were described to us by Mr. John Brent at our last meeting, are an important addition to our knowledge of Roman Canterbury, which Mr. Brent had imparted to us on many former occasions, and in a discussion upon the numerous coins which have been found in the bed of a spring there, the feeling of the meeting seemed to be that the subject of offerings of money and articles of value to the genius or divinity of springs and rivers should be followed up whenever opportunity offers, based upon the many instances we have had of such offerings, and having regard to a paper on the subject by Dr. Wake-Smart.³ By the kindness of Dr. Birch, we have had from him a full account of that Egyptian obelisk, which, through the generosity and public spirit of a private individual, has been brought over to these shores; and the subject can no longer be treated as foreign to British archaeology, now that the obelisk itself is floating in the Thames, near its final resting place. The excavations at Alexandria, at the base where it once stood, described to us by Mr. Waynman Dixon, were second only in interest to the interpretation by Dr. Birch of the hieroglyphics on the monument

¹ *Journal*, xxxiii, p. 508.

² *Ibid.*, xxx, 1 p. 518, 522.

³ *Ibid.*, xxxii, p. 60.

itself. The bronze crabs on which the obelisk had been reared by the Romans were brought to light, and on one of them inscriptions in Greek and Latin showed that the obelisk had been set up in the præfecture of Barbatius, in the time of Augustus. This fixes the date, according to Mr. Dixon, to about B.C. 22. As a parallel to the engineering works of the Moderns, and the great canal of M. de Lesseps, Mr. J. W. Grover has given us an account, with plans, of the Suez Canals of the Ancients, from the age of Sesostris. Dr. Schliemann's paper on Troy and Mycenæ will be remembered with interest, and kept in view when this subject is again discussed, for it is yet very far from being exhausted. Foreign archæology has been brought to bear upon our English finds by a comparison of some of the gatherings of our associate, Dr. Phené, in his travels through many lands. His zeal in archæological researches has induced him to visit the Troad, and some of those out-of-the-way isles of the Ægean, not much known to modern travellers, though of great renown in ancient times, and of these he has given us descriptions on various occasions; nor has he been less active nearer home in surveying the land of Armorica, and the megalithic structures of Brittany, and giving us the benefit of his researches.

In documentary archæology, I call attention to a MS. dated A.D. 770, brought forward by Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, which is interesting, as bearing upon the history of the Hwicci, from Worcester Cathedral Library. The series also of original charters on vellum, which were presented to our library by Sir P. Stafford Carey of Guernsey, illustrated by Mr. Birch, and published in our *Journal*, are a valuable addition to our archæological records, and the same may be said of the Spanish documents exhibited by the Rev. Dr. W. Sparrow Simpson, and the printing of the will and inventory of Robert Morton, of the fifteenth century, by Mr. E. M. Thompson, the inventory having been purchased for the British Museum at the sale of Mr. Bragge's collection of MSS. I would also refer to two specimens of MSS. in the *Journal*,¹ which illustrate the history and literature of the ancient Cornish language by Mr. Henry Jenner, who deals critically with this difficult subject, without allowing imagination to run too far in advance of facts—an error which is even more easily committed by etymological than by historical inquirers. Before leaving the subject of documentary archæology, I would refer with satisfaction to the action of the Society towards preventing the destruction of ancient papers among the supposed useless public records, and also for obtaining an extension of the date up to which ancient wills may be searched free of charge by literary students, the desired end having been attained in both cases.

Passing to mediæval remains, attention has been called by the Rev. Prebendary Searth² to an effigy in the chancel wall outside Bathampton

¹ Vol. xxxiii, pp. 155 and 157.

² *Journal*, xxxiv, p. 120.

Church, lately visited by the Somersetshire Archæological Society, and, notwithstanding a contrary opinion which has been expressed upon it, Mr. Searth fully states his reasons for attributing this effigy to that of an early Norman bishop, much mutilated, but which gives a good representation of the ecclesiastical dress of the period. This confirms the opinion expressed upon the effigy more than twenty years since by Mr. J. R. Planché, *Somerset Illes*, &c.¹ In the same county the discovery of the supposed refectory and tiled floor of the abbey of Cleve, described heraldically, and with reference to the architectural arrangements, by Colonel J. P. Bramble and Mr. John Reynolds, are an interesting addition to the description we had before received of the same abbey from the Rev. Prebendary Walcott. A subject of considerable interest has been brought before us by Mr. Brock, resulting from a discovery at Eltham of very deep artificial caves, with passages communicating from one to another, and these have been compared with others of a similar character cut in the chalk, as well as with those extensive caverns at Hastings which have been cut in the sandstone. It is to be hoped we shall hear further upon this subject. I must not omit to mention the information conveyed to us by Mr. H. W. Henfrey, concerning the family of Oliver Cromwell, by the production of many medals with their effigies, hitherto unpublished, and which have been admirably reproduced in the *Journal*. His description is a valuable addition to much that has been said of the troublous times of Charles I and Oliver Cromwell, both by himself on previous occasions as well as by the late Mr. Pettigrew, Mr. Syer Cuming, and others. Those times are recalled to our memory whenever we visit earthworks, which, whether ancient or mediæval, have generally been occupied at one time or another by the troops of the contending parties in the seventeenth century. Some of the relics of Lord Fairfax were shown us at Leeds Castle in Kent, when we spent a most agreeable day there last autumn, by the kind invitation of Wykeham Martin, Esq., M.P. He gave us from memory a complete history of this very important historical fortress, and repeated the generous hospitality of his predecessor, C. Wykeham Martin, Esq., who entertained an equally large number of our members at dinner in the year 1853, and then gave us a description of the castle, which will be found in the *Journal*, ix, p. 286.

Without intending what I have said to be at all considered as a summary of the work of the past session, for I have said nothing of the very numerous exhibitions of antiquities, and of the many papers produced at our evening meetings by Messrs. T. Blashill, Cecil Brent, Loftus Brock, C. H. Compton, H. Syer Cuming, J. W. Grover, C. H. Luxmore, H. Prigg, Rev. S. M. Mayhew, S. I. Tucker (Rouge Croix), G. R. Wright, and many others, nor of the interesting discussions which have ensued upon them, I have desired only to call attention to

¹ *Journal*, xiii, p. 149.

certain points of historical or topographical interest which occurred to me, and I trust it will not have been considered time altogether wasted if I have paused a little at this, our anniversary meeting, to point out such of our new archaeological materials as illustrate the points referred to.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 15TH.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were duly elected :

Edward B. Dawson, LL.B., J.P., Lime Cliff, Lancaster
J. Neame Hill, 22 Albert Road, Regent's Park.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for the undermentioned presents to the library :

To Edm. B. Ferrey, for "South Winfield Manor, illustrated by Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details, with Perspective Views and a Descriptive Account, etc.; Measured, Drawn, and Lithographed by Edmund B. Ferrey." Folio. London, 1870.

To the Rev. R. E. Hooppell, for a Treatise "On the Discovery and Exploration of Roman Remains at South Shields, in the Years 1875, 1876." By the Rev. R. E. Hooppell, M.A. 8vo. London, 1878.

To the Society, for the "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland", vol. iv, Fourth Series. July, Oct. 1877. Nos. 31, 32.

Sir Henry Dryden forwarded, through Mr. R. E. Way, for exhibition, a coloured drawing of portions of the interlaced work on the Coplestone Cross.

Mr. Richard Mann, of Bath, exhibited a plan, and reported the results of his researches in the Roman *cloacæ* of Bath (*Aquæ Solis*), which are still in excellent preservation, and adapted for the uses of the modern city to a great extent. These sewers were noted in 1865, when a considerable length of their extent, about 500 feet, was discovered. This portion received the water from some of the warm baths of the city, particularly those which were supplied from the "King's Spring." Shortly afterwards these were found to be connected with the mediæval drainage of the Old Bath Monastery. The Corporation of the city, now finding their value, again utilised the works executed fully 1,400 years ago, and Mr. Mann was employed to execute the works of repair. The "middle passage" referred to is a portion where the water stood some half way up to the thighs, and with but an air-space above the water-surface of only about 14 inches.

The work generally was found to be in excellent condition, and of very solid construction, some of the stones being fully 8 ft. 6 ins. long. Mr. Mann reports as follows :

"The sketch will give some conception of the Roman drain at its mouth. The small plan and two sectional elevations, with the perspective sketch of its mouth, give a good idea of its appearance. It is interesting, since the sketch shows the preservation of a portion only of the Roman arch.

"There are four large slabs forming the partition between the drains and also part of the side-walls. The top bed is exactly level, and is 2 ft. above the gravel, which here forms the bottom of the drain. The sectional elevation, showing western face, gives the joints of the first three slabs. There is another slab, but the 'ground' or 'sludge' was not removed, at the time I took the dimensions of sizes, quite far enough back to enable me to reach it. Further on I had a hole sunk, 3 ft. 2 ins. from top bed of stone ; and still further, another, 2 ft. 10 ins. deep, but in neither case reached the bottom bed-joint of the slabs. In width, the edges of the slabs are between 11 to 12 ins., probably the Roman foot. On the western side of the south drain is a slab 8 ft. 6 ins. long.

"Where the south branch turns off in a westerly direction, it is covered with slabs of stone ; as is also the portion shown on the plan, 14 ft. 2 ins. long. Here the height is but 1 ft. 7 ins. from the bottom, which is paved here, to the under side of the covers. In this portion I had to lie on a plank, with before me 1 ft. of deposit in the south branch, thus allowing but 8 ins. in height for peering into. The branch-covers started a foot higher than in the 14 ft. 2 ins. part, and seemed to slope upward.

"As nearly as I could see by the compass, the branch is parallel with the Roman drain of the Kingston buildings. There is a slight discrepancy in the plan, arising in this way : When I made this one-eighth of an inch scale drawing I had not cut into the mediæval drain of the Monastery, and took it for granted that this part was in line (but it varies I find) with the *middle passage*. I looked up in it to the arching, to find the part supposed by Mr. Irvine to be built alternately of stone and brick ; but I missed it. The drain of the Monastery cut direct through the Roman drain, and was built quite irrespective of it.

"I sank a hole first of all in the locked up cellar facing, as you go down the slope of the chair-entrance of the Kingston Baths. It was in this way I came on the wall previously mentioned. I find this is the east wall of the buildings of the Roman Baths. I have burrowed in about 10 ft. westward, amongst the piers of a hypocaust ; and I wish that archaeologists would spend £10 in a little exploration to reach the south-east quoin of the building, to see how the wall con-

times at the sides of the drain-outlet. The latter is a matter of some difficulty to understand. In the Kingston Buildings part we are getting on slowly. At starting, instead of working in the drain itself, I sank a hole down on to the modern blocking-wall, allowing the water to escape as we sank. The flat lintel-stone just by this I find is a large stone bedded on the arch at the time it was built. About 10 ft. beyond this the water comes in through a drain coming in on the south side, towards the bottom. Beyond this we have met with no water to speak of. At about under the middle of the Bank premises the arch is broken away, and gradually the walls are removed to about half their height on the north side. On the south side the opening seemed to get wider, and some piling then interfered; and at present we have lost the wall there altogether. I have had no mishap with the buildings overhead. I am having inverts turned, side-walls built, and arching over. Here and there I have left an opening to track the south wall, if possible, when everything above is secure.

"During the progress of the work of repair I found two urns and also a mask; the latter of some white metal. This is not lead; were it so, it would be much more pliable, and not in quite such good preservation. I cannot help thinking that it is much later than Roman times. The flutings on the top part of the head terminate in a band on the forehead, and it is treated in so similar a manner to the brasses of *late* date as to suggest strongly a connection therewith. Several fragments of roofing-tiles of Pennant stone were met with, having the usual pointed ends, and the holes for the nails.

"We have commenced to sink a fresh excavation in Abbey Passage this week, and found that a bulky Norman wall extends on one side of our excavation, built on a prostrate Roman one."

The plans exhibited indicated the course of these remains, and showed their massive construction. A great portion is arched over, while in others the covering is of massive slabs. The north drain is divided from a parallel channel, which afterwards branches off into the south drain, by a division of massive stones respectively 6 ft. 8 ins., 5 ft. 5 ins., and 5 ft. 9 ins. in width. At the junction where these two channels unite into one drain, the covering has been by a massive semicircular arch, of which only a fragment remains.

Mr. J. T. Irvine exhibited a plan of the Roman villa discovered a few years ago near Tracey Park, near Bath, and which was excavated in part by the Bath Natural History Society at the time. He called attention to the existence here, as in the parallel case of the Roman camp at Templeborough, of an earthen rampart of quadrangular form enclosing the remains. Here, as there, the rampart was cut through, in the hope of finding an external wall, but none had existed. There had probably been a hedge, or still more so a stockade on its summit.

Within this enclosure the walks of the garden were clearly distinguishable; and, had the entire exploration been made, probably the general arrangement of the flower beds would have been noted. Mr. Irvine believed that very many of the Roman villas were thus enclosed with earthen banks. In the villa at Hartlip an enclosing ditch was met with. The villa here revealed but few antiquities, the principal being the leg of a white marble statue and some stone moulds for forming earthenware vases. The plan showed a large area, 332 ft. by 264 ft., enclosed by the earthen rampart. The angles are square, and not rounded as at Templeborough.¹ The villa occupied one of the angles of the area only. The foundation traced revealed the outline of ten or eleven chambers, grouped right and left of a recessed centre, with two hypocausts. Several drains were met with, and the remains of a heating furnace in connection with the hypocausts.

The following articles were exhibited by Mr. Henry Prigg of Bury St. Edmunds. 1. A one-edged dagger, with blade 9 ins. long. The handle is of brass, six-sided, with a slight cross guard and disc-shaped pommel bearing on each side a Maltese cross. Found in Lavenham Church. 2. A leaden figure of a dragon, found in Lakenheath Church, and thought to have been associated at one time with a figure of St. George or St. Michael. 3. Two of four iron nails 13 ins. long, with laterally flat fungiform heads eleven-tenths of an inch wide at the base, and respectively seven-tenths and six-tenths of an inch thick; weight, 15½ and 14½ oz.; found with a skeleton at Horningsheath, Bury St. Edmunds. On these objects the following paper was read:—

ON SUPPOSED CRUCIFIXION NAILS.

BY H. PRIGG.

The large iron nails or spikes exhibited by the courtesy of Mr. W. N. Last of Bury St. Edmunds, were found with human remains whilst extending the gravel pit, about one hundred yards west by south-west from the Red House Inn, Horningsheath, near Bury St. Edmunds. As they are believed to be crucifixion nails by the owner and others, and to have been buried with the person crucified, I thought it desirable they should be submitted to the Association, together with such details of their discovery as could be procured. With this view I recently visited the Horningsheath gravel pit, and was fortunate in meeting with the labourer who, over ten years ago, found the nails in question. He tells me that in opening fresh ground on the eastern side of their pit they came upon about twenty-five human skeletons, which

¹ The plan on p. 505, vol. xxxiii, is inaccurate in this respect. The angles at Templeborough are rounded, as described in the letterpress, thus agreeing in this respect with the Roman station at the Lawes, South Shields, and those of the Roman Wall from Wallsend to Bowness.

lay extended with their feet directed north-east, at from 4 to 5 ft. deep, or just upon the surface of the gravel bed. With one of these were the four iron spikes, two of which were found at the head of the skeleton and two at the feet, about a foot apart. They were upright, that is, each spike had its head uppermost and point downwards, and were clear of the bones. Boreham, who well remembered the circumstances, is certain upon the position of the nails, and also that, with the exception of this and another interment, that of a man near 7 ft. in height, who had buried with him some small animal having sharp teeth (possibly a cat), nothing of any description was found with the bodies, nor any trace of coffins. The bones generally were sound and well preserved, but otherwise no clue was afforded as to the age of the burials, which apparently extend further into the field, for Boreham informs me that not long since he observed bones protruding from the face of the old working. In view of the facts thus elicited, I cannot see that we have any evidence in support of the theory of crucifixion, or that the nails had been used in any way in connection with the death of the deceased; indeed it would appear far more probable that they once held together the top and bottom boards of a rude form of coffin, all other trace of which had disappeared. The kind of protection to the body I would suggest as probable would be that it was laid between two boards of corresponding dimensions but a few inches longer than the deceased, which were supported by either ends or sides, and that the whole were held together by the long nails being passed through holes made in the top plank and driven outside the side or end boards into the bottom one. Instances of the finding of large iron nails with human remains of the Roman period in England are not rare, but have not failed to excite considerable curiosity and conjecture. The discovery of interments believed to be of this age, each accompanied by *four large iron nails*, at Bourne Park, near Canterbury,¹ and the discussion that followed it, in which the hypothesis of crucifixion was set up, is no doubt well remembered. In the chamber of the larger Roman tumulus of East Lowe Hill, near Bury St. Edmunds, iron nails 12 ins. in length were found, which were believed by the late Professor Henslow,² who explored it, to have held together the wooden frame over which the arch of tiles was turned, but which I think with greater probability were used to fasten together the planks between which the heavy leaden coffin there found was once enclosed. I have found similar nails, although not so large, around a lead coffin in a Roman burial place at Icklingham, partially explored by me in 1871; and also with a late Roman interment at Mitchell's Hill, in the same parish. These nails, however, had all of them round flat heads, not like those

¹ *Proceedings, Soc. Antiquaries*, vol. ii, pp. 79, 94.

² *Proceedings, Suff. Inst. of Archaeology*, vol. iv, p. 279.

from the interment at Horningsheath, which are decidedly mediæval in character, and resemble closely the nails depicted in some of the more noted representations of the crucifixion, and in the still more ancient monuments.

Mr. R. Allen exhibited some rubbings of the ancient cross at Leeds, and said:—"The history of the Leeds cross, rubbings of which are now displayed on the walls of this room, is one of considerable interest, and a brief notice of it may therefore prove acceptable to some members of the Association. Professor Westwood thinks that it was originally erected in the tenth or eleventh centuries, and there is little doubt that it remained an object of veneration for several hundred years, until subsequently it was cut up into wall stones by the vandals of the Perpendicular period, and used in the building of the tower of the parish church of St. Peter, Leeds. It was thus concealed for many centuries without anyone suspecting its existence, until in the year 1838 Mr. Chantrell undertook the restoration of the church, and in pulling down the tower the fragments were again brought to light, and by means of rewards offered to the workmen, and through the indefatigable zeal of the architect, almost the whole was recovered. After the completion of the restoration in 1841, however, Mr. Chantrell (by whose permission I cannot say) removed the fragments and put them together in his garden at Leeds. When leaving Leeds he took the cross with him to Newington Butts, London, and subsequently to his residence at Rottingdean, near Brighton. There it remained until Mr. Chantrell's death, when the property was sold by an order under the High Court of Chancery. There was nothing at this time to have prevented the disappearance of this magnificent monument altogether, had not Major Moore of Leeds stepped in, and at his own expense recovered it, and had it brought back to Leeds, where it now stands in the stonemason's yard, awaiting its removal to the parish church, where it will be again erected after a lapse of some four or five hundred years. I think it right to mention that the inhabitants of Leeds so little appreciated the value of this remarkable relic as to allow it to be removed in the first place; and that even now its being replaced will be wholly due to Major Moore's exertions, who is the owner, *pro tem.*, and to whose courtesy I am indebted for being allowed to make the rubbings exhibited. In conclusion, I should be very glad if any of the members of this Association would favour me with any opinions on this most beautiful work of early Italian art."

Mr. H. Syer Cuning exhibited a silver-gilt fork which has been in his family's possession from about the middle of the seventeenth century. It is $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins. in length; the handle flat, and broad towards the upper end, which is trisected at top, both front and back, being covered with engraved foliage. On the back is a stamp bearing an

open crown, the letters IH, and a lion rampant. This rare and elegant little specimen had originally three prongs, but the centre one has been broken off.

Mr. Cuming remarked that "it may be questioned if silver forks were ever in general use until the nineteenth century; but certain it is that such things were known at an early period, and that from the commencement of the seventeenth century they became more and more familiar to the eye. Count Caylus¹ has given a representation of a silver fork found in a ruin on the Via Appia, which many consider to be of ancient fabric. It has two prongs, the upper end of the handle being fashioned like a stag's foot. This fork may have been for table use, or for the purpose of trimming the wick of a lamp. But should there be any uncertainty about the date and purpose of this rare object, no doubt can attach to a five-pronged fork discovered in a tomb at Pæstum, and now preserved in the Museum at Naples. The earliest silver fork yet met with in England is the one exhumed in 1837, together with a silver spoon and Saxon pennies, at Sevington in Wiltshire, and described in the *Archæologia*, xxvii, p. 301. These several relics are assigned to a period not later than the close of the ninth century. The fork and spoon formed lot 73 at the sale of the collection of the late C. W. Loscombe, at Wellington Street, in August 1854.

"We know little about silver or any other kinds of forks during the middle ages, but have positive evidence of their existence from the days of our Elizabeth and James I. Thomas Coryate, who performed his travels on the Continent in 1608, tells us in his *Crudities* that in Italy the gentlemen made use of silver forks, but that those commonly employed were of 'yron and steel'. Fosbroke, *s. v.* 'Fork', says 'one of silver, dated 1610, shuts up, and has at the end a statue which draws out a toothpick.' In the *Gent. Mag.*, July 1790, p. 596, are given two examples of folding forks of silver, which serve the purpose of handles to oval spoon-bowls; the latter having little loops on their convex surface, through which the fork-prongs are thrust. One of these specimens has three prongs to the fork, and is of very graceful character, the interior of the bowl being graven with a vase of flowers and two squirrels. The second is of plainer design: the fork has but two prongs, and the top of the handle represents an eagle's head, which forms the grip of a toothpick which screws into the shaft. In the same plate with these hinged forks are given a spoon, knife, and fork, all of silver, and found together in a shagreen case in pulling down a portion of the old Palace of Enfield in 1789. The fork has three prongs, and in general aspect closely resembles the one now submitted. Both spoon and fork are stamped with the letters IB ensigned

¹ *Recueil*, iii, p. 84.

with a crown. In point of date the Rev. S. M. Mayhew's fork here falls in, the Hall-Mark indicating it to have been made in 1680-81.

"In Chambers' *Book of Days* (i, p. 520) is a woodcut of a black shagreen pocket-case containing a spoon, knife, and fork, with the handles into which they screw, all being of silver, tastefully wrought, and engraved with thistle-leaves. The fork has three prongs, and bears the letters c. s., the initials, as supposed, of Charles Stuart, the so-called Young Pretender, to whom the case and its fittings are believed to have belonged, and which are now in the Londesborough collection. It may be well to add that these several articles bear the Dutch plate-stamp."

Mr. Cuming also exhibited a group of iron forks of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, some bidents, other tridents, with handles of horn, ivory, bone, agate, and silver. Two curious examples of steel forks of the end of the sixteenth century, both with two prongs, are engraved in this *Journal*, xviii, p. 117.

Mr. Horman-Fisher, who had exhibited two swords in leathern sheaths on the 20th of February, as reported in the *Journal* for that day, forwarded the following account of them :

"One of these is evidently an old *couteau de chasse*, having a handle and guard of brass or lacquered metal, with an ornamentation of Flemish or Dutch work of the seventeenth century. On the part of the hilt where it was slipped over the belt is figured, in good relief, a stag pursued by hounds; thus marking distinctly enough the use of the weapon, which measured 28 inches long. This sword is believed to have belonged to the brave and patriotic Admiral Blake, whose niece married Mr. Roger Staples of the Close, Salisbury, and has descended through the family to Mr. Charles Staples, cousin of the exhibitor. It was considered probable that the Admiral acquired the sword in one of his famous naval engagements.

"The other sword is a finer specimen than the one just described, both as to beauty of its richly ornamented silver hand-guard and hilt, and well-shaped, polished steel blade. The peculiarity of the weapon, however, consisted in the handle, which was of buffalo-horn inlaid with silver; the guard and hilt being curiously ornamented, after the late Italian art, with quaint faces and figures of birds' or reptiles' heads at the terminals of the guard. On the pommel were two lions' heads, side by side; and on the part of the hilt which secured it to the belt was a boldly designed human face with dishevelled locks, surrounded by a wild-looking dog and other animals, and grotesque human faces. The silver Hall-Mark on the guard indicated it to be of the early part of the eighteenth century; and the name, 'Charles Bibb, Newport Street', that its maker was an Englishman residing in London. The length of blade measured 22 inches."

On this occasion Mr. Horman-Fisher exhibited a series of photographs of ancient edifices existing in places likely to be inspected by members during the ensuing Congress.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited a fine and perfect Norman jug, lately found with others in Basinghall Street, together with the drawing of one in its broken state, 18 ins. high, 2 ft. 1 in. in greatest circumference, standing on a base of 6 ins., covered with a fine and silvery green glaze, ornamented by a double circle in cameo of the arms of Clare, and another crest undefined. Also an earthen bottle of the Norman period, wide-mouthed, holding about half a gallon, and glazed a dark rough green. To these were added a wide and handled cup of Cologne ware, warmly brown in colour, and ornamented by a roughened pattern; found also in Samian, and doubtless derived by the potters of the seventeenth century from their Roman progenitors. This specimen, certainly unique as a London find, is 5 ins. across the rim, and will hold about three quarters of a pint. Also a small unglazed jug, with upright lip, strongly resembling a Roman cantharus, but probably of Cologne manufacture, and the seventeenth century. Also a disc of terra cotta, 5 ins. by 2 ins., serrated and painted, apparently related to the serrated cylinders, also of Roman work, and lately exhibited by Mr. Mayhew, one of which, for purposes of comparison, was laid on the table.

It has been taken for granted the Romans imported glass from Sidon or Egypt, and were not manufacturers, at least in London. This question, raised by the discovery five years ago of a glass melting pot, together with fragments of glass in Southwark Street, apparently of Roman origin, may perhaps be answered by the specimens of glass now exhibited. Collection No. 1 is from Southwark Street, and consists of fourteen specimens, one of Roman window glass, a lachrymatory, tubes, a solid reed, portion of a lip of a large jar or urn, and crystal droppings from the melting pots. No. 2 collection is from Clement's Lane. Here were found, together with Roman pavements, and this rim of a large painted Samian vessel, a mass of green and white glass slag, weighing nearly half a hundredweight, to which this piece belonged; two small masses of blue glass, each retaining portions of the pot in which they were melted; a rim of an urn of olive glass, a portion of a basin, with filagree lines of white; the handle of a small cantharus, a portion of imitative chalcedony, two "mixers", one having within a white line, and cut without in Roman facets, and what appears intended as an unguentarium or lachrymatory. Also a tool of iron—from the blue Roman earth so known to antiquaries—for pressing and moulding the ornamental portions of glass vessels, presenting a pattern very similar to those from Cyprus. The whole subject is very interesting, and these discoveries certainly point towards the conclu-

sion, even if they do not absolutely reach it, that Roman glass was manufactured in London by perhaps Egyptian manipulators. We have in mind the fine Egyptian ring found in Walbrook, and this year exhibited. Collection No. 3, from Maze Pond, Southwark, contained several beautifully moulded and colossed stems, bases, and bowls of Venetian glass.

Mr. Mayhew, having been entrusted by Sergt. Godwin of the Ordnance Survey, with a drawing, plans, map, and survey of Stonchenge and adjacent territory, leading to confirmation that the great circle was indeed "a Temple of the Sun", opened the subject, in which he was followed by Messrs. Grover and Blashill, a fuller debate and investigation being postponed until a future meeting.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., Honorary Secretary, read a paper entitled "Results of the recent Exploration of the Roman Station at South Shields", by the Rev. R. E. Hooppell, LL.D., Rector of Byert Green. This paper was listened to with enthusiasm and attention, the plans and drawings with which it was accompanied being carefully examined.

At the conclusion of the reading, Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., said that we must consider this station, as Mr. Hooppell has truly observed, in relation to the stations of the Roman wall; but we may do so, not only from the topographical considerations, this being a supporting station to Tynemouth, where the wall commenced, but from its exact correspondence with the stations of the wall. The plan, a parallelogram, is identical, so are the rounded angles and the four gateways, while the area agrees nearly with that of the station at Bird-Oswald, which is the largest. Like these stations, too, it bears evidence of a common destruction by fire, and of more than one reconstruction. We may safely infer therefore that this station formed a part of the original design, and was planned by the same hands. We may extend our inference when we find that there are many stations in the North of England, such as High Rochester (Bremetium) and the recently discovered station at Rotherham, which are identical in plan, and safely conclude that all these northern stations were planned as portions of one comprehensive design, and for the object of supporting the wall from sea to sea. We have also an illustration of the value of one discovery in throwing light upon another. A closer inspection will also show that many of the buildings excavated here are almost identical in plan with those met with elsewhere; for instance, Mr. Hooppell's general plan shows a large building divided into two aisles by a central passage 70 ft. by 47 ft., with a portico of four columns to the south front. Templeborough and Rotherham have revealed a similar building, 72 ft. by 68 ft. The same, but without the portico, occurs at High Rochester, where it is about 65 ft. by 45 ft., while a partially excavated build-



ing at Bird-Oswald (Amboglanna) has the same long buttressed side wall, most probably indicating that the building of which it forms a portion was of similar plan. We have thus four examples of similarly planned buildings, and probably others could be cited. The appearance of these buttresses, in all these examples, shows that we must accord to the Romans a perfect knowledge of their use in England. In France they occur in a very marked degree in the castrum of Jublans. These buildings have been designated barracks by Dr. Collingwood Bruce, and we may at least accept this appropriation until a better one presents itself. They all stand north and south, or nearly so. They present some points of resemblance to the "mutationes" or small intermediate halting stations of the Romans, which were probably analogous for their use to the caravanserais of the East at the present day, and may be compared with the large apartments, divided by pillars, which are frequently found in England attached to villas, of which Hartlip, in Kent; Bognor, Sussex; Ickleton, and the single building at Andover, are examples. Special attention should be called to the very remarkable occurrence of the potter's stamp on the two fragments of the black ware mentioned by Mr. Hooppell. Also to the example, so very rare in England, of a portion of a window remaining. Also to the presence of Caistor (Durobrivæ) ware in this position, so far away from the seat of its manufacture, and showing how extended was the communication between one part of England and another.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 5.

T. MORGAN, F.S.A., V.P., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. J. F. Edisbury of Wrexham was elected local member of Council for Denbighshire.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for the following presents :

To the Society, for "Archæologia Cambrensis", Fourth Series, No. 34. April 1878.

„ „ for "Bulletin Historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie." Livraison 100, 101, 102, 104. 1876, 1877.

To J. Mayer, Esq., for "Catalogue of the Mayer Collection. Part I, Egyptian Antiquities." By Charles T. Gatty. Liverpool, 1877. 8vo.

„ „ for "The Mayer Collection in the Liverpool Museum, considered as an Educational Possession." By C. T. Gatty. Liverpool, 1878. 8vo.

„ „ for "A Free Village Library.—Behington." Liverpool, 1878. 8vo.

Mr. G. R. Wright announced the election of the Earl of Hardwicke as President of the Congress commencing at Wisbech on Monday, 19 August, and spoke at length in reference to the details of the excursions proposed to be adopted by the Association on that occasion.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, M.A., F.S.A., exhibited a variety of glass relics, and said:—"The old glass manufactures of France, as illustrated by rare surviving specimens, are interesting, dwarfed as they were by the more numerous productions of Spain, on the one hand, by Germany and Italy on the other. Indeed glass work appears to have met with little encouragement and much neglect, prizes of art being found with Bernard Palissy at the Tuileries, and the workers in majolica at Nevers, the crown remaining with world-famed Sevres. Near this last Parisian suburb French glass appears to have been produced, and perchance the specimens before you proceeded from this favoured locality. These cups belong to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The former may be pronounced purely French, the latter, opals, have a German inspiration, mingled with a French manipulation. You will observe the outline pattern as being similar, the texture of the glass very unlike, and possessing an excess of alkali; upright for three and a half inches and then for half an inch an out-turned lip. The engraving representing within a fence a chateau, trees, and tower, with the initial "c" bordered in seventeenth century style. This glass is partially roughened. On another, similar in size and shape, are the three fleurs-de-lys—the arms of the monarchy, bordered with foliage. The initial "G" appears on this glass, and both were obtained from a lady, the sole survivor of an old Kentish family, whose ancestral home stood in the days of Charles II on a foreshore, over which now roll the waves of the bleak North Sea. These four opalescent cups retain the same shape, though belonging to the next century. They form part of a set of twelve, and are painted by no mean hand. Each in personal character, costume, and allusion illustrate a consecutive month, bearing its name and appropriate sign in the Zodiac. The next object is the rare wallet-shaped ring bottle, probably for wine. The centre is compressed and perforated, four ribands, of German fashion, descend from the neck, and six discs bear in cameo the fleur-de-lys. Another is at present in the South Kensington Museum. The perforated ring bottle has been always a favourite type, and always rare; Phœnician, Greek, Roman, Venetian, all made it, all have left it. Another curious and historical specimen is a large oval, white costrel, intended for a case, but bearing on one side an excellent cameo-moulded portrait of Washington, on the other the adopted arms of the new-born Republic, the thirteen stars and stripes, borne with the eagle, grasping at once the lightning and palm branch. The stars are set as a border round the eagle. This is no recent production. I claim for it an age

of one hundred years—that age when the troops of France crossed the Atlantic, and returning, brought back the spirit of a new-found freedom, of which respectively Lafayette and Washington were embodiments. Where, in 1777, was the American glass factory to produce a costrel such as this? Costrel mould and glass could belong only to the old country, and that France. Two of a series of glass paintings, Dutch, and of the seventeenth century, are on the table, the subjects of all are scriptural; and whatever of excess belongs to the pictures, all must admit they are the work of one who thoroughly understands his art. Excellent colouring, stoutness, with vigour of design, are apparent. A dolphin vomits Jonah on dry land, suggested, I believe, by a catacomb painting. The death act of Cain and Abel is realistic in itself. The brothers are, however, clothed in flowing woven tunics, and surrounded by advanced and ancient civilisation, a ruined castle, and grass grown tower.

“I exhibit also a highly ornamented and artistic cup, glazed turquoise, almost oriental in its tint. It is assigned as a copy of a French carved cup of ivory by Fiammingo (François de Quesnoy), A.D. 1594-1644. No artist’s mark gives the hand of the worker; but such specimens of art appear to have been given us from the far-famed works of Urbino, which in later days put forth vases glazed in this as in other colours. It is of majolica; upon an octagon base, adorned with foliage. Three mermaids and mermen support the body and heavy bordering of a cup, bearing a sportive band, in high relief, of youths and dolphins. Two hold the trident; another with reeds lashes a dolphin, on whose back he stands; two others wind the sounding shell; and a tall background of river-reeds and bulrushes finish the picture. The cup is 9 inches high, and was found not long ago, by its present owner, in a marine store-shop.”

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, exhibited three sketches by Lieut. Morgan, of stone mausoleums in Central Asia: 1, at Rajdambul; 2, at Nagbal; 3, at Martand or Mattam.

The Rev. C. Collier, F.S.A., announced that the excavation on the site of the Roman villa at Ithen Abbas had been resumed. He sent for inspection a sheet of sketches of the pottery which had already been found. The pottery is in fragments only, and the sketches showed that they were of greenish and brown ware, some portions having a graceful scale-work pattern. They are all probably the product of the New Forest and the Isle of Wight potteries.

Mr. J. T. Irvine thus reports the discovery of the site of what was probably a castle of Saxon date, near Lichfield. “I have recently found the eastern mounds of a very early castle not mentioned by Shaw, or, so far as I can yet learn, by any other writer. The site is by the side of an ancient hollow road passing from or past Lichfield, through Lin-

croft, to Farewill (the site of a dissolved nunnery), and on to the Chace. The site is just below Farewill Mill, where the road makes an angle, and it has running water on three sides. When the grass is removed I hope to obtain a correct plan. The site is quite unknown here, and I can obtain no information with respect to it. Probably this may cease to be the case should it be mentioned in the *Journal*." The plan exhibited showed the position due east of Farewill, at the angle formed by the hollow road to Lichfield. The high mound, which is in the form of a rounded square, is divided by a cross ditch into two almost equal parts.

Mr. C. R. Smith, F.S.A., V.P., thus describes a Roman coffin which has recently been found within the area of the modern cemetery of Chatham. "Another Roman leaden coffin has fallen into better hands than that at Crayford. Yesterday I was invited to see one which has just been dug up in the new cemetery, about a mile and a half from Chatham, on the Maidstone road, in an open spot, remote from modern habitations. The coffin was fully 6 ft. in length, although the occupant would appear, from the teeth, to have been very young. Quick lime had been poured over the body, and the coffin, from the iron and wood around it, was probably enclosed in a wooden framework, bound round by iron bands. There were with it two small earthen vessels, perfect, and some elegantly shaped glass, broken to pieces. The coffin was ornamented with a pattern different from those I have engraved.¹ The ornament consists of a band of diagonal markings, alternately broad and narrow. The head has a compartment divided into three triangular spaces by two diagonal bands, starting from the centre of the band of the compartment to the angles of the main band around the coffin, there being one escalloped shell in relief in the central triangle. The whole is very greatly decayed. The Crayford coffin, which still remains buried, is more ornamented with shells and a beaded pattern". The Crayford coffin is one of lead, recently found during some drainage works. It was raised, but has been since buried again in an uncertain locality. Mr. Roach Smith also sent a drawing of a peculiar foliage pattern, which occurs on a curious leaden vessel belonging to Mr. Fitch, and which was found at Felixstowe, Essex. This vessel is very similar to that which was found at Rochester, and described at a recent meeting by Mr. Berney, these two vessels being the only examples known of their class. That from Felixstowe measures 31 ins. circular; it is 6 ins. high, and, from traces of iron, it may have had either an iron handle or a cover, or both. There are four flowers of the pattern which was shewn. The date may be earlier than the tenth century.

Mr. R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A., communicated the following report

¹ *Collectanea Antiqua*, iii.

upon some further interesting discoveries at Carlisle. The stockading mentioned being evidently of much later date than those referred to in his previous description.

ANCIENT STOCKADING RECENTLY DISCOVERED AT CARLISLE.

BY R. S. FERGUSON, ESQ., F.S.A.

Some time ago I communicated to the British Archaeological Association¹ an account of a remarkable stockade of early Roman or pre-Roman days, found in Carlisle. I have now to record the discovery in another place in Carlisle of a stockade of a different character, but equally remarkable. The earthen vallum (with ditch towards the south) of Hadrian's Barrier² long marked and still marks the boundary between the socage of Carlisle Castle and the city of Carlisle. The ditch formed the third fosse on the south side of the castle. That there were three fosses, is proved by an entry in the Liberate Rolls, 29 Edward I, in which year also the same authority shows that John de Halton, Bishop of Carlisle, farmer of the castle and lordship of Carlisle, was allowed £5:5: for timber, to make new the stockades (bretechas) round the castle.³ Some houses and new barracks have been commenced on sites recently cleared on the north side of Annetwell Street, that is, exactly in the ditch, now long ago filled up. The new barracks have no cellarage, but at the west end of Annetwell Street, and so close to the site of one of Carlisle gates, well known as the Irish Gate, excavations for cellars were made in the ditch, and the vallum itself cut into. In the very heart of the vallum, about the level of the original ground, two skeletons were found together in an east and west position, as the vallum runs, but with their heads in different directions. Unfortunately a crowd collected, and the remains were scattered about before they could be observed, but nothing whatever was, I believe, found with them. The soil of which the vallum is composed has evidently been taken from the ditch. The excavations into the ditch showed a fat black soil, such as the silting up of a ditch would produce. Hardly any Roman pottery was found. On the south side of the ditch was found a stockade, more like a stockade of railway sleepers than the stockade I have on another occasion described to this Society. It seemed framed together; an oak beam hewn with the axe, about 12 ft. long and 8 or 10 ins. square was found, with treenail holes in it; apparently it had bound together the top of the stockade. Only a small portion of the stockade was disclosed, so that no very minute examination could be made. About 12 ft. deep

¹ Vol. xxxiii, p. 525.

² The Roman Wall.

³ See the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne "On the Parliaments of Carlisle", *Archæological Journal*, xvi, p. 336.

were found three or four stone balls, about 26 ins. in circumference. These would seem to be relics of the siege of Carlisle in 1315 by Robert Bruce. The *Chronicle of Lanercost* tells us that the Scots then erected an engine for casting great stones, and continually threw them at the Irish Gate. Stones missing the gate and going over it would roll harmlessly into the ditch, and be silted up. The place where they have been found is only a few feet from the back of the gate. A deer's tine was found, and also a more puzzling object—a pipe bowl of red clay. It has been smoked. It must have been made at Assouan or Siout in Upper Egypt. How it got to Carlisle I cannot conjecture. No one saw it found, and the finder said it was buried about 11 ft. deep. He knocked a bit out of it with his pick; it has evidently been long buried. The stem portion has been long ago knocked off, and the finder sold the bowl for a few pence as a Roman egg-cup. The *Builder* of February 28, 1874, contains a plan which will elucidate the above. The dotted line marked "City Boundary" is the north side of the vallum. The continuous line south of it is the north side of Annetwell Street. Draw a line north and south through the word "city" and it cuts Annetwell Street, where the balls and stockade were found.

Mr. C. H. Compton, speaking in reference to "Simmel cakes", which had been the subject of discussion on a previous occasion, said: "The Shropshire 'Simmel cake' is still used very generally through the county at mid-Lent. It is usually of the size and shape of a large pork-pie, and is composed of an outside crust very hard, flavoured and coloured with saffron, and the inside consists of some kind of mince-meat. There is a story current among the country people in this county, that the name 'Simmel' was given to the cake in consequence of the following occurrence. An old couple, Simon and Nelly, had a dispute as to how they should cook their mid-Lent cake. One said it should be boiled; the other, that it should be baked. From words they came to blows, Simon being armed with a stool, and Nelly with a broom. At last they agreed first to boil, and then to bake, the cake, the result of which was that the crust was very hard; and the cake, the subject of this compromise, received a name compounded of the names of the worthy couple—Sim-Nel.

"A more classical derivation is given of the name in Richardson's *Dictionary*, quoting from Spelman: 'Simmel, a purer kind of bread, so named because made *à similu*, that is, the purer part of meal'. Schiller, in his *Latin Dictionary*, derives *similu* from *συνίλευς*, the finest wheat flour, called also *similago*. In the assize of bread the different kinds of loaves are called 'a farthing wastel, a farthing Simmel, and a farthing white loaf.'"

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, exhibited a curious

brown ware jug, with a partially developed face rudely formed, recently found in Old Street; also a beautifully designed wall-tile with a pointed pattern, found in London Wall; and several other articles, also derived from recent excavations in the City. He also announced some important discoveries of Roman date at Lincoln.

Mr. J. Reynolds exhibited the fifteenth century silver matrix of the seal of St. Stephen's Church, Bristol. It was described by Mr. W. de G. Birch, *Hon. Secretary*.

Mrs. Clagett exhibited a gold ring with the signs of the zodiac in relief, from Honduras, of the seventeenth century; also a stone pot with silver top and handle, of the same date.

Mr. J. Tom Burgess, F.S.A., exhibited, from Worcester, a flagon and paten of latten metal, with the royal arms of Spain.

Mr. J. Reynolds also reported the discovery, at Keynsham Abbey, of some foundations, showing that the chancel had possessed a south aisle as well as a north one. The foundations have some projections, probably of a south chapel. His announcement was illustrated with a sketch showing the site of the discovery.

A paper by Mr. E. Maunde Thompson, Assistant Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, upon "An Exultet Roll of the Twelfth Century", was read by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Secretary*. The photographic illustration which accompanied the paper created much interest. The paper will be printed hereafter.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills then read a paper entitled "The Measurements of Ptolemy and of the Antonine *Itinerary* applied to the Southern Counties of England." The paper was accompanied by the exhibition of a large map of the south of England, and several old printed works referring to the subject treated of by Mr. Hills. This paper will find a future place in the *Journal*.

Biographical Memoirs.

THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.—In Brompton Cemetery repose the mortal remains of one of our most distinguished antiquaries, Thomas Wright; but the great leveller, Death, will have no power over the vivifying influence of the grand monument he has erected for himself, in all civilised countries, by his publications. When nine-tenths of the literature of the day is consigned to utter oblivion, the works of Thomas Wright will be fresh and flourishing wherever true science and literature are understood and valued. And what are they? Taken altogether, they are by far the best that in the present day have been contributed to our national historical literature; and have done more

to bring before us, in proper colours, our ancestors as they lived, thought, and died ; and the field of resurrection, as it may be termed, which he has opened to us and to futurity is so wide that the very list of his works occupies several pages in Allibone's *Biographical Dictionary*, an American work. England has as yet no such catalogue in print.

Mr. Wright's immediate ancestors lived in the neighbourhood of Leeds, as appears by the autobiography of Thos. Wright of Birkenshaw (1736-37), edited by his grandson, Mr. Thos. Wright, in 1864. It is not certain where Thomas Wright, the antiquary, was born ; but he received the rudiments of his education in the Grammar School at Ludlow, for which town he retained a warm affection, looking upon it as his birth-place, and publishing, in after years, its history. Thence he proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated ; and where thus early in life he distinguished himself by researches into the MSS. of the libraries, the fruits of which shine in his publications. One of his college friends was the late eminent Saxon scholar, John Mitchell Kemble, who in the preface to his translation of the Saxon epic poem, *Beowulf*, pays a high compliment to Thomas Wright. He also became intimate with J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, the great Shakespearean scholar, and their friendship was lasting. In some early publications, such as the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, in two volumes, they were associated. Conjointly, also, they edited a new edition of Nares's *Glossary* in 1859. Very early in life he must have published *Christianity in Arabia*—a remarkable work, not much known. His capacity for languages was great ; but the natural tendency of his mind was to study national history in its most important phases ; and in this study he was much assisted by his familiarity with the early dialects of France, and consequent co-operation with the most eminent French historians, among whom was Guizot, who soon appreciated his young friend's merits by procuring for him the distinguished position of membership in the Institute of France (Académie des Inscriptions). The great statesman and historian resided for some time at Brompton, and thus he and Mr. Wright were in constant personal union. The late Emperor entrusted to him his *Life of Julius Caesar* for translation ; and it was completed with an almost incredible rapidity. Mr. Wright's life was an incessant literary labour. With the great historical publications came papers for societies, such as the Camden and Percy, for periodicals such as the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Literary Gazette*, *Intellectual Observer*, *Athenæum*, etc. The *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, of which he became a fellow soon after leaving Cambridge, contains some valuable papers from his pen.

He became an Associate of the Society very soon after he took up his residence in London—a little anterior to Mr. Roach Smith, with whom he thus became acquainted, and with whom he co-operated in

forming the British Archæological Association. This friendship also became lasting. Among his other especial friends and colleagues were the late Lord Lytton, the late Lord Londesborough, Lord Houghton, the late Mr. Hallam, Mr. Fairholt, Mr. Wace, F.S.A., Mr. S. Wood, F.S.A., the Ainsworths, Crofton Croker, and his son Mr. Dillon Croker, from whom, during the last fading years of his life, he received kind and constant attention.

A list of the works on which Mr. T. Wright was engaged would extend over more space than we have at disposal, but among those less generally known are two volumes of *Vocabularies*, illustrating the general archæology and history of our country, and the forms of elementary education, and of the languages spoken in our country from the tenth to the eighteenth centuries, and *Feudal Manuals of English History*. These valuable volumes were compiled at the request and at the exclusive cost of Mr. Joseph Mayer, whose name is familiar to all who interest themselves in the archæology of this country. To Mr. Mayer's liberality Wright was ever ready to avow his obligations.

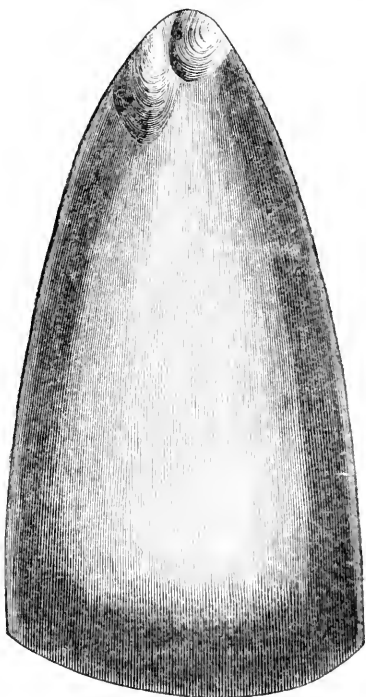
There are several portraits of Mr. Wright, but there is one memorial which should be made part of a national collection, and that is the marble bust by the late Joseph Durham, R.A. This is the property of the widow, Mrs. Wright, who, we grieve to say, is left unprovided for; but we believe that the Government will recognise the claims the deceased has, most legitimately, upon this country.

The Rev. CHARLES BOUTELL, M.A., was born on the 1st of August, 1812, at St. Mary Pulham, Norfolk, of which place his brother was rector. He graduated at Oxford, and became curate of Litcham, in Norfolk; then curate of Sandridge, near St. Alban's; rector of Downham Market, in Norfolk, and afterwards at Norwood. His labours in the fruitful fields of archæology and mediæval heraldry are well known. He took a leading part in the formation of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, occupying the post of secretary for a considerable period, until his retirement under the auspices of the Rev. T. Hugo. For the last two years of his life he suffered severely from declining health, but the immediate cause of death was attributed to rupture of the heart. The *Athenæum* of August 11, 1877, and other papers of that date, contain obituary notices of the late Mr. Boutell, whose decease happened so shortly after his introduction into our Association that we are unable to point to more than one paper from his pen, that on the "Early Heraldry of St. Alban's", contained in the *Journal* for 1877.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

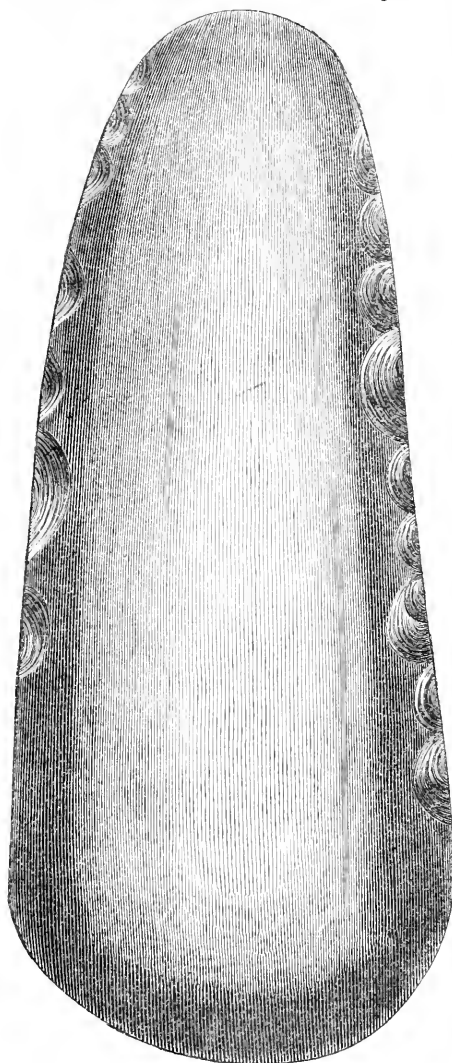
THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archaeological interest, coming to their cognizance.

The Fenland Past and Present. By S. H. Miller, F.R.A.S., and S. B. J. Sketchley, F.G.S. Wisbech: Leach and Son.—In introducing this most interesting volume to the notice of the archaeological world, we feel that it has been issued at a most opportune period. The forthcoming Congress of the British Archaeological Association, in August, at Wisbech (the centre, so to speak, of the Fenland), will so work over the principal points of antiquarian attraction, which have been already noticed and discoursed on in the book before us, that it becomes almost a necessity for those who wish to derive any real benefit from their attendance at the excursions to procure and study this volume, as a preliminary step to the right appreciation of the endeavours of the Society towards illustrating the archæology of the Fens. Hardly a single point of interest has been omitted; and although our Association naturally looks more to the past than to the present history of Fenland, the student of statistics, and the practical man who revels in scientific results of well-prepared tests, will not be more pleased at the results of Messrs. Miller and Sketchley's labours in these subjects than the antiquary, to whom appeal such excellent reproductions as the polished celt from Edenham, near Bourn, in Lincolnshire; an implement of moderate size, but, from its beautiful preparation, evidently a dearly prized weapon of some skillful man; or the magnificent celt from Kate's Bridge, the relic of a neolithic period, such as are found



Celt from Kate's Bridge.

over all the western and southern portions of the Fens, although it is



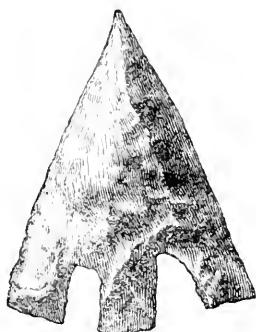
Celt from Digby Fen.

stated that they do not encroach upon the broad area of the peat, probably because that area was under water. It would be, indeed, a matter of some difficulty to point out such another splendid example of prehistoric art as is here exhibited in the celt from Digby Fen. The people, too, whom these and such like implements served for weapons of defence, or for necessary domestic purposes, not uncommonly built their agglomerated habitations on piles in lakes, as a protection against human or scarcely less savage animal enemies. Of such dwellings, the vestiges of one have been observed at Crowland, in 1870, the piles being constructed of salallows planted closely together; upon them a layer of brushwood, and over this a stratum of gravel. The relics yielded by such habitations are bones of food-yielding animals, in vast heaps, principally of the Kellic shorthorn ox, a few implements of bone, and here and there a jet ornament or two. Near Ely, in like man-

ner, stakes have been found in the peat; but the finders do not attribute this instance of human work to the construction of a lake-dwelling.

To a somewhat later period belong the very neatly fashioned flint arrow-head found at Chatteris in Cambridgeshire, and the flint arrow from Bourn Fen. Brandon also, as is pointed out in the volume, constitutes a very rich and productive field for relics of the stone age. The authors do not hesitate to assert that as far back as two hundred

thousand years, the earliest known men occupied that vicinage; and even to this day the present flint-knappers, who earn a respectable

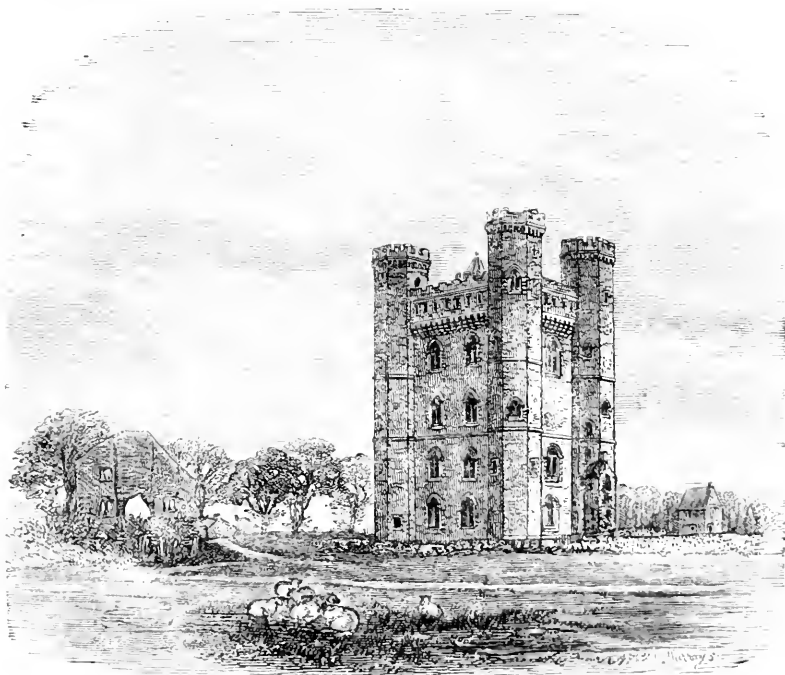


Flint Arrow-Head from Chatteris.



Flint Arrow-Head from Bourn.

livelihood by the making of gun-flints, occupy identically the same spot as was held by their ancestors, the neolithic flint-workers, at the remote period already referred to.



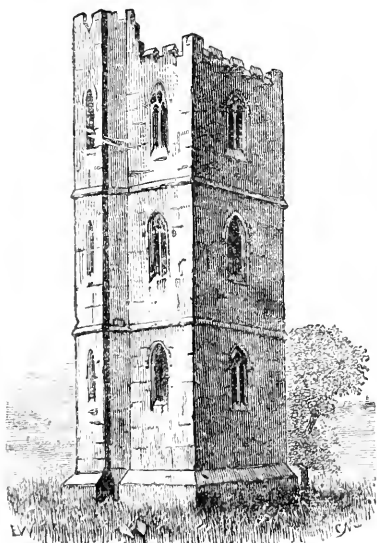
Tattershall Castle.

Nor are the Fen districts wanting in relics of more recent ages; the Roman, British, and Saxon periods have all left their impress fully

marked upon objects that from time to time have been recovered from the voracious maw, of the peat and mud, which is so universal a feature of Fenland. Perhaps no one object of recent exhumation is more interesting than the statuette of Jupiter Martialis, figured at page 466, for the exhibition of which the Society of Antiquaries is indebted to the well known antiquary the Rev. S. S. Lewis, of Cambridge University. The illustration also of the beautifully designed ancient shield is an excellent specimen of the execution of the volume. The metal coating of this shield was found in the River Witham, and for excellence of design may be favourably contrasted with similar relics of antique civilisation preserved in the British Museum. Of later date, but of not less enticing import, is the cross of St. Guthlac (figures at page 76), which may be fairly considered to represent one of the best remaining specimens of lapidary palæography of Christian Britain. To this class belongs also the cross of Kenulf of Evesham, first abbot of Crowland.

In architectural remains the Fenland is not in any way deficient, if we may judge by the tower of South Kyme or Tattershall Castle, once in the possession of powerful lords, whose family records and whose published histories would receive a very important addition at the hands of any one who would give time to the perusal of the ancient charters in the Harleian and other collections in our National Library. The abbeys of Crowland and Thorney, landscape views of various districts, natural history of the localities, and a variety of statistical

information, all afford material for first-rate illustrations, which the authors have introduced into their book unsparringly. Some of these are reproduced by the heliotype process, from spirited sketches by E. W. Cooke, R.A. The late Mr. John Carter, who was employed for many years in an artistic perambulation of England, has left behind, among his valuable drawings now in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, several carefully executed plates of antiquities, architectural and domestic, which relate to the Fen districts. Bloomfield's and Turner's collections for Norfolk, Cole's collections for Cambridge and other counties, would undoubtedly



Tower of South Kyme.

have offered a vast quantity of useful material to the authors, but it is

evident that the volume before us prefers to stand upon an independent footing, and to discourse of new facts rather than repeat what may so easily be obtained elsewhere. Hence it is that originality of treatment forms one of the great charms of this excellent work, and no one can read the chapters on the later history, the rivers Welland, Nene, Ouse, and Witham, the Wash, the geology, and prehistoric and modern fauna of the Fenland, or the art of the decoyer, without feeling that this is new ground for an exercise of local literature, which attracts by its very difference from the sententious heaviness of antiquated county histories. The printing and production of the work reflect great credit on the publishers; and there is no doubt that so well digested a book, upon so happily chosen a series of subjects, hitherto unnoticed, will receive from the archæological public that appreciation which it deserves.

Discovery at Lincoln.—Some interesting Roman remains have just been found in Lincoln. Excavations were being carried on near the old Roman gate known as Newport Arch, when the workmen brought to light several pillars of a basilica. A number of highly prized coins have also been picked up, and it is expected that other matters of interest to antiquaries will be brought to light. Mr. F. C. Penrose has inspected the ruins, and advocates a large extension of the excavations, as he believes, from what has already been exposed, one of the finest Roman buildings in Great Britain can be uncovered. The only other building of this character is at Bath; but there the remains have been removed to the Museum, and therefore do not afford the means of study they might had they been left *in situ*.

Part I, vol. 7, of Mr. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua* is now ready. It should be understood that it is strictly limited to subscribers. The author's address is Temple Place, Strood, Kent.

Discovery at St. Paul's Cathedral.—A few days ago, while some workmen were digging in the churchyard, on the south side of St. Paul's Cathedral, a stone was discovered of the ancient Church of St. Paul; and this led Mr. Penrose to study the plans of the old building, the result being that he ordered the workmen to dig south and south-east, and lay bare the walls of the cloisters and the buttress of the old chapter house. The stonework was in excellent condition, and the structure of the old building could be clearly traced. Some parts of the wall were only a foot and a half beneath the surface of the churchyard.

Fly-Leaf Literature.—A manuscript music-book, written in the sixteenth century, and preserved in the British Museum among the Addi-

tional MSS., No. 30,513, contains on the fly-leaf the following curious distichs :

“Ve tibi, qui rapida librum furabere palma !
 Nam tua non possunt furta latere Deum.
 Si quis eum errantem viderit dominoque carentem,
 Reddi mihi librum, margine nomen habes.—Thomas Mullyner.”

Among other examples may be quoted the following, from MSS. in the same place :

“Occasum nemo, licet ortum novimus omnes.—Jo. Gowre.”
 (Harl. MS. 2270, f. 85 b.) Fourteenth century.

“Contra caducum morbum hos karâcteres in annlo scribe . extra on .
thebal Gutguthani . intus . + . eri . gerari .” (MS. Harl. 3915, f. 150.)
 Fourteenth century.

“Omnibus omnia non mea.” (MS. Harl. 3915, f. 150.) 14th cent.

“Omnibus omnia non mea sompnia dicere possum.” (Add. MS. 30056.) Fifteenth century.

“Cur moritur rhetor, paucis die optime lector ;
 Improba rhetoricam mors quia non didicit.”
 (Add. MS. 30056.) Fifteenth century.

“Diversis terris homines sibi convenientes,
 Alterius matrem si duxerit unus et alter,
 Horum sic nati patrum sunt atque nepotes.”
 (MS. Harl. 3915, f. 149.) Fifteenth century.

M. Fleury, in his catalogue of the MSS. at Laon, vol. ii, p. 140, quotes the following :

“Explicit, expliceat,
 Bibere scriptor erat.”

And

“Detur pro pœna scriptori pulchra puella.”

Glasgow Archæological Society.—This Society appears to be entering on a new and broader field of labour. It was originated in 1856, and its printed transactions or papers read at meetings down to 1870 show a large amount of valuable results. These papers (about ninety in all) were a selection from a much larger number, and in subsequent years many more were read ; but a decreasing amount of contributions to the funds, through the death of some, failing health of others, and retirement of a few of the more active members, prevented further publication. A short time back the surviving members resolved on an effort for its resuscitation, and have been endeavouring to promote more earnestly than formerly the welfare of the Society. With a view thereto the rules and regulations have been revised, and an accession of excellent names introduced as office-bearers. In England, on the Continent, America, and elsewhere, antiquarian researches are proceeding vigorously, throwing much light on history, and correcting many erroneous theories and popularly received historical impressions. In Scotland, and the immediate locality of Glasgow, there is still very much to be discovered, and not a few mistakes to be corrected.

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THE MEASUREMENTS OF PTOLEMY AND OF THE ANTONINE ITINERARY,

APPLIED TO THE SOUTHERN COUNTIES OF ENGLAND.

BY GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ.

IN the year 1874 I directed the attention of the members of the British Archaeological Association, and of archaeologists generally, to the necessity that existed for a systematic attempt to correct and complete the Roman geography of England. I then pointed out that Camden's labours had been greatly impeded by the want of correct maps on which to test the Roman measurements, or to identify the relative positions of the places to which he or his predecessors assigned Roman names. Some improvement in maps occurred, and patient inquirers were not wanting; but until the Ordnance Survey was undertaken, a hundred years ago, no maps existed accurate in point of scale, or adequate in detail, for the requirements of antiquarian research. When the Ordnance Maps, drawn to the scale of one inch to the English mile, were published, this advantage was counter-vailed by the extraordinary deception which had been practised on Dr. Stukeley. The *Description of Roman Britain* and the *Itinerary* compiled by Bertram of Copenhagen, and foisted upon Dr. Stukeley as the work of Richard of Cirencester, was published in 1759. It continued, with but little exception, amongst antiquaries, down to 1866, to be received as a genuine composition of the fourteenth century, presumed to have been then compiled from existing classical authorities. The pages of our *Journal* have already shown how Mr. Woodward, the Queen's Librarian at Windsor, ex-

posed the cheat. The supposed ancient authorities of honest Richard of Cirencester, it was then found, had been mustered in array from Camden and his successors, and dressed in an imposing form by the perverted ingenuity of Bertram. The corrections of Camden and the confirmations of Camden, drawn by numerous writers from Bertram's text, are appeals from the learned and venerable Camden himself to Camden's learning soiled and spoiled by a weak imposture. Newer and more independent theories, drawn from Bertram's premises, are now perceived to be utterly valueless. The imposition is now recognised, and, free from its cloud, we are at liberty to start in a fresh light.

For a successful inquiry into the ancient geography of the country good maps are essential. The face of the country being always the same, an accurate representation of it is the best guide to the understanding of imperfect and partial representation. We have an inch scale Ordnance Survey complete throughout the country, and since its first publication, it has been continually enhanced and improved, down to the present day, by perfecting its detail. A large part of the northern counties and a small part of the southern has been published to the noble scale of 6 ins. to a mile. The examination of one sheet of this map, which takes in the neighbourhood of Ockley, in Surrey, will show how a simple delineation of the actual lands of the district sets out in the clearest manner the Roman Stane Street passing there, in the ancient route from Chichester to London, and will exhibit the high value of this map. I believe that the entire country has been surveyed and drawn to this scale, and that only the authority of Parliament, too long delayed, is needed to carry on the publication.

My purpose is to offer a contribution to the re-examination of the Roman topography of the southern counties. The plan I adopt is, first to adjust Ptolemy's description of the south coast and south districts of Albion to the map of Southern England; to further fill up the map from the *Peutingerian Tables*, the *Notitia Dignitatum*, and the *Ravennas*, and to apply upon it the more precise information afforded by the *Antonine Itinerary*.

The latitudes and longitudes of Ptolemy are widely different from modern reckonings, but the places and their distances being still the same, as they ever were, we ought

to consider what led to his ideas of distances and measurements. By ascertaining what was his estimate of the extent of a degree, we can compare his scale with ours. The distance given by Ptolemy, from the extreme west point to the extreme east point of the south side of the Island of Albion, that is to say, from the Promontorium Bolerium or Antivestæum to the Promontorium Cantium, is $10^{\circ} 30' 0''$.¹ The true distance by the inch scale Ordnance map is $7^{\circ} 7' 45''$. The whole known world, according to Ptolemy, had $180^{\circ} 0'$ of longitude, extending from $0^{\circ} 00'$ at the Fortunatæ Insulæ or Canary Islands to a place $3^{\circ} 00'$ east of "Cattigara statio", where sprang up the fountains or head waters of the rivers of the country.

Maps laid down from Ptolemy's particulars of latitude and longitude, and compared with modern maps, show that Cattigara was on the west coast of the present Borneo, near its southern extremity. Ptolemy connected Borneo, the Philippines, and Formosa into one line of coast, which he supposed joined to the south coast of China, and thereby shut in a large ocean gulf, with our Singapore and Borneo at its extremities. The true distance of Ptolemy's 180° of longitude is, as nearly as possible, 130° . His number of degrees was in fact 27.7 per cent. too many, as the following calculation shows :

$$\frac{180 - 130 \times 100}{180} = 27.7$$

a proportion of error which is about 16 minutes, 37 seconds, in every degree. A correction in this proportion applied to the south coast of Albion, reduces Ptolemy's $10^{\circ} 30' 0''$ to $7^{\circ} 40' 0''$, which differs from the truth by only thirty-two minutes. His reckoning of the difference of longitude between the Promontory Cantium, in Albion, and his own dwelling place at Alexandria, is $38^{\circ} 30'$. The true distance is $28^{\circ} 27' 15''$, the error being an excess of 26 per cent. The proportion of error does not differ widely in the two instances, but a careful examination will show that the altered proportion is due to one principal local error of measurement. Ptolemy does not describe the south coast of Britain as extending so far west as the Promontory Antivestæum, although his figures show he knew that promon-

¹ In some copies of Ptolemy the longitude of the Promontorium Antivestæum is given as 11° ; and that of Cantium, 22° . The whole distance, then, is 11° .

tory to be the extreme western point. He describes that promontory as on the west side of Albion, and passes on to the completion of the west side at the Promontory Ocrinum, which begins the description of the south side of Albion. In beginning at Ocrinum we escape an uncertainty and a difficulty of calculation, arising from the two different longitudes, assigned to the Promontorium Antivestæum in different editions of Ptolemy. From the Promontory Ocrinum to the Promontory Cantium is, by Ptolemy, $10^{\circ} 00'$, by the inch-scale Ordnance map $6^{\circ} 36' 25''$. The proportion of error has here risen to 33.8 per cent. This greatly increased proportion of error suggests that he has been misled by some local measurement which gave him, when converted into degrees, too great an arc for the extent in longitude of the south coast of Britain. Assuming his "*Damnonium quod etiam dicitur Ocrinum Promontorium*" to be the Lizard Head, in Cornwall, the longitude $12^{\circ} 00'$ east of the Canaries or *Insulæ Fortunatæ* of Ptolemy requires only to be corrected 27 per cent. to be about 9° , which is almost accurately correct. By giving a length of $10^{\circ} 00'$ from the Promontory Ocrinum to the Promontory Cantium he pushed the east end of Albion a great deal too far to the east. A large part of this error lies in the distance of $3^{\circ} 40''$, assigned by Ptolemy to the longitude from the Promontory Ocrinum to the mouth of the river Tamar. The true distance between the meridians of these two places is $1^{\circ} 5''$, or 65 minutes. The regular proportion of error in his degree would have led him to call it about $1^{\circ} 23'$, or $83'$; so that between these two meridians he had a local error of $2' 19''$ of his own degrees. Deduct this local error from his whole longitude of the coast, 10° , and the corrected quantity in Ptolemy's degrees would stand at $7^{\circ} 41' 0''$, to compare with the actual longitudinal extent of $6^{\circ} 36' 25''$. Excepting the longitudinal measure of Cornwall, his error on all the rest of the coast is scarcely $1^{\circ} 5' 0''$, being 37 minutes nearer the truth than his measure of the degree might be expected to have brought him. It is highly probable that in the difficulty of reconciling local measurements from point to point along the coast, with observations by time, made at such principal stations as the Promontories Ocrinum and Cantium, and the Island Vectis, Ptolemy or his informants somewhat corrected themselves

as to the extravagant length they had given to the land from the Promontory Oerinum to the Tamar, by reducing the length given to them of the country from the Tamar eastward to the Promontory Cantium. According to Ptolemy, the distance from the Tamar to the Promontory Cantium is $6^{\circ} 20'$. These figures, reduced in the proportion of 180 to 130, or 27.7 per cent., would be $4^{\circ} 34' 27''$. The true distance is $5^{\circ} 31' 25''$, so that of his error of $2^{\circ} 19''$ of excess west of the Tamar he recovered $0^{\circ} 56' 58''$ (nearly a degree) by some rectification of his measurements in the eastern distance. Nothing but a simple admission of wrong information of measurements can account for the extraordinary error of distance between the Promontory Oerinum and the river Tamar; but some minor errors are not difficult to explain. When Ptolemy had a given distance in stadia, before he could produce the figures of latitude and longitude for the station at each end of the measured line, he had to determine what angles that line made with the meridians, and with the parallels of latitude; so that even if he had the distance correctly he would be wrong if misled or misinformed as to the bearing of the line. There can be very little doubt that the want of true bearings must have been one of the chief difficulties in his way.

The places and their positions, given by Ptolemy in the districts of the country now to be discussed, are as follows:

Part of the West Coast of Albion.

	Longitude West from the Insulæ Fortunatæ.		North Lat.	
	^o	"	^o	"
Sabriana Æstuarium	17	20	54	30
Vexalla Æstuarium	16	00	53	30
Herculis Promontorium	14	00	53	00
Antivestæum Promont., quod etiam dicitur Bolerium	11	30*	52	30
	11	00	52	30
Damnonium, quod etiam dicitur Oerinum Promontorium	12	00	51	30

The South Coast of Albion.

Post Oerinum Promontorium, Cenionis fl. ostia	14	00	51	45
Tamari fl. ostia	15	40	52	10
Isacæ fl. ostia	17	00	52	20
Alaunii fl. ostia	17	40	52	40
Magnus Portus	19	00	53	00
Trisantonis fl. ostia	20	20	53	00
Novus Portus	21	00	53	30
Cantium Promontorium	22	00	54	00
Sub magno vero Portu, Insula est Vectis, ejus medium gradus habet	19	20	52	20

* Readings differ.

Part of the East Coast of Albion.

	Longitude West from the Insulæ Fortunatæ.			North Lat.
Jamesa Æstuarium	20	30	...	54 30
Postquam Cantium est Promontorium	22	00	...	54 00
Juxta Trinoantes vero insulæ hæ sunt, Toliapis Insula	23	00	...	{ 54* 20
Counos Insula	24	00	...	{ 54 15
				{ 54 30

The Districts of the Country and their Towns.

Post quos (Silures) Dobuni et Urbs Corinium	18	00	...	54 10
Post Atrebatii et Urbs, [Calleva, Gallena, Caleua, Nal- cua]*	19	00	...	54 15
Post quos maxime orientales, Cantii in quibus Urbes,				
Londinium	20	00	...	54 00
Daruernum	21	00	...	53 40
Rutupiæ	21	45	...	54 00
Rursus Attrebatii et Cantii subjacent Regni et Urbs {	19	43*	...	{ 53* 46
Næomagus	{ 19	45	...	{ 53 25
Dobunis vero subjacent Belgæ et Urbs, Ischalis	16	40	...	53 30
Aquæ Calidæ	17	20	...	53 40
Venta	18	40	...	53 30
Deinde versus occasum et austrum Durotriges sunt, in {	18	00*	...	{ 52* 40
quibus Urbs Dunium	{ 18	50	...	{ 52 05
Post quos maxime occidentales, Damnonii, in quibus				
Urbes, Voliba	14	45	...	52 20
Uxella	15	00	...	52 45
Tamare	15	00	...	{ 52* 25
Isca	17	30	...	{ 52 15
Legio Secunda Augusta	{ 17*	00	...	{ 52* 30
	{ 17	30	...	{ 52 35

Taking the south coast for the base line of the survey, it will be found convenient to fix the positions of the places north and inland from, and in relation to, this base. The difficulty arising from local errors, which prevents us from acting, along this base, exactly on the reduction of Ptolemy's degrees to true degrees, has been so far pointed out that the use of the following table will be appreciated. It seems to present the nearest approximation to a true calculation for the base that can be worked out from a proportion of error in Ptolemy's figures; and in its application it shows also where all attempt at proportionate correction fails.

* Readings differ.

[Table

Table showing the Longitudes East from the Promontorium Oerinum, of the Places named by Ptolemy on the South Coast, with Corrections :

	Distances East by Ptolemy's Longitude.	Distances East, cor- rected by deducting the local Error of 2° 19' between Oeri- num P. and Tama- rus fl.	Distances East fur- ther corrected in Proportion to the true Distance be- tween Oerinum P. and Cantium P.
Oerinum Promont. .	0 00 00		
Cenionis fl. Ostia .	2 00 00		
Tamari fl. Ostia .	3 40 00	... 1 21 0	... 1 9 34
Isacæ fl. Ostia .	5 00 00	... 2 41 00	... 2 18 18
Alaunii fl. Ostia .	5 40 00	... 3 21 00	... 2 52 40
Magnus Portus .	7 00 00	... 4 41 00	... 4 1 23
Trisantonis fl. Ostia .	8 20 00	... 6 1 00	... 5 10 6
Novus Portus .	9 10 00	... 6 51 00	... 5 53 3
Cantium Promont. .	10 00 00	... 7 41 00	... 6 36 25
Veetis Insulæ, medium	7 20 00	... 5 1 00	... 4 20 44

The last column is thus calculated :

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Ptolemy corrected} \quad 7^{\circ} 41'' = 461'' \\ \text{True distance} \quad . \quad 6 \quad 36 = 396 \end{array} \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{l} \text{Ptolemy corrected} \\ \text{True distance} \end{array}} \right\} \cdot \frac{396 \times \text{the degree of Ptolemy}}{461} = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a degree} \\ \text{corrected} \\ \text{to actual} \\ \text{extent.} \end{array} \right.$$

The application of the last column of this table to the maps will take us to the positions to be assigned to the rivers Isaca and Alaunus, which seem to have had their longitudes calculated by distances taken from the Tamarus ; and the reason why their places were found in relation to the Tamarus was that all these places were in the territory of the Damnonii. The next group is in the territory of the Belgæ, the Insula Veetis being the key to the group, with Magnus Portus to the east and the river Trisanton to the west. Novus Portus was, as its small distance from the Promontory Cantium shows, in the territory of the Cantii, and its distance was probably settled by measurement from that promontory, which was the principal station for calculation of the western group. We must now take into consideration the identification of each place separately.

The figures of Ptolemy point out the position of the Promontory Antivestæum as the most westerly point of England, and near to its southern extremity. To these conditions the Land's End answers. Equally, Ptolemy's figures and the order of his descriptions point out the Promontory Oerinum as the most southerly headland of the south coast, and as the west extremity of that coast as a base line. To these conditions the Lizard Point in Cornwall answers. The almost universal opinion of antiquaries allows this to

be the true identification of these two points, notwithstanding the impossibility that exists of accommodating to the distance between the stations the figures by which Ptolemy gives that distance. This impossibility must be taken to show, not that the identification is wrong, but that he had incorrect measurements furnished to him.

The river Cenion, the first place eastward from the Promontory Oerinum in the list, must be passed over for the present, until we have dealt with the succeeding name, the river Tamarus. It has been already suggested that here also we have a specific error of local measurement, which would place this river far east of the river with which it must be identified, viz., the Tamar. An attempt to apply the measurement given by Ptolemy on a true map, even with the reduction of 27 per cent., to allow for the proportion of his degree to the true degree, would place the Tamar as far east as the village of Chideock, in Dorsetshire, 14 minutes east of the river Axe. I remember reading in a French geographical work of about 1825 that the position of the Land's End in England was not then determined within twenty miles. We need not then be greatly surprised when we find that Ptolemy's scheme misplaces the Tamar by fifty-two miles, in relation to the Lizard Head. The mouth of the Tamar is only forty-eight miles east from the Lizard Point. Camden traces the present name of the Tamar far back into the Saxon era; the two villages of Tamerton, one in Cornwall, near the source, and another in Devonshire, near the mouth, assist to fix the name on the district, and the universal opinion of antiquaries allows that this is the proper identification. Upon the west side of the Tamar, and a little inland, Ptolemy's figures place Urbs Tamare, probably St. Germans; and due north from that, Urbs Uxella, near to Hartland Point, on the north coast of Devon. The latitudes of Ptolemy show that the distance across the country, from the mouth of the Tamar to Hartland Point, the Promontorium Herculis of Ptolemy, was reckoned 110 minutes; that the city Tamare was considered 15 minutes¹ north from the mouth of the Tamarus, and the city Uxella the same south of Hartland Point. Again, a little to the west and 25 minutes to the south of Uxella, Ptolemy places Urbs Voliba. Uxella would seem to have been also the

¹ Some editions make it only 5 minutes north.

name of a district or small principality, of which this was the chief town, for Ptolemy reports the name of a bay or estuary on the north or Severn coast of this country, *Vexalla Æstuarium*, as much as 45 minutes (too much, no doubt) north of the town of Uxella, nearly opposite to the mouth of the Tamarus, but somewhat east of it in longitude. The only possible identification for this estuary seems to be that in which the waters of the Torridge and the Taw unite, below the towns of Bideford and Barnstaple. A little further west Ptolemy fixes the entrance to the estuary of the Severn, which probably was at a line drawn across that estuary from the promontory now called the Foreland, on the north coast of Devon, near Countisbury, close to Somersetshire, to near Dunraven Castle, in Glamorganshire.

Having admitted the position of the Tamarus, the river Cenion must be found between it and the Oerinum Promontory. Camden, on very slight grounds, identifies it with Falmouth Harbour, which is itself not a tenth part of a degree east from Oerinum Promontory. If Ptolemy had intended this place, it seems scarcely credible that anything could have led him to represent it as two degrees distant, although it must be difficult to found any argument at all on figures so palpably in error. However, if there is any proportion in their error, his figures represent it as lying between Oerinum Promontory and the Tamarus, and a little the nearer to the latter. The river which best accords with this position is the river Fowey.

The attempt at identification for all these places, as here suggested, rests on the idea that although the figures of Ptolemy's calculations for latitude and longitude must be rejected as incorrect, yet they show approximately the bearing and direction of one neighbouring locality towards another. The very reason why he proceeded to calculate the latitude and longitude of the places was that he had studied the direction of their respective distances. This idea was altogether disregarded by Camden, who, depending on the jingle of a syllable or two, identifies Voliba with Falmouth (Vol, Vale, Fale, Fal), and Uxella with Lostwithiel. Others had previously taken Voliba for Bodmin, Uxella for Kerk-hornwell (?), and Tamar for Tiverton.

According to the scheme I suggest, all the three towns of the Damnonii, already named, Tamar, Voliba, and Uxella,

lay near to the line of the river Tamar. The fourth and last town of the Damnonii named by Ptolemy lay much further to the east. This was the town called Isca. I have not the advantage of a personal acquaintance with any of the places previously named. In the case of Isca, and of many of the places hereafter under discussion, I have a personal acquaintance with the sites, and some of them have long been the subject of my careful observation and consideration. At Isca also we begin the places whose identity will have to be tested by the measurements given in Roman miles in the *Antonine Itinerary*.

The town of Isca lay westward of the river of Isaca. This river is the next place in succession to the river Tamar in Ptolemy's coast description. The distance between the Tamarus and the Isaca, in corrected degrees, is barely $1^{\circ} 9''$, which, measured from the Tamar, overshoots the mouth of the river Exe in Devonshire, and goes about two miles beyond the river Axe. Isaca has been thought to be the translation made by Ptolemy, or his informers, of the ancient generic name of Uise, or Use, or Isc,—a name which amongst ourselves has, as is usually supposed, come to be translated in Devonshire into Exe in one case, and, I suppose, in the immediate neighbourhood, in two other cases, into Ax or Axe.¹ These three rivers Isc are the Exe, which flows to the south coast, and on which stands the city of Exeter; the Axe, near the border of Dorsetshire, flowing also to the south; and the Axe within the border of Somersetshire, flowing into the Bristol Channel. By far the most important of these streams is the Exe; but it is very questionable if this is the river Isaca of Ptolemy. The southern Axe, though a much inferior stream, holds a place close to the position deduced from his longitude, and must be accepted as the true Isaca. His town of Isca is indicated by him to lie 30 minutes eastward of the Isaca. Without detracting from the antiquity of the city of Exeter, I contend that it cannot be identified with this Isca Damnoniorum of Ptolemy, although by Camden and nearly all others except Horsley that identification has been allowed. The 30 minutes of Ptolemy's longitude east of the Isaca, brings

¹ Professor Rhys remarks: "The Usk is *Wysyg* in Welsh, and the Irish word for *water* is *uisce*; but whether this has anything whatever to do with these names is far from clear".

it nearly to Dorchester. In the same longitude, and south of Isca, Ptolemy places the station of the Roman military force which maintained their power in these districts, viz., the station of *Legio Secunda Augusta*. To find the two places, a Roman town and the legionary station, we must look to the town of Dorchester, with its Roman amphitheatre and extensive and numerous evidences of Roman antiquity; whilst two miles and a half to the south of it lies that magnificent fortification, the Maiden Castle, so well shown in Mr. Munt's plan, published in our twenty-eighth volume; one of the most extensive, elaborate, and impressive of the ancient fortifications of England. In some editions of Ptolemy the latitude of the military station is 5, and in others 10 minutes south of the city; and there is a difference of 30 minutes in the readings of the longitude. But the amount of authority for their contiguity, and the actual existence of two such places, leave little room to doubt this identification. Exeter has so long enjoyed the reputation of succeeding to the Isca of Ptolemy, that I suspect it of having, in some points, usurped the later history of Dorchester. I may remind my readers of a passage in the life of King Alfred, where, when he is besieging the Northmen in Wareham, they are represented to have forced their way out and seized Exeter, where Alfred again besieged them, and then defeated in Swanage Bay a fleet which came to their relief. Now Dorchester is much more likely to be the place seized, by its proximity to Wareham, than Exeter; and a fleet coming to the relief of Dorchester would naturally be in Swanage Bay, whilst one succouring Exeter would, it is most likely, be in Torbay.

The next place east of the river Isaca, in Ptolemy's coast progress, is Alaunus Fluvius, which seems to be a corruption of the generic name Avon. The corrected distance, in degrees, brings it exactly to the river Wey, where, with the ancient towns of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis on either bank, it discharges into the deep bay shut in by the Bill of Portland. The only Avon, now so called, on the south coast, debouches at Christchurch in Hampshire; but neither the relation in distance which it bears in Ptolemy to the Tamar, nor to the Isle of Wight, will allow us to place it there. The calculation for it probably has relation to that which fixes the position for Isca to the neighbourhood of Dorches-

ter: the longitude is nearly the same, and the latitude agrees, and brings the river into one group with Isca and the military station of the *Legio Secunda*, closely agreeing with the relationship of Dorchester, the great fort south of it, and the estuary of the Wey, six miles further south. Just as Weymouth Harbour now is the port for the town of Dorchester, it was in old times, when it was fully commanded by the Second Legion, and formed an important means for facilitating their operations, and their safety and communications.

Before quitting the Damnonian country I must revert, for a few sentences, to the Exe, to what I have said of the town of Uxella and the district connected with it on the north Damnonian coast, marked by the Vexalla estuary. Do not these names suggest a connection with the river Exe itself? The country or district of Vexalla or Uxella might have extended, and probably did, to the present Somersetshire boundary of Devon. In that case it touched upon Exmoor Forest and the head waters of the Exe. Does not this confirm the view I have already put forward, that the Exe was not the Isaca of Ptolemy? and show that the name Exe was a still older corruption of *Uise*; so that under its present form it had already conferred the names of Uxella and Vexalla; and if known to Ptolemy at all, it would have appeared in a form corresponding to its share in those names.

The country next to the Damnonii, in Ptolemy, is that of the Durotriges. He does not allude to it in his progress along the coast; but in his description of the territories and their inhabitants, he says the Durotriges are south-west of the Belgæ, and next to the Damnonii, and their chief town is Dunium. The latitude and longitude of this are given in different figures in different editions; but they indicate its place near the coast-line, and eastward of Isca or Dorchester, bringing us to the neighbourhood, and I doubt not to the town, of Wareham in Dorsetshire. The town is still surrounded by a perfect vallum of Roman construction, probably superseding the British dun or fort, is situated in a position of great military strength, between the rivers Frome and Trent, guards the entrance to the Isle of Purbeck, and commands the extensive waters inside Poole Harbour. To these peculiar inland sea-waters, and

to the singular lake shut in by the Chesil beach, is probably due the name of the inhabitants of the district, the Durotriges or water tribes. Their neighbours, the Belgæ and the Damnonii, held large tracts of country, shutting these into a narrow space. To my mind, the most probable idea is that they were a part of the Damnonian nation; and this will appear more clearly when, from the Antonine measurements, I shall show more definitely that I have rightly identified Wareham as Dunium, and Dorchester as Isca Damnoniorum.

The Belgæ, whose country comes next under consideration, stretched across the mainland from the estuary of the Severn, and included *Insula Vectis* (the Isle of Wight) in their territory: their boundary against the Damnonii and the Durotriges being about the line of the river Parret and the Yeo, in Somersetshire, and the Stour, in Dorsetshire. In the south coast of the Belgæ the figure reckonings of Ptolemy become singularly difficult of application; but the want of definiteness in this respect is compensated for by the significance of some other particulars to be drawn from him. After the river Alaunus, suggested to be the Wey, in Dorset, the next point named in Ptolemy's progress eastward is *Magnus Portus*. That *Magnus Portus* is the Southampton Water, is distinctly shown by the words I have quoted, where Ptolemy says that immediately below *Magnus Portus* is the Isle of Wight, whilst he shows that the meridian of the centre of the Isle of Wight is a little to the east of the meridian of *Magnus Portus*. Presuming that the meridian of *Magnus Portus* was taken in the upper part of the Water, just off the town of Southampton, he is nearly correct as to the relationship of the two meridians. In my edition of Ptolemy¹ it is suggested that *Magnus Portus* is either "Portsmouth or Portamon, where is the city of Southampton." Camden describes the Southampton Water thus: "*Hic etenim retractis magno recessu littoribus et Vectæ Insulæ objectu portus fit egregius*". Much impressed as he was by the "*magnum recessus*" and the "*portus egregius*", he failed to recognise in it *Magnus Portus*, and goes on to record his judgment that it is the place spoken of by Ptolemy as *Trisantonis* fluvii Ostium. Now the river Trisanton is the next place eastward of *Magnus Portus* in the progress of Ptolemy, yet Camden

¹ J. Moletius. Venice, 1564.

reverses their position, and, selecting Portsmouth for Magnus Portus, places Ptolemy's eastern port to the west of the other, disregarding both the order of Ptolemy's progress and the order assigned by his figures of longitude. If the names belong at all to these, Southampton and Portsmouth, the eastern of the two places must be Trisanton. The mistake of Camden in fixing Trisanton in the Southampton Water is due to his habitual disregard of Ptolemy's figures, and to his dependence on some etymological accidents. At the head of the western arm of the Southampton Water there flows in the river Test. Camden says that in the lives of the saints he has found this river named the Terstan; that upon the river are places called An-dover, Ant-port, and South-anton; and hence he concludes that the river must have been the Anton or Trisanton of Ptolemy. By the kindness of the Dean of Chichester I have been enabled to refer the question of the meaning of the word Trisanton to Professor Earle and Professor Rhys of Oxford. From their valuable communications on the subject I am allowed to quote. Professor Earle says, "No doubt Camden was influenced by the name of Hampton to identify it with Trisanton, but he would never have seen Anton under the form Hampton had it not been for the names Andover, Amport, and Abbots Ann in the upper streams of the same water. When we see Anton on that water in the Ordnance map this is of course a piece of archæology, good or bad;¹ but there is no question that those names are peculiar and unexplained, and that they seem to indicate some such name as "Ant", for the river on which they stand. But the longitude in Ptolemy seems to decide it that Trisanton is east of Magnus Portus. Well, if so, I should then look for Trisanton at Chichester". Leaving aside for the present the learned professor's suggestion as to Chichester, I will point out some further considerations which stand in the way of appropriating to the river Test or to the Southampton Water, which Camden includes with it, the name "Anton" or "Trisanton". The syllable *am*, or *an*, or *ant*, on which he entirely relies, is not confined in Hampshire topography to the head waters or the line of the river Test. In Wherwell Hundred, where are "Amport", "Andover", and "Abbots Ann",

¹ The archæology of the Ordnance Map is influenced by the imposition of Bertram of Copenhagen.

we can add "Little Anne", all grouped near the head waters of the Test; but far from it, we have in Fawley Hundred, "Hinton Ampner"; in Mansbridge Hundred, "Anfield"; in Hambleton Hundred, "Amner". In Sussex, though forming a part of Hampshire and extending in a singular line quite across the Weald or Andred wood is "Ambersham" (Am-beres-ham), and still further east in Sussex, on the southern margin of the great forest, is "Amberley" (Am-bere-ley). The *an* syllable seems to have been too widely spread to admit of its allocation being now limited to a single river district, where assuredly, from remote antiquity, the name of Test has been used for the Hampshire river. But those who know Southampton will remember that, quite independently of the name any river there has borne, the name Southampton is locally accounted for. The town stands on a tongue of land, which projects into the Southampton Water, between the two arms of the water, which run up on the west to the Test, and on the east to the Itchen river. Within my memory this tongue of land has much advanced its point on the open water by extending on the reclaimed mud banks the dockworks and dock estate. In former times a great deal of land has been reclaimed from the Itchen estuary, on the east side of the tongue, so that where the ancient town of Southampton now stands, on the west side of the tongue, was once the tongue itself, and the town was originally the South-hampton on that tongue: north of it, and against the waters of the Itchen, on the same tongue, is North-ham, where the first bridge of the Itchen stands, and where probably in old times was the first practicable ferry across the Itchen estuary. I remember a good clear mile of open ground between the suburb of Northam and Southampton. Northam had, nevertheless, long been considerable for its shipbuilding, and now the spread of houses has made the two towns join hands. Southampton in very early ages gained a superiority which eclipsed its neighbour, and which is marked by the *hampton* instead of *ham*. Camden certainly never heard of Northam, or he could not have overlooked the natural connection between the two places and their names. But Camden, although not directly expressing it, evidently hung to the idea that Ant, Anton, and Hanton gave the name to "Hantsire". On the derivation of this name I venture a suggestion,

which I should be glad to have considered, although a little irrelevant to our principal subject. When we quit the coast of Hampshire and go east we leave the shires and enter the counties, first the coast of Sussex, and then, proceeding along the south and east coasts of England, we have Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk in succession. All of them counties, from the fact that in Roman times they were ("sub dispositione viri spectabilis *Comitis Littoris Saxonici*") in the jurisdiction of the Roman officer, the count of the Saxon shore. Kent partly and Sussex entirely had through their length the vast forest of Anderida, which terminated at the west in and included a part of Hampshire—viz., in the hundreds of Meon and East Meon, Finchdean, and Odiham, Waltham, Hambledon, and perhaps more. Hampshire was then the first shire west of the counties; and, touching on the great forest of Andred, it so derived its name; Andredshire, or Andshire, or Hantshire, somewhat as its neighbouring shire, took its name from the forest of Berroc, which it contained: hence Berkshire.

We now return to the *Magnus Portus* of Ptolemy, and from it proceed to Trisanton. The first syllable of this name suggested to me that Ptolemy translated into Greek that portion of the name which represented triplicity, and that Tris-Anton must mean something like *Thrice-Anton*. To have known what Anton means would have been very satisfactory. Professor Rhys, who has kindly communicated his views on the subject, says: "The name *Τρισάντωνος* was probably Gaulish—a language which is little known, but a comparison with the other Celtic languages, which are known, makes it in the highest degree probable that in Gaulish *tris* or *tri* meant three, so there is no need to suppose that we have here to do with a Greek word. As to the rest, I can only say that its meaning is unknown, but if I were to offer a conjecture, I should say that the compound meant the river of *three roads* or *three courses*. But I must not withhold the fact that there is a phonological difficulty in the way of this guess. Supposing that I have hit the meaning of the word, one would have expected it to appear as *Τρισέντωνος* rather than *Τρισάντωνος*. This is not quite conclusive, as we know so little of Gaulish words. On the whole, I think Mr. Hills had better not go further than the *τρεις* he has been able so well to explain by

his knowledge of the place." Before I proceed to the explanation which had been laid before the learned professor of Celtic at Oxford, I will just remark that, whilst Ptolemy understood the syllable *tris* or *tri*, it is likely he did not understand the *enton* or *santon* more than we do; and that he or whoever wrote it first had to write in the alphabet of one language a word not understood, and reported to him out of another and an unwritten language: no wonder then if it now appears in a doubtful form, as Professor Rhys shows.

I must also call further attention to the opinion of Professor Earle. After the remark I have already quoted from him that Trisanton might be Chichester, he refers to the common belief that the Saxon name of that city, Cissanceaster, was derived from the name of Cissa, the prince who established the Saxon supremacy in the district now Sussex. The professor says, "Cissanceaster, the Saxon form of Chichester, can hardly be derived from the name of a man 'Cissa', and it is just conceivable that it may contain a barbarous alteration of *Trisan*. I experience, however, the greatest difficulty in supposing any other place can be Magnus Portus except Portsmouth. This name preserves within it the very word 'Portus', and so also do the names by which it is surrounded—viz., Portsea, Porechester, Portsdown. That this name is older than the arrival of the Saxons, and that it was unintelligible to them, is plain from their mythic explanation of it in the early chronicles, where it is said that a man named Port landed there as settler."

I ask my readers to give all the weight to this opinion which the great authority of Professor Earle must command, and to refer back to it when they have gone over the next few sentences.

Take in hand a really good map of the south coast, showing Hampshire, the Isle of Wight, and Sussex; county maps which show Hampshire and Sussex separately will not do, for it is the fact of their being so seldom drawn in union that has prevented the most remarkable physical feature of this part of the coast from being noticed. The Ordnance index map of ten miles to an inch will do; sheets nine, ten, and eleven of the Ordnance Map, one mile to an inch, are better. Failing these, W. H. Smith and Son's reduced Ordnance Map of the Isle of Wight, to be had at nearly all railway stations for a shilling, is the best I know, though it unfortunately

falls short of including Chichester. A glance at these maps tells the eye that Southampton Water is physically the Magnus Portus; that it lies, with regard to the Isle of Wight, in the true position Ptolemy assigns to it, and that west of it we have what I will call Trisanton—viz., that remarkable estuary, with the three ports or entrances, now known as the entrances to Portsmouth Harbour, Langston Harbour, and Chichester Harbour. The seaward side of the estuary extends from Gosport, in Hampshire, to a narrow tongue of land, or rather beach and shingle, jutting out from the parish of West Wittering, in Sussex; but also the seaward front of the estuary is almost entirely occupied by Portsea Island and Hayling Island. These islands divide the water-frontage into the three narrow mouths already spoken of, whilst the form of the islands towards the back of the estuary allows the water to open out into three large spaces, connected together by narrow waterways behind the islands. In Roman times each of the three divisions of the estuary had an important town on the mainland, and each of those towns still exists—viz., at the back of Portsmouth Harbour, Porchester, announcing by name its Roman origin and fortification, and possessing a splendid mark of its long-continued importance in its fine Norman castle. At the back of Langston Harbour, the town which our late learned associate Mr. W. H. Black pointed out as the British town Y-Gwent, Romanised into Venta, and now Havant. At the back of the eastern extremity of the estuary, the city of Chichester, marked by numerous Roman remains, and by its name for an important Roman station. It must be admitted that the quality of triplicity, which the name Trisanton implies, belongs in a remarkable degree to this singular estuary and its adjuncts.

I am sinning against the cautious advice of Professor Rhys not to meddle with the *anton*. Yet I venture to point out that along the back of the whole estuary, there extended, not more than three to six miles distant, the fringes of the forest of Andred, where its great south barrier, the South Downs, comes to its western extremity, and breaks up. Just as at the eastern extremity of the forest we know the Saxons called its subdivisions Bera and Berende, we have still the forest of Bere at the north of Porchester, ending at Stansted, on the Sussex border, and then continued eastward, after an in-

terruption of two or three miles, by the forest lands of West Dean Woods, Singleton Forest, and the East Dean Woods. This Sussex forest crowns the heights which overlooked the whole breadth of the great weald or forest of Andred itself.

Following the method I have previously taken, after considering the coast line, I now come to the towns named by Ptolemy in the interior. These are the towns of the Belgæ; Ischalis, Aquæ Calidæ, and Venta: the town of the Dobuni, Corinium; the town of the Attrebatii, Calleva or Nalœua; and the town of the Regni, Neomagus.

There is no doubt that the country of the Belgæ extended from the Bristol Channel and the Severn to the British Channel and the Isle of Wight, having the Damnonii and Durotriges to the south, and for their northern neighbours the Dobuni; and at the eastern portion of their north boundary, the Attrebatii. The Attrebatii and Cantii were the northern neighbours of the Regni. Ptolemy marks Ischalis as the most western town of the Belgæ. The name and the longitude point to the mouth of that river Axe of which we have already spoken in Somersetshire. Here, on the lofty promontory called Worlebury Hill, which closes Uphill Bay, into which the Axe discharges, is the most stupendous example of ancient British architecture in existence, the magnificent stone fort or citadel called Worlebury, immediately above the town of Weston-super-Mare. Besides this extraordinary citadel, built with uncemented stone walls, from 10 ft. to 30 ft. thick, and 30 ft. to 35 ft. high, there are extensive earthworks marking the inner and outer enclosures, and some of the internal features of a large town.

The second town, Aquæ Calidæ, no one has ever doubted to be Bath.

In respect to Ischalis and Aquæ Calidæ, Ptolemy's figures of latitude and longitude approach the truth nearer than usual. Aquæ Calidæ had long before Roman times possessed regular roads to London; and it can hardly be doubted that Ptolemy's figures are calculated on the actual distances between those two places, as reported to him. They are nearly in the same latitude, the difference being only about seven minutes. Ptolemy estimated that difference at thirty minutes, and the difference in longitude at one hundred and sixty minutes. The hypo-



then use of the triangle, or actual distance in his minutes, comes to only one hundred and sixty-two minutes. The true distances being one hundred and forty-one of our minutes of longitude, and only seven minutes of latitude, the hypotenuse is less than one hundred and forty-two minutes. Ptolemy tells us that his great distances in longitude were in some cases regulated by the difference of time observed at two positions with respect to an eclipse, and we account for some of his inaccuracy by the imperfection of the instruments then in use for measuring time. It is likely that in such a case as the distance between Aquæ Calidæ and Londinium both a geometrical measurement and a horal measurement would have been considered; and the result is that the error of Ptolemy is much less than the 27 per cent. of his great measurements, and is reduced to barely 12 per cent. in the measurement between Aquæ Calidæ and Londinium.

In justification of my identification of Ischalis with Worlebury, I must point out that it is as Ptolemy estimated, a little south of the parallel of Bath; and that carrying on the correction of 12 per cent. in the longitude, it brings us exactly to where the village of Worle is marked on the map.

The third town, Venta, is attributed by the editor of my copy of Ptolemy to Bristol, and Camden states that his predecessors had so placed it. He removed it to Winchester, where an almost universal consent has since left it. Our late associate Mr. Black was the first to assert that its proper connection was with Havant. This identification is not free from important difficulties, for it implies not only that Ptolemy's exact figures of longitude cannot be accepted; but that this place, which he puts upon a meridian a little west of Magnus Portus, is really east of that place, whether we take Magnus Portus to be Southampton, or, as Professor Earle thinks, Portsmouth. The difficulty, I suspect, arises from Ptolemy's reckoning for Venta having been made with regard to Bath, with which it is grouped in his list. If he had happened to group it with the places reckoned from the Isle of Wight, we should probably have escaped the dilemma we have to contend with in bringing it into that group.

We must here make a remark with respect to Ptolemy's latitudes. They were determined mainly by reference to the greatest length of day reported to him, or by previous

geographers. In this way he determined the latitude of London to be $54^{\circ} 00'$. It is truly $51^{\circ} 31'$. The latitude of the Isle of Wight he reckoned to be $52^{\circ} 20'$. It is truly, at Carisbrook, which I take to have been Ptolemy's centre, $50^{\circ} 39' 20'$. Thus it is seen that in degrees his latitudes are much less seriously in error than his longitudes; but it will at once occur to my readers that unless two places were almost in the same meridian, the difficulty of settling a difference of latitude of less than a degree would be very great. Where two places were nearly on the same meridian, a geometrical measurement would safely give the difference of latitude, but where the meridians were wide apart, either a triangulation or a horal calculation, founded on very uncertain data, were his resources. I have placed no reliance on the minutes of latitude where the longitudes are apart, and this reason accounts for the uncertainty which I attach to the latitude Ptolemy gives to Venta.

His longitude brings the meridian of Venta just half way between London and Bath, and his latitude places it on the same parallel as Worlebury or Ischalis, three-sixths of a degree south of the parallel of London, the same north of that of Magnus Portus, and five-sixths north of that of the Isle of Wight. The position thus indicated lies on that part of a meridian of which East Stratton, eight miles north-east from Winchester, is the south end, and the boundary between Hampshire and Berkshire, seven miles west of Silchester, is the north end. This piece of meridian, nearly fourteen miles in length, marks, however, no place which can be thought to be Venta; whilst it must be admitted that it indicates more than any other place, either the great Roman city of Silchester, which by its remains so plainly testifies its Roman origin, or Camden's selection of Winchester. What, however, if both those places can be shown to have been represented by other Roman names, as I believe they can from the *Antonine Itinerary*, and that Havant, if not the Venta intended by Ptolemy, was the Venta Belgarum of Antoninus?

North of the Belgæ, according to Ptolemy, were the Dobuni. The latitude and longitude assigned by Ptolemy to their town, Corinium, brings it, with slight correction, to Cirencester. The approach to correctness in the figures for

Aquæ Calidæ has shown that when a good land measurement was to be had, Ptolemy was not bound by the proportion of error which arose in his semi-circumference of the Earth. The distance between Corinium and Londinium exhibits a still nearer approach to correctness. The names Corinium and Cirencester both seem to contain in them the name of the river Churn, on which Cirencester stands ; and this identification I propose to accept.

The next place in the order of Ptolemy's list is the town of the Atrebatii. This people joined to the Dobuni on the east, and must have bounded the north-east corner of the Belgic territory. The town of the Atrebatii, as given in the order of Ptolemy's arrangement, comes between Corinium and Londinium, whilst by his figures its position is exactly half way in longitude between those places. In latitude it is 5 minutes north of Corinium, and the latter is 10 minutes north of London. The reckonings, no doubt, were in this case made both upon geometric and horal measurements. Between Corinium and London the true distance in longitude is $1^{\circ} 54'$. Ptolemy says 2° . The true latitude of Corinium or Cirencester, north of London, is not more than 11 minutes. Ptolemy says 10 minutes. Presuming that the measurements to the Atrebatian town are as nearly correct, the place indicated is exactly at Alchester or Aldechester in Oxfordshire, where exist extensive traces of a walled Roman town, with the important suburbs of Bicester a mile and a half to the north-west, Chesterton Magna on the west, and Wendlebury on the south. Camden and all succeeding antiquaries have limited the territory of the Atrebatii to the south side of the Thames ; but here is evidence that it extended to the north of it. Camden fixed this town at Wallingford, and his was the nearest approach to its true position ; but it is too far south for the figures of latitude. He had made up his mind not to extend the tribe across the Thames, and satisfied himself by a fanciful derivation of the name of their town. The ancient name is, indeed, in much greater doubt than the position. Camden says that scribes have sadly mistaken it ; that the Greek copies call the place Naleua ; the Latin copies, Calleva and Galleua ; and that in the *Antonine Itinerary* there is the like error in the Latin name. Camden would have it read Gallena : and this, Reynolds says, is justified by certainly

one copy. From this word Camden derives Guallen, Walling, and Wallingford. I may add that in the modern Greek Tauchnitz edition of Ptolemy the name is given Calcuæ or Caleva.

The key to all this confusion is this, viz., that the different forms of the name refer to three distinct places; and the main difficulty of identification has been that everybody has tried to identify them as one. The *Antonine Itinerary* shows with a good deal of certainty where the Calleva which it mentions three times stood, and it is presently identified at Silchester. It names once another Calleva, with the distinction added, *Attrebatum*. The position of this will be hereafter found at the south-west corner of Surrey. I therefore conclude that Ptolemy's town, Naleua, of the *Attrebatæ*, being so far to the north, is properly called by that name, and was situated at Aldchester. The name Naleua is accepted by Camden's contemporary, the great Ortelius, and also by Reynolds, as the correct reading.

East of the Belgæ, and south of the *Attrebatii*, Ptolemy places the *Regni* and their town *Neomagus*. In the fifteenth chapter of his first book Ptolemy is employed in pointing out inconsistencies in the statements of his predecessor, Marinus, the Tyrian. One of them is, that in Britain, Marinus places *Noviomagus* fifty-nine miles southward, although by climate he shows that he ought to have said northward. Several of the editions, but not all, give London as the name of the place which was fifty-nine miles from *Noviomagus*. Ptolemy does not offer a correction, unless it be in his tables of latitude and longitude, where he introduces *Neomagus*, which Camden considers to be *Noviomagus*. Reynolds, in his commentary on the *Antonine Itinerary*, suggests that there is no need to believe the two names to belong to the same place; to which I quite agree, and intend to show by and by that they were separate places. It is very difficult to give any effect to the statement of distance, fifty-nine miles; and although Camden and Reynolds both regard it as starting from London, they quite disregard it in fixing the position of *Neomagus* or *Noviomagus*.¹ Some Roman remains at Woodcote, in Surrey, a little south of Epsom, induced Camden to fix *Neomagus* there. It is unfortunate that in different editions the figures of Ptolemy

¹ "Either should now be *Newfield*."—Professor Rhys.

vary, both of latitude and longitude, for this place. It may be either $19^{\circ} 43'$ or $19^{\circ} 45'$ in longitude, and either $53^{\circ} 25'$ or $53^{\circ} 45'$ in latitude; but either set of figures would place it somewhere on or near the line of the Stane Street, or Roman road, which to this day runs from London to Chichester, and is in use through the greatest part of its length. Camden might therefore be right as to Woodcote, but, nevertheless, I cannot bring myself to think that the Regni who lay south of the Cantii and Atrebatii came so far north as this. As the Cantii are said by Ptolemy to lay east of the Atrebatii, their territories must have joined either where Kent and Surrey now join or at some other line drawn across Surrey. Camden's position for Neomagus is not reconcilable with this, and would make the Regni intervene between the Atrebatii and Cantii. The *Antonine Itinerary* will presently lead us to think that the Atrebatii extended from Berkshire quite across Surrey to the Sussex border at its west end, and this makes the probability great that the territorial boundary of the Regni was adopted for the county of Sussex, which was therefore about the same in line from its west end until it reached the Cantii, as the Sussex line now is. The more southern figures of Ptolemy agree with this, and would place Neomagus in the hundred of East¹ Easewrith or the adjoining hundred of Horsham.

To complete the progress of Ptolemy along the south coast of Albion we have now only two places left, viz., Novus Portus and Promontorium Cantium. The position of Novus Portus depends on whether Ptolemy reckoned its distance from Vectis or from the Promontory Cantium. If he measured from Vectis, his distance of $1^{\circ} 40'$, corrected to $1^{\circ} 12''$ true measure, would bring it to Brighton, and it might be held that the outlet of the river Adur, between Brighton and Shoreham, was intended, an outlet which has varied unquestionably in different ages three or four miles along the coast. A Roman road points to Portslade, at the back of the present harbour, near its Brighton end. Further on the river Adur will come under consideration, and will be identified as Portus Adurni, therefore the more likely idea is that the place of Novus Portus was measured from the Promontory Cantium, from which it is one degree

¹ Observe the title of a district all along the Sussex border here, from its west end, and comprised in the hundreds of Easbourne (pronounced Ezburn). East Easewrith, and West Easewrith.

distant by Ptolemy, or forty-three minutes by correction, and this will bring it to the west side of Romney Marsh.

It must be noticed that in his coast-line Ptolemy speaks only of physical subjects, the mouths and estuaries of rivers and the promontories of the land, bays and gulfs of the sea, and not of towns. Those were reserved to be mentioned with the inhabitants of the countries. For this reason I do not suppose Novus Portus to have been a town of Newport, but some haven newly formed by the sea. In Romney Marsh the sea was re-forming the land at Lympne and Rye all through the period of the Roman occupation, and continued to do so long after. At the earliest period of history the whole of what is now Romney Marsh was a bay of the sea. The Roman fort and harbour at Lympne lay at its east side, and the outlet of the river Rother, with the cliffs of Pleyden and Rye, were at the western side. The gradual emergence of islands, first Roman-ey, and afterwards New Roman-ey, and of other tracts of land, are traced in Holloway's *History of Romney Marsh*. To some new formation here of land and water, I have little doubt this name of Novus Portus was applied.

The Promontory Cantium, from the days of Camden and before, has been received without question as properly identified with the North Foreland in Kent. I have ventured to differ from this acceptance; and in all the preceding references to its longitude I have calculated from the South Foreland, which I have no doubt was intended by Ptolemy instead of the North Foreland. It is, perhaps, the latitude given by Ptolemy on the same parallel as London which has directed attention to the North Foreland. In reality, however, it is only an illustration of the difficulty I have before pointed out, which Ptolemy had in determining latitudes within 60 minutes, or where the places were distant in longitude. Novus Portus, he says, is on the south coast, and is $53^{\circ} 30'$ north. Londinium he makes 54° north, and the Promontory Cantium, 54° north; the town Rutupia, 54° north, the Island of Counos, $54^{\circ} 30'$ north; and the estuary of Jamissa (Thamissa, or Thames), $54^{\circ} 30'$ north. Omitting Londinium, the other places are not far apart in longitude, and their relative positions in latitude show that Novus Portus was to the south; Prom. Cantium next to the north, and with it the town Rutupia; the Island Counos

still further north, and next the mouth of the Thames. The Island Counos has from very ancient times been identified with Thanet: manifestly it could not be half a degree north of the Prom. Cantium, and be that promontory too; therefore the promontory of the Island of Counos is different from the Promontory Cantium, and is to the north of it; or in other words, the North Foreland in the Isle of Thanet is the promontory of the Island of Counos; and the southern promontory on the mainland, or the South Foreland, is the Promontory Cantium. The name "Counos" seems to contain within it the *ness* or promontory of the North Foreland; and if that be so, both the North and the South Foreland promontories are named by Ptolemy.¹

Thanet was an island separated from the mainland by a considerable arm of the sea for long after the era of Ptolemy. In Bede's time it was separated by a water three furlongs across, and with two practicable fords; but Ptolemy believed it to be separated by a much more considerable distance than it really had, for he puts its longitude half a degree east of the Promontory Cantium. This itself is a proof that it could not have contained that promontory. Besides which, Ptolemy describes the mainland first, and with it the Promontory Cantium, and places at the end of his description of Albion the islands, and puts Counos with them. The Promontory Cantium was, therefore, on the mainland; and if so, was the point which we call the South Foreland, or some point a little north, and a minute or two more east, on the cliffs between that and Deal, where the cliffs fall down to a level shore.

The towns of the Cantii, known to Ptolemy, were Londinium, Daruernum, and Rutupiae. The possession of Londinium by the Cantii indicates, as I have already hinted in respect to the Attrebatii, that at this time the authority of the Cantii extended beyond the present county of Kent. Daruernum can be no other than Durovernum, as it appears in other authors, and certainly Canterbury; whilst Rutupiae, or Rutupium, is as certainly, by a long chain of history, the ruined and deserted Roman fortification on the mainland opposite the Isle of Thanet, now Richborough, itself once a tiny island in the estuary between Thanet and the mainland.

It is important to notice the era to which Ptolemy's report

¹ Hackness, in Yorkshire, was written "Ha-canos" quite down to Saxon times.

of the country belongs. He was compiling his books between A.D. 125 and A.D. 140. How much before or after we do not know ; but this was nearly two hundred years after the invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar, B.C. 55. The conquest of the southern provinces began under Claudius in A.D. 43, when Aulus Plautius, with four legions, was sent into Britain. In A.D. 50 Ostorius Scapula succeeded to the command, and found himself master of the country north to the Dee and the Wash, but resolutely opposed by the Silures to the west, so that all the territories we have been considering were under his rule. Didius Gallus and Veranius, following him, did not extend the Roman power. Suetonius Paulinus, the next governor, effectively extended their power into Wales, and was at the furthest point, endeavouring to reduce Anglesey, when the great revolt of Boadicea broke out in the country of the Iceni, which he quickly suppressed. Cæsar, in his expeditions, brought with him water-clocks, and amidst his military anxieties endeavoured to determine the geographical relationships of the parts of Britain he visited to the Continent. The series of commanders who followed after the invasion under Claudius were, no doubt, better provided than Cæsar, and must have brought with them, and maintained, a staff of engineers (*agrimensores*) equal to the survey of a country, both for military purposes, and designed to be permanently occupied. To the governors already named succeeded Petronius Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus, and Vettius Bolanus, whose attention was but little directed to external affairs, and it was supposed might have organised the province ; yet the latter found it too much unsettled by the remains of the civil wars to arrive at a well-ordered state, towards which an important element would be contributed by the Roman law of territorial and land settlement. Petilius Cerealis, the next governor, about A.D. 70, under Vespasian, pursued a more vigorous policy. Ceasing from the temporising measures of his immediate predecessors, he made the military power of his office felt within his province, whilst he increased it by the subjugation of the Brigantes throughout our northern English counties. The high rank of the men who were sent to administer the affairs of Britain testifies to the importance the central Roman power attached to the settlement of the government set up here.

The next appointment evidently had a special object in view. After five years, Petilius Cerealis had so broken the wayward spirit of the subjected races, that Sextus Julius Frontinus ("*vir magnus*" as Tacitus calls him) was sent to complete his work. He still found the Silures obstinate and pugnacious, and did not hesitate to use the military means which Petilius Cerealis had found for the most part effective. He has the credit of having finally broken the fighting propensity of this race, as far as could be done. But the speciality of Frontinus was that he was a great engineer. His works on the aqueducts of Rome, on the surveying of countries and lands, and on the art of war, are still extant. He must have made it his special care, in the cause of permanent peace, to measure the country, define the lands, and apply thoroughly to it the work of the College of Land-Surveyors; and it is evident he did so. Upon the country thus surveyed and prepared, Agricola, who succeeded him in A.D. 78, was enabled "*Frumenti et tributorum auctionem æqualitate munerum mollire, circumcisis, quæ in quæstum reperta, ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur*". The store-barns were thrown open for the wants of the people; the roads and means for conveyance of the requisitions to the winter-quarters were improved, to the advantage of those on whom the service of such supplies was imposed; and the gains hitherto monopolised by a few were distributed to the profit of the many. The exactions during peace had been almost as onerous as the forced levies of a time of war. But all this was reformed.¹ This resulted in the first year of Agricola; and the country districts being pacified, his second year saw the construction of temples, markets, and courts of justice, by public aid and private enterprise; and the construction, for the public security, of forts and castles where deemed necessary after a particular inspection of the places by Agricola himself throughout his province; the foundation for all these important measures having been laid by the engineering talent of Frontinus.

In A.D. 120 the Emperor Hadrian visited the province, and travelled throughout it, inspecting the progress made in fifty years upon the work begun by Frontinus. No doubt that in the great Tabularium at Rome the principal results

¹ Tacitus, *Agricola*, cap. 19, also 20 and 21.

of all this work were formally recorded on Roman maps. To what extent Ptolemy, who afterwards saw Hadrian at Alexandria, could avail himself of the work of the Roman surveyors we cannot know; but that he attempted to apply it as far as he could to his calculations, we cannot doubt; and I have adverted to the history of the Roman survey to show that there were actual measurements in existence to be dealt with, and which Ptolemy may have used and attempted to reconcile with his horal and astronomical observations. Ptolemy's figures cannot, therefore, be regarded as guesses or chances, but as the result of an application of measures different from ours (as in the case of his degree of longitude), and able to be corrected when the nature of his measure is discovered; or in the case of a definite error, when a wrong measure was furnished to him, or a correct one misunderstood.

We next proceed to the *Peutingerian Tables*, to be briefly dealt with. We obtain from them the names of only sixteen places in Britain; and of those, the six which are north of the Thames lie out of the range of the present subject. The compilation of the Tables has been usually attributed to about one hundred and fifty years later than the time of Ptolemy. To those who have not consulted works on the subject, I may say that it is a MS. on parchment, of the thirteenth century, copied from some older source, and commonly named after Dr. Peutinger, to whose library it belonged when first noticed. It is 22 feet long and 1 foot wide, and by lines drawn longitudinally is made a sort of road-book of the Roman empire, with the names and distances of places marked upon the roads or lines. I have before me the published edition of 1587.

Of the ten names which come within our district, Rutupis and Duroavernus, which we must identify with the Rutupia and Daruernum (Richborough and Canterbury) of Ptolemy, are shown near the coast, and towards the Continent. There are added, in the immediate neighbourhood, the ports of Dubris (Dover) and Lemanio (Lympne); but if the distances were ever inserted, they have been lost by the defective state of the MS., which is greatly damaged just where it would so much interest us to have it perfect. From Duroavernus proceeds a road above which the names of three places are written, all of them unknown to Ptolemy, and

with figures (presumed to be of distance) marked against them, "Madus xvii, Raribis vii, Burolevo vii". Of the place called "Raribis" we shall get no further mention, and can only say that the distance of seven Roman miles from Canterbury, on the Roman road to London, brings us just to Nash Court, beyond Broughton-under-Blean. Burolevo we shall find hereafter called Durolevo, and placed at twelve miles from Canterbury, although the two sevens here seem to imply a distance of fourteen miles, which brings it one mile east of Bapchild. "Madus" may be conceived to be the Medway; but the distance goes two miles and a half beyond the Medway, on the direct Roman London road through Rochester; and as much beyond the town of Maidstone, if it be supposed to have gone there by branching off at Sittingbourne. It may have been some place beyond the Medway, at Cobham or Higham; or if it must absolutely be on the Medway, then at Barming or Teston, above Maidstone.

The two remaining names are Iscadumnorum and Ridumo, with the figure xv attached to the latter, and a road proceeding out of the former to it. These names evidently refer to the places we have already identified as Dorchester and Wareham, the Dunium of Ptolemy having grown into Ridumo or Ridumium. The most important point we get from this work is the confirmatory evidence it gives that Isca is certainly not Exeter, but Dorchester. The exact distance between Wareham and Dorchester, in Roman miles, is fifteen, as here appears to be given between Isca Dumnorum and Ridumo.

The next geographical work to be dealt with is the *Ravennas*, a work of antiquity, but of unknown age or authorship. It furnishes catalogues of names placed in strings and groups, out of which I insert here such as can be identified with the places occurring in the other authors under consideration. I postpone to the end of this article the full catalogues embracing the places whose identification I do not attempt. The catalogue for Britain has: Tamaris, Uxelis, Scadum Nuniorum, Moridunum, Londinis, Bindogladia, Noviomagno, Venta Belgarum, Ravimago, Regentium, Cimetzone, Puntuobice; clearly beginning with the district about Ptolemy's town of Tamare, just west of the river Tamar, and ending in the district of the Regni and Attre-

bates. Uxelis we have had as Uxella. The third name in the list is evidently Isca Damnoniorum, our Dorchester. Next to it Moridunum, already assigned to Wareham under the names Dunium and Ridumo. It then comes up to Londinis (London). Bindogladia we have not previously met with; but shall find it presently as Vindocladia, and its place Winchester. Noviomagno is probably in Kent, as hereafter placed. Venta of the Belgæ is here in order, west of Vindocladia; and this agrees with the place with which we have already identified it, viz., Havant. Ravimago reminds the ear of Neomagus and Noviomagus, previously spoken of, but I cannot venture to identify it. Regentium may be a town of the Regni; but we have no other means to fix its position, unless it be Cissbury, a fine ancient fort in Sussex, in the district of the Regni, and of which more remains to be said presently. Cimetzione and Puntuobice are probably the Cunetione of the fourteenth Antonine *iter* and the Pontibus of the seventh, respectively to be identified as the town of the river Kenet in Wiltshire, and as Pointers in Surrey.

The next series begins in the country of the Silures, beyond the range of our districts, and has Venta Silurum (Caerwent), Isca Augusta (Caerleon), Glebon Colonia (Gloucester), and enters on the territory under discussion at Corinium Dobunorum; then has Calleva Atrebatum, Lemanis, and Dubris. Corinium we have dealt with from Ptolemy as Cirencester. Calleva Atrebatum remains to be identified, in the south-west corner of Surrey, near Haslemere, from the *Antonine Itinerary*; and Dubris we have already accepted, as universally admitted, for Dover. Starting again from this last place, we are taken to Duroverno Cantiacorum (Canterbury), Rutupis (Richborough), and to Durobrabis, which we shall presently find as Durobrivis, and place it at Rochester, to Londini, and so on into North Wales.

We now come to the *Antonine Itinerary*. It is of the same age as Ptolemy's work, and is conceived to have been compiled in direct connection with the journeys of the Emperor Hadrian, embracing, as it does, the whole of his empire, which he systematically visited.

The great value of the *Itinerary* rests on the fact that it gives precise distances from place to place, so that if only we can be sure of some starting-places, and that we under-

stand the measure applied to the distances, we cannot fail to identify the positions on a really correct map. In Londinium, Eboracum, Cataractoni, Portus Dubris, Portus Lemanis, Duroverno, Verolamio, Glevo, Isca Silurum, Aquæ Calidæ, Ratis, and Lindo, we have probably named all the places in England which have not been at one time or another justly the subject of difference of opinion as to their identity, and that are not more or less open to question; and this chiefly for the reason that the proper measure to be used has not been recognised. The important work on the *Antonine Itinerary*, by the Rev. Thos. Reynolds, published in 1799, contains much learning, and has been of much value to me; but in its principal object, that of identifying the places and distances, it signally fails, although it has remained the principal authority on the subject to the present time. Reynolds might even have overcome the errors of his dependence on the false Richard of Cirencester if he had correctly used Roman miles. Just as, in applying Ptolemy, we must first understand what he accepted as the measurement of a degree, we must know, in applying Antoninus, what was a Roman mile.

If it is urged that this measure cannot be absolutely settled, it may be pleaded that the differences amongst authorities are very slight; and that since there is no attempt in the *Antonine Itinerary* to deal separately with portions of the Roman mile, a very slight departure from a critically correct measure will be of no effect. As all the distances are given by Antoninus in full miles, it must, for instance, be taken that ten miles means a distance nearer to ten than to nine or eleven; that is to say, over nine miles and a half, and under ten miles and a half. It seems, too, that where he knew he had put down ten for something less than ten and a half, he would add the omitted part to make up an integer for his next measure; for in each *iter* he gives a total distance which is intended for the sum of all the figures put down, which it would not be if he had not balanced his fractional parts as he went along.

In the papers of the Institute of Architects it is laid down by Taylor, the partner of Cressy on *Roman Architecture*, that 1 foot 11 inches English is equal to 2 feet of ancient Roman measure; this being the regulated height for stone courses in numerous instances of ancient building. In

Smith's *Classical Dictionary* the Roman foot is said to be 11.6496 English inches ; or by another calculation, 11.62 inches ; making the Roman mile, 1618 or 1614 yards.

These authorities give the following proportions of the Roman to the English foot, .9583, .9708, .9683, and .9559. Previous calculations, such as I find in Nicholson's *Encyclopædia* (1809), give the Roman foot at .970 ; after Titus, .965 ; from rules, .9672 ; from buildings, .9681 ; from a stone, .9696 ; and the Roman mile of Pliny at 4840.5 feet English ; or of Strabo, 4903. These are founded on calculations of Professor Greaves, a once famous Oxford mathematician ; and of General Roy and Colonel Mudge, the founders of the English Ordnance Survey. By Reynolds the subject is fully discussed, and the authorities for the proportions named in the *Encyclopædia* are given, with the opinion of Dr. Long, the astronomer, "that the Roman mile, and the foot which measured it, seem to be pretty well ascertained." But then Reynolds falls into a singular and extraordinary error, which I believe has passed unnoticed ; and because the Roman foot is to the English foot as 967 to 1000, he infers that the Roman mile bears the same proportion to the English mile. But the Roman mile being 5000 Roman feet, and the English mile 5280 English feet, the proportion of the English miles is quite a different thing from that of the feet. Besides the altered size of the foot, the English mile has 280 English feet added on to it. Failing to notice this, Reynolds concluded that there was but little if any difference between the English and Roman miles ; and with General Roy's conclusion before him, that 11 English miles exceed 12 Roman by just 108 feet, he threw all authorities aside, and announced his own conclusion to be that the English and Roman miles were the same ; and on this mistake he set out the whole *Itinerary*.

The fact is that General Roy very nearly hit the truth. Taking the Roman foot at .9681 parts of an English foot, which is about the medium of the proportions previously given, 12 Roman miles of 5000 Roman feet each, make exactly 11 English miles and 6 feet. As may be shown thus:

1760 yds. $\times 3 = 5280$ English feet ; that is, 1 mile English measure.

Subtract 4840 English feet ; that is, 1 Roman mile of Pliny,
— — — — — wanting 6 inches.

The difference is 440 Eng. ft. less to a Roman mile than to an English.

Multiply 440 by 12=5280 feet, which is the English mile, Therefore, neglecting the 6 inches, in setting out 12 Roman miles, we fall short by just 1 English mile of 12 English ; which is to say that 12 Roman miles are 11 English and 6 feet. Another proof is a simple multiplication :

1 mile English=5280 ft. Eng. Multiply by 11=58080 ft.

1 mile Roman=4840 ft. Eng. Multiply by 12=58080 ft.

In applying the *Antonine Itinerary* to the English map, therefore, we must use 12 Roman for 11 English miles.

But, further, Mr. Reynolds having assumed a wrong size for the mile, found himself in the confusion that might be expected, and proceeded to find fault with the distances figured by Antoninus ; he corrects them when convenient to his identification by the false authority of Bertram of Copenhagen ; and, besides, he assumes mistakes, in the numerals of which there is no evidence whatever, only because he thinks an x or a v might have slipped in or slipped out, or an i have been put by mistake after (xi), when he would rather have it before (ix), he assumes the numerals in error. The only justification for supposing the numerals in error of manuscript must be when we find different copies or editions, giving different numerals to the same place. When this occurs we have no alternative but to accept some plausible solution of the difficulty, till a better turns up.

Of course it may be, perhaps I ought to say must be, that there are positive errors in the numerals of the distances in some cases ; and this is indicated where the sum of the *iter* does not agree with the parts. It may be difficult to say which is right, the sum or the items of it, and we are of course left to more or less uncertainty, but perhaps aided by a choice of readings. One kind of error I believe I have detected twice in the whole of England, which I think is not suggested by Reynolds, though it is in one of the cases suggested by the clever Bertram of Copenhagen. It is where a place seems to have dropped out of, or been missed from, the *Itinerary* altogether. One of these cases we shall touch upon, as it comes near to the districts we deal with, the other is in the north of England. The *iters* relating to the south of London are the third, fourth, and end of the second, the seventh, thirteenth,

fourteenth, and fifteenth. We will treat of them in this succession, using Roman miles in all our expressions.

ITER III.

A LONDINIO AD PORTUM DUBRIS, LXVI M.P.

DUROBRIVIS, XXVII ; DUROVERNO, XXV ; AD PORTUM DUBRIS, XIV.

As to the route to be followed there is no room for doubt. It is the ancient Roman road, the Watling Street from London to Rochester, to Canterbury and Dover. But the actual distance from London to Rochester is twenty-nine miles ; on to Canterbury is twenty-eight miles, and on to Dover is sixteen miles, or seventy-three miles in all. The Watling Street is lost between where it appears in the city of London, and reappears, nearly six miles off, just beyond Greenwich. The line of it shows that from London it continued for a considerable distance on the north side of the Thames, and my solution of the difficulty is that the twenty-seven miles to Rochester were measured from the Thames, at the point where some ferry carried the traffic across to Rotherhithe, very nearly where the Thames Tunnel now is. There is certainly an error in the numeral XXV from Rochester to Canterbury. It is rendered uncertain by the fact that the editions of Aldus and Simler say xv. But the correct distance is given in *iter* II, presently quoted—viz., XXVIII miles. The distance to Dover, XIV miles, falls short by one and a half miles, stopping at the little village of Buckland ; most likely because there, or half a mile on, at Charlton, was the post station, to which the measurement was taken, and not to the lofty cliffs where the castle stands, nor to the actual seashore.

ITER IV.

A LONDINIO AD PORTUM LEMANIS, LVIII M.P.

DUROBRIVIS, XXVII ; DUROVERNO, XXV ; AD PORTUM LEMANIS, XVI.

All the observations on the distances of London, Rochester, and Canterbury, made just above, apply here. The distance, XVI to Lympne—a place strongly marked by its Roman remains—is absolutely correct for Portus Lemanis.

ITER II.

This *iter* commences in the north of England, A. VALLE,

that is to say, from the wall beyond Carlisle, and proceeds to London. From London the latter part of it is—

NOVIOMAGO, x ; VAGNIACIS, XVIII ; DUROBRIVIS, IX ; DUROLEVO, XVI ;
DUROVERNO, XII ; AD PORTUM RITUPIS, X.

Instead of the direct road to Rochester taken by the two routes previously given, this journey is by a circuit to the south. It is unfortunate that in every instance except one—viz., from Durolevo to Duroverno, the numerals are more or less in doubt, owing to variations in different editions. The numeral x affixed to Noviomago is altered to XII in Harrison's first edition, whilst the numeral XVIII, affixed to Vagniacis, is altered to VI in Harrison's first edition, and to XVIII in Wesseling, from the Vatican copy. The majority of the editions favour the figures stated at the head. I will first point out that at nine miles from Rochester, on the line of the Watling Street, in the woods of Swanscombe parish, is a singular collection of earthworks, called on the Ordnance maps Clubber-lubber.¹ As the public road is here diverted for several miles from the Watling Street, these remains are little known and rarely visited. I take them to be the site of Vagniacis. If so, eighteen miles from this point and ten from London, that is, from the Rotherhithe ferry, as I take it, is Noviomago. The point falls a quarter of a mile south of Cold Harbour, just a mile north of Addington and west of Wickham Street. I do not know of Roman remains here, though the name Coldharbour bespeaks them, nor do I suppose, allowing for some uncertainty in the numerals, and possibly for roads not actually straight, that we are tied exactly to this point. The great encampment at Holwood Hill, about four miles to the south-east, has been supposed to be Noviomagus. It might be the fort above that town, and somewhere about Keston, the place itself, and this seems the likeliest solution. It is probable that the road from it to Vagniacis joined the Watling Street at Crayford, and thus broke the distance of XVIII or XVIII miles into two lengths. A Roman road from the south passes near to Holwood Hill, going direct for London. Durobrivis has been already

¹ On the six-inch scale maps, Clabber-labber, with a suggestion that it is derived from Caer-ber-larber. At Springhead, half a mile eastward, the map marks "Site of Roman town". Very numerous Roman antiquities have been found there.

admitted as Rochester, and we have here the distance to Durovernus, Canterbury, divided into two spaces—viz., to Durolevo XVI miles and on to Canterbury XII miles, making the actual true distance of twenty-eight miles. We have already had Durolevo, otherwise Burolevo in the Peutingerian tables, but it is here placed two miles nearer to Canterbury. Giving a preference to the Antonine measurement, it seems highly probable that Durolevo was near to the Roman fort, which lies just north of the Watling Street, close to Teynham Railway Station, and marked Durolevum on the inch scale Ordnance map; to this spot the distance exactly points. The *iter* takes us one station beyond Canterbury to the Port Ritupis. Richborough, where stands the Roman fortification considered to be Ritupis, has already been indicated by Ptolemy and the Peutingerian tables. It was in Hadrian's time an island. The distance does not actually reach to it, but only to the shore of the port on the main land, at the end of the Roman road called Each End, from hence it was about a mile and a half over the shallow waters to the castle or fort. I have found the omission of a water distance to be the rule of the Antonine reckonings, which only account for land travelling.

Two hundred and fifty years later than the time of this Itinerary, during all which this port was the chief port of Britannia for communication with the Continent, Rutupis was the head-quarters and seat of government of that great Roman officer already mentioned, of whom we hear in the *Notitia Dignitatum*—viz., “Viri spectabilis Comitis Littoris Saxonici”, or, in the language of to-day, of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, the direct successor in office of the Roman Comes, and still holding his seat at Walmer Castle, about eight miles from Rutupis. The Roman officer had for his garrison at Rutupis the Legio Secunda Augusta, which, two hundred and fifty years before, Ptolemy had found as I have shown at Maiden Castle, near Dorchester, and stretched out his subordinate garrisons right and left along the coast as follows:—viz., to the left: 1st. On the north shore of Kent, at Regulbium, now Reculver, the tribune of the first cohort of the Vetasians. 2nd. The præpositus of the light Fortensian troops at Othona (Numeri Fortensum), that is Ithamester, in Essex. 3rd. The præpositus of the Stablesian cavalry of Garrionum, at Gar-

tiononum, that is to say Burgh on the Sands, in Norfolk. 4th. At Branodun, now Brancaster, in Norfolk, at the entrance to the Wash, the Dalmatic cavalry of Branodun with their præpositus. To the right the first garrison station of the Roman Warden was at Dubris, now Dover; a force of Tungrican milites, under a præpositus. The second station was at Lemannis or Lympe, with Turnacensian troops and their præpositus. The third was at Anderida, with a præpositus and light troops of the Abulei. The name of the station Anderida occurs nowhere else in the authors we have reviewed, and except that it took its name from the great wood of Anderida, and that it was finally attacked and sacked by the South Saxons, we have no local relationships for it; yet by a very general consent it is now believed to be Pevensey, possessing considerable remains of Roman work in its castle walls, once having an important harbour and still a member of the Cinque ports. The fourth and last was at Portus Adurni, the name of which is retained to the present day in the river Adur, in Sussex, whose fort at Bramber was probably the station of this garrison—viz., the præpositus and light troops called Exploratores. The consideration of this last station is of great importance in the next *iter*.

ITER VII.

A REGNO LONDINIUM, xcvi.

CLAUSENTO, xx; VENTA BELGARUM, x; CALLEVA ATTREBATUM, xxii;
PONTIBUS, xxii; LONDINIO, xxii.

There is no question as to the numerals in this *iter*, with the single exception that one edition of the *Itinerary* gives the total at cxv, and another at cxvi, instead of the actual total, xcvi. The mistake seems to be the misplacing of the x in both the variations, and the accidental omission of the i in one.

No *iter* has been subject to a wider application. Camden places its commencement (Regnum) at Ringwood in Hampshire; Clausento he gave to Southampton, or its near neighbour, Bittern. Venta had been placed at Bristol; he removed it to Winchester. Calleva he thought Wallingford; others had thought it Oxford, and have since put it at Silchester and at Reading. Pontibus was put by Camden at

Colnbrook ; and since his time Longford, Windsor, and Old Windsor, have been advocated.

In 1723 an inscribed stone was dug up in the North Street at Chichester, and is, I believe, preserved at Goodwood. It is of the time of the Emperor Claudius ; and from the occurrence on it of a part of a name, GIDUBNI (the first portion of the word being broken off), which has been suggested to be COGIDUBNI, it was concluded that we have here the name of the native Prince, of whom Tacitus relates that having remained faithful to the memory of the Roman power, certain states out of the conquests of Ostorius Scapula were given "Cogiduno regi". This conclusion led to another assumption, viz., that the states given to "Cogidunus rex" must have been those of the Regni ; and lastly to another, viz., that the capital town of the Regni must be Regnum ; and that the discovery of the stone here declared Regnum to be Chichester. Depending on this chain of conjecture, the town Regnum has been invented out of the name of a people or district, and has by antiquaries been ever since annexed to Chichester. We know from Ptolemy that the Regni were a people, and that their town, Neomagus, lay a considerable distance inland ; therefore, when we read that this *iter* starts from Regnum, I conclude that it started from some place not given by name, but in the territory of the Regni ; which territory it is pretty evident from the position we have been obliged to give to their town, Neomagus, stretched across Sussex, the present Rape of Bramber forming about the centre of it. This territory, after some time, came to be the most westerly of the jurisdiction of the counts of the Saxon shore ; and their seat of authority within it was at Portus Adurni,¹ which can be none other than the port of the river Adur. This river descends almost the whole length of the Rape of Bramber, discharging into the sea now near to New Shoreham, but formerly near to Portslade and Aldrington. In Roman times, we may judge from the present aspect of the land, the river, which still forms a considerable pool up to Old Shoreham, was a tidal lake up to Beeding and Bramber. Bramber is in a strong military position, the key to the inner country. Its ruined Norman castle, and its Saxon earthworks and history, attest its ancient importance. Beneath its shelter grew up the ancient town of Steyning, and

¹ *Notitia Dignitatum*.

from it a Roman road leads to London. At Bramber, on the banks of the Adur, and overlooking the tidal lake, I cannot doubt was the seat of the *Præpositus Numeri Exploratorum*, stationed, as we know from the *Notitia Dignitatum*, at *Portus Adurni*, towards the end of the fourth century. To this once important town of Bramber, or to some important position near it, I look for the town of the princes of the *Regni* who preceded the *Præpositus* in the government of the district, and for the place from which this *iter* started.

At Cissbury, three miles west of Bramber, we have a remarkable earthen fort, with evidences of Roman and of earlier workmanship. It is an oval in form of plan, covering about sixty acres, its north side hanging over an almost inaccessible declivity, and in other parts having only two points of access. Its site is almost the highest point in this range of the South Downs, and so admirably is it placed for seaward observation, that from the central part of the area of the fort the white surf-line of the breaking sea upon the shore may be seen in clear weather, without interruption, from Selsey Bill to Beachey Head. It has two dependent camps in sight,—one to the south-west, on Highdown, four miles and a half distant; the other at Chanctonbury, two miles and a half distant due north; both of them admirable signal-stations. Highdown is an isolated mount commanding the whole flat country between the South Downs and the sea. Chanctonbury, 780 feet above the sea, looks directly down upon Bramber, and over the whole breadth of the weald of the *Regni*, including in the view the northern town of Neomagus.

From Cissbury I conclude this *iter* starts. The first stage is to Clausento, xx. The road seems to have been across the hills and valleys to Glating Beacon, just above the Roman villa of Bignor. Here it falls into the Roman Stane Street, which leads directly into Chichester at the exact distance of twenty miles. Chichester, therefore, was Clausento, and was one of the Roman towns, as we have seen, upon the waters of Trisanton. The next stage is to Venta Belgarum, x. The name not only distinguishes it from other towns named Venta in the *Itinerary*, but seems to indicate the passage from the territory of one people, the *Regni*, to that of another, the Belgæ. This place Venta, in

the country of the Belgæ, we have already placed tentatively, from Ptolemy, at Havant, the middle town of the Trisanton water. The distance given in this *iter* really settles the question, for the accurate measure is a little over nine miles and a half from the crossing of the streets at the centres of the two towns. From Havant a Roman road goes due north through the Forest of Bere, by Rowland's Castle, near which "Roman remains" are marked on the Ordnance Map; but what they are, I do not know. That there was a road right through to London is pretty certain, though a great deal of it remains to be discovered and marked out. From Venta to Londinium the journey is sixty-six miles, and this is the exact distance from Havant to London by a nearly straight route. The *iter* divides this distance into three stages, each of twenty-two miles. The first is Venta to Calleva Atrebatum, XXII. Here we again pass from the Belgæ to another people, the Atrebatæ; that is to say, from Hampshire into Surrey. Strange to say, no commentator has noticed the difference in this name and the Calleva of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth *iters*. In those three cases it is simply Calleva; in this *iter* it has the distinction of another Calleva, viz., of the Atrebatæ. Unless this distinction is admitted, it is impossible to lay out these *iters*. The distance (twenty-two from Havant) brings us close to Haslemere in Surrey, which I believe to have been Calleva of the Atrebatæ, though the road passed somewhat to the west of it, just as a railway now-a-days leaves its towns a little aside. To the next place, Pontibus, is XXII, and it is the same distance from London. After testing the many places suggested for this station, for more than a quadrant of the circle round London, and for all degrees of the circle round other places to which it has been misconnected by antiquaries, and rejecting them all as incompatible with the distance, what was my surprise to find with twenty-two miles in the compasses both from Haslemere and from London, that one leg of the compasses fell upon the name Pointers on the inch-scale Ordnance Map, as if the name Pontibus were still preserved there. My meditated visit to the place has never yet been paid, nor have I ever been nearer to it than at Cobham in Surrey, from which it is about a mile and a half south-west. From Haslemere, the road (well known to be

Roman) lies through Godalming and Guildford, and passes a full mile west of Pointers and Pointers' Green, along the hill from which, at Red Hill, a by-road goes off at right angles down to the river Mole, where Pointers and Pointers' Green stand. To the point where this branch-road goes off, the distance seems to fall exactly. The main road is here equidistant from the river Mole and the river Wey. Their proximity and their bridges perhaps suggested the name Pontibus. Further on, about two miles, the road, after passing over Pain's Hill, crossed the river Mole itself, and so pursued its way, and fulfilled its correct distance of twenty-two to London. The place Pontibus, or Pontes, seems to have given name to the hundred in which it stands, viz., the hundred of Emley Bridge, written formerly Elmeley Bridge, and in *Domesday Book* "Amelebrige".

ITER XIII.

AB ISCA CALLEVAM, CIX.

The first part of this *iter* is in Wales, which the limits of our subject will not allow us to discuss. It crosses the Severn at *Glevum* (Gloucester). The next stages are to DUROCORNIO, XIV, or in the Vatican MS., XVIII; SPINIS, XV; CALLEVA, XV. The sum of the items is short of the sum total given by ten miles.

The distance (XIV) from Gloucester to Durocornovio will not reach to Cirencester, to which this name is usually allocated, but only to North Cerney on the same river. To the latter place our associate Mr. Black assigned it; and in rejecting Cirencester, he gave the opinion that the rich and extensive Roman town still to be seen there was not founded in the early days of the Roman dominion, when the Antonine survey was made. It occurs to me that the Corinium of Ptolemy, which it has been usually thought is the Durocornovio of this *iter*, is certainly a different place; and that these two names really give us Durocornovio for North Cerney, and Corinium for Cirencester; the latter, even when Ptolemy put it down as the principal town of the Dobuni, being a much more considerable place than its neighbour, although for some reason the Emperor Hadrian's route was directed to the smaller place of the two. But whether North Cerney or Cirencester be assumed, the distance (xv)

to Spinis brings us into difficulties. The place called Speen, a little west of Newbury in Berkshire, was fixed upon by Camden for Spinis; and standing, as Speen does, at the junction of two Roman roads, whilst also Spinis is the junction station of this and of the next *iter* to be quoted, the circumstances seem to justify Camden's choice. But then how are we to account for the distance xv, when the actual distance is, from Cerney to Speen, thirty-eight miles, or from Cirencester, thirty-six miles? I can only account for it by the suggestion that the name and distance of a place between Durocornovio and Spinis has from very early times been erroneously omitted altogether in the *Itinerary*. Perhaps even the omission was the error of the original scribe. If Spinis and Speen are correctly identified, this lost place was fifteen miles from it, in the direction of Cirencester. The point on the Roman road, at this distance, falls exactly at the Manor Farm on Wanborough Plain, about midway between the villages of Wanborough and Baydon. Here I suggest is the place whose name and distance from Durocornovio are altogether lost in the *Itinerary* copies; and the next *iter* also shows that Spinis was fifteen miles from Calleva. Calleva is also the starting-place of the fifteenth *iter*, which makes it still more important to establish its identification. I have already shown that this Calleva is to be distinguished from Calleva Attrebatum of the seventh *iter*. No name has had so many different identifications as Calleva. Camden thought it Wallingford; Henley, Farnham, Silchester, Oxford, and Reading, have had other advocates. But if Spinis be Speen, then the distance shows that Silchester, fifteen miles from it, is the only place which has a claim to the name. Silchester has long been known for its walls of Roman masonry with a circuit of near three miles; and by the labours of the Rev. Mr. Joyce of Strathfieldsaye, in recent years, our knowledge of its marks of Roman antiquity, has been greatly extended. As long ago as 1732 an inscription was dug up, which showed the people whose city it was in Roman times to have been the Segontiaci. These people, nearly two hundred years before Hadrian's journey, appeared by an embassy before, and submitted to, Julius Cæsar when he reached the furthest point of his second invasion. Their ambassadors were joined with those of their immediate neighbours, the Bibroci,

or people of Berroc, *i.e.*, Berkshire ; also with those of the Cassii, *i.e.*, the people of Middlesex and of Cashiobury in Hertfordshire ; with the Ancalites, probably a people of some part of Hampshire ; besides the Icenii Magni, the neighbours, in another direction, of the Trinobantes, whose quarrels had brought Cæsar to Britain. Ptolemy does not distinguish the Segontiaci as a separate people in his time ; and the probability is that, being of Gaulish descent, they had then come to be included in his mind with the Belgæ. Nor is their town named by him ; yet Calleva, which seems to be the city of the Segontiaci, is named in three iters of Ptolemy's contemporary, Hadrian. Coins found in abundance at Silchester show that the place was known to the Romans from immediately after the invasion of Claudius. Probably its importance greatly increased under the Roman rule ; and when Hadrian visited it, it was in comparatively humble condition. The name appearing three times in his iters as simply Calleva, may be thought a little singular ; and it may be a matter for wonder why it was not distinguished as Calleva Segontiacorum, just as the other, Calleva Attrebatum, was distinguished by the name of its people.

But to sum up. It really seems, 1st, that by the mention of the Attrebates at the one Calleva, and not at the other in its three repetitions, the distinction was sufficiently marked ; 2nd, that Silchester is the town of the Segontiaci, the inscription discovered in 1732 proves ; and therefore, if Calleva at all, it is Calleva Segontiaci. 3rd, that it is Calleva is proved by its distance of fifteen miles from Spinis or Speen repeated in two iters. I ought to add that the distance is not measured from the modern village of Speen, called Church Speen, but from the place called Stock Cross, near Wood Speen, about a mile and a quarter west of Church Speen. The station Spinis lay, in fact, in the fork between the two junction-roads from Aquæ Solis and Duro-cornovio, a little before they united on their way to Calleva. How Calleva came to be so called by the Romans, whilst with the Britons it long retained, in the appellation *Caer Segont* (as it appears in Nennius), the name of its ancient people, and how finally it came to take the appellation of Silchester, are difficult questions which I am not competent to enter upon. Its latest appellation it seems to gain from its neighbourhood to the same source which gives to that

hugest of English barrows near Avebury the name of Silbury, and to the great forest of Wiltshire the name of Silwood.

ITER XIV.

ALIO ITINERE AB ISCA CALLEVAM, CIII.

VENTA SILURUM, IX; ABONE, IX; TRAJECTUS, IX; AQUIS SOLIS, VI; VERLUCIONE, XV; CUNETIONE, XX; SPINIS, XV; CALLEVA, XV.

The total is here in error ten, and should be one hundred and thirteen. The subordinate distances are not open to any question of variation in different copies, yet their discrepancy in the total raises the question whether there is not some error of ten in one of the items.

From Isca Silurum, or Caerleon, to Venta Silurum, or Caerwent, is almost nine miles; thence by the Via Julia to Crick, and turn off to the Severn by Portskewet, and to the Roman camp on the shore at Southbrook Chapel, near to Portskewet Pill; cross the Severn to the promontory at the Chessel Pill; thence by Pilning Street to Awkley Farm, and so through Almondsbury to the Roman Ridgeway at Almondsbury Hill, and a little beyond the Hill the distance is nine miles, leaving out the water-passage. To the right of the road is the fine ancient encampment of Knole Park, which was probably the fort of ancient Abone, the place itself being only a small station on the road. The way to Aquæ Solis continues by Wood Green and Trench Lane, and is not further distinguishable on the map; but the distance, Trajectus IX, reaches to a camp on the river Boyd, one mile south of the village of Abstone. To Aquis Solis, VI, brings us exactly to Bath.

I have passed rapidly through the route up to this station, as the places previous to Aquis Solis are not within the limits of the present discussion. From Aquis Solis to Spinis the present existence of a direct Roman road has led to the supposition that this direct route must be followed, although it brings us into a difficulty exactly the reverse of that encountered in the last *iter*. There the perplexity was that the distances given fell considerably short of Speen. In this *iter*, if the direct route from Aquis Solis is followed, the distances are in excess, which plainly indicates that a circuitous and not a direct route was chosen. The two names, Verlucione and Cunetione, given between Bath

and Speen, like Derventione in another *iter*, seem to be places deriving their appellations from rivers. Just as Derventione is named from the Derwent, and Cunetione in all probability from the Kennet, so Verlucione may have been derived from a stream having the first part of that name, Verlet or Verlut-ione. Bishop Gibson finds a stream near to Westbury, in Wiltshire, called the Ware, which induced him to fix on Westbury for Verlucione, thinking that river to preserve in its name the first syllable of the old word. Camden preferred the neighbouring town of Warminster, evidently also led by the first syllable of that name, although not mentioning the river Ware. Until the river of Verluc-ione is satisfactorily identified, which I am not able to do, it is probably not possible to identify the place itself, because there is little to show whether the route bent to the north or to the south of the direct road between Bath and Speen. If to the north, then it probably went by the old British road, the Fosseway, about to Chippenham, and then turned towards Speen by the road through Calne, uniting with the direct road near Silbury Hill; but Chippenham stands on the river Avon, and I can scarcely think if that river had once taken a more distinctive name that the older generic word Avon would now attach to it. If this makes it probable that the route went to the south-east on quitting Bath, then the distances bring us to the neighbourhood of Edgington and Coulston, on the north verge of Salisbury Plain, where only some small springs take their rise. At Edgington and the neighbouring village of Bratton, or rather on the lofty crests of the hills above, there are important earthworks; and this point, if it be Verlucione, would be the only one by which the Emperor Hadrian visited the remarkable country which we call Salisbury Plain. From hence the route would lay through Devizes, joining the direct road to Speen, also near Silbury Hill. This great direct road, which was certainly a British road before it was Roman, then passes on near to the great stone circle of Avebury, crosses the Kennet at Marlborough, and beyond that town the course of the river is nearly parallel to the road. At about two miles east of Marlborough, and somewhere within a mile of the Kennet, and on the verge of Savernake forest, the distance xv miles from Spinis places Cunet-ione. The place may have been

a mere post station, and the town of Marlborough the growth of a later time, or as at Speen, where that place has for ages sunk into insignificance, extinguished by the growth of the now ancient but once new town of Newbury. The concluding town of this *iter*, Calleva, has been fully treated of as the concluding town of the preceding *iter*.

ITER XV.

A CALLEVA ISCA DUMNUNIORUM, CXXXVI.

VINDOMI, XV; VENTA BELGARUM, XXI; BRIGE, XI; SORBIODUNI, VIII; VIN-
DOCLADIA, XII; DURNOVARIA, IX; MORIDUNO, XXXVI; ISCA DUMNUNI-
ORUM, XV.

The discrepancy of the sum total with the items again perplexes us, the actual sum total being one hundred and twenty-seven. It is also suggested by Akerman that the name of the starting place, Calleva, is uncertain. This final route is perhaps the most interesting of all the *iters*, from the confirmation it gives to and receives from the examination of Ptolemy; from its connection with the termination of the last two *iters*; from its union to the seventh *iter*, and from the fact that its identification differs at every station except the starting point from all previous attempts to map out the route.

Silchester was an important centre, upon which two of the routes already traced converged, but there still exist the lines of ancient roads which converged upon it from other places—viz., from Old Sarum and the country of the Durotriges beyond, from Winchester and Magnus Portus, from Londinium, and from the country north of the forest of Berroc. In the direction we have now to take at starting the traces of the road are lost. The distance to the first station, Vindomis xv, and to the second station, Venta Belgarum xxi, makes thirty-six miles, but the actual distance to Venta Belgarum or Havant, in a straight line, is between thirty-eight and thirty-nine miles. Nearly on this straight line and about sixteen from Silchester is the ancient town of Alton (Ald-ton or Old-town possibly), and this it seems probable was Vindomis. From it to Venta Belgarum or Havant the route lay through the forest of Andred. I cannot agree with those who insist that we must point out a Roman road wherever the *iter* leads us. It is highly probable that some of these early Roman roads

were of but a temporary construction, and fell into oblivion during the subsequent two hundred and fifty years of the Roman occupation of the country. The discrepancy of three miles in the distance is, perhaps, to be accounted for by the measure being merely that of the by road between the points where it touched the main roads out of Calleva and Venta. From Venta the route turns westward, and the first stage is BRIGE, XI, which distance falls almost exactly to the river at Titchfield, just north of Titchfield Abbey. SORBIODUNO VIII is written VIII in one edition. The distance VIII brings it just to the estuary of the Itchen, opposite Southampton, but the line of road takes it in the direction of the Roman fortifications at Bittern, opposite the sister town of Northam. The abundant Roman remains found at Bittern leave no doubt of its Roman occupation, and incline me to give the name Sorbioduno to Bittern rather than to Southampton. The next stage, Vindocladia XII, whether from Bittern or from Southampton, ends actually at the ancient city of Winchester. From Winchester to Durnovaria IX (with, however, the uncertainty imported by one edition, which gives the numeral XVI) brings us to the Romsey, to the flowing waters of which the name Durnovaria well applies. The next stage, to Moriduno, XXXVI, reaches exactly to the Dunium, Ridunum, or Wareham, on which from Ptolemy and others we have already said so much. From Wareham to Isca Dumnoniorum, XV, ends the route exactly at Dorchester, and confirms the identification suggested by the previous consideration of Ptolemy. If I am correct, this place was at one period, and most likely for a considerable time, the Roman capital of the south of Britain. Some importance of this kind gave to the district an early prosperity, and a teeming population, of which a curious evidence survives in the minuteness of the ancient subdivisions of Dorsetshire. The county is subdivided into fifty-six hundreds and liberties. The much larger county of Devon contains only thirty-two hundreds, indicating three thousand two hundred families, when Dorset indicates probably more than five thousand six hundred.

I have now completed, to the best of my ability, the task of applying the measurements of Ptolemy and the *Antonine Itinerary*. In such an attempt one student can hardly be

successful. There is so much room for the application of local knowledge, and so much space for the criticism of authorities on the Roman antiquities of Britain, that if I can only hope to have gained the attention of those qualified to point out the correct conclusions, my purpose will be served.

I have purposely postponed to this place the complete consideration of one author, viz., *The Ravennas*. It would have inconveniently overloaded the argument to have introduced sooner the names of places which this author furnishes, but which neither Ptolemy nor Antoninus help us to identify; yet as *The Ravennas* affords the most copious list of ancient classical names for English places, of any ancient author, and as they complete the evidence in existence of the Roman nomenclature of British geography, the list in full for the districts we have had under consideration cannot well be omitted. I think, too, that the author deserves more attention than he has hitherto received. I cannot pretend to enter into the question when he wrote, further than to remind my readers that the author quotes St. Paul, and speaks of the Saxons having formerly passed over from Antiqua Saxonia, and occupied Britain, and that in describing the country he speaks of it in the past tense. The edition I have used is that published with the works of Pomponius Mela, published in 1696, ex *MS. Lugdunensi*. So far as I use it I quote the author literally, but I distinguish the places hereinbefore identified by printing them in capitals. The work is divided into five books, of which book I is introductory; book II describes Asia; book III, Africa; book IV, Europe; book V, from which the extracts are made, describes the coasts of the Mediterranean and of other seas, and describes the islands of the seas. Concerning the places in Britain it begins and proceeds thus:

“In qua Britannia plurimas fuisse legimus civitates et castra ex quibus aliquantas designare volumus, id est, Giano, Eltabo, Elconio, Nemetotacio, TAMARIS, Durocoronavis, Pilais, Vernalis, Ardua, Ravenatione, Devionisso, Statio Deventia, Stene, Duriarno, UXELIS Verteoia, Melarnon, ISCADUM¹ NUMORUM, Termonin, Mostevia, Miledunum, Apaumaris, Masona, Alongium; item juxta suprascriptam civitatem SCADOMORUM est civitas quæ dicitur MORIDUNO, Alanna Silva, Omire, Tedertis, LON-DINIS, Canca, Dolocindo, Clavinio, Morionio, Boluelanio, ALAUNA, Coloneas, Aranus, Anicetis, Moiezo, Ibernio, BINDOGLADIA, NOVIOMAGNO,

¹ These are printed Melarnoni, Scadum Numerum.

Orma, VENTA BELGARUM, Armis, Ardaoneon, Ravimago, REGENTIUM, Lencomoga, CIMETZIONE, PUNTUOBICE."

There is no break in the list, although this, so far, seems intended for a survey from Cornwall to London, and into Kent and Sussex; and the next place named takes us into Wales, the list proceeding as follows:

"VENTA SILURUM, Jupanía, Metambala, Albinunno, ISCA AUGUSTA, Bannio, Brenna, Alabum, Cicutio, Magnis, Branogenium, Epocessa, Ypocessa, Macatonion, GLEBON COLONIA, Argistillum, Vertis, Salinis, CORINIUM DOBUNORUM, CALEBA ATTREBATIUM, Anderesio, Miba, Mutuan-tonis, LEMANIS, DUBRIS."

Here again seems to be the end of a series which stretches across the country from Caerleon to Dover. The list continues without a break:

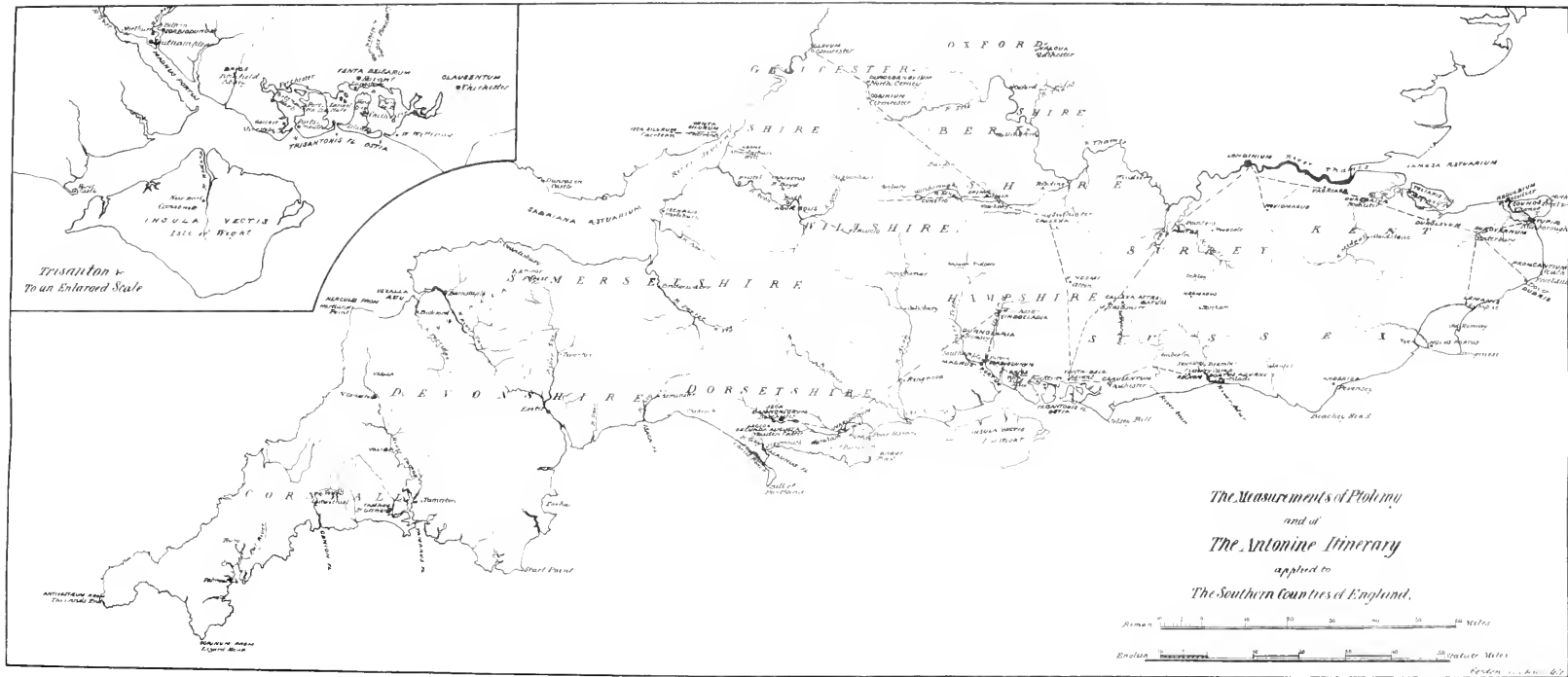
"DUROVERNO CANTIACORUM, RUTUPIS, DUROBRABIS, LONDINI, Tamese, Brinavis, Alauna, Utriconion Cornoninorum".

And so having arrived as far north as Staffordshire and Shropshire, continues into North Wales, returns to London (this time called "Londinium Augusta"), proceeds into Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Lincolnshire, and on to the line of Hadrian's Wall and Carlisle, and thence back to York, naming sixty-seven places from the last quoted. The author then announces the commencement of a fresh district, and proceeds to the line of the Wall and the countries north of it, naming eighty-two *civitates*, and five places which he calls *loca*. He concludes thus:

"Currunt autem per ipsam Britanniam plurima flumina, ex quibus aliquanta nominare volumus, id est, Fraxula, Axium, Maina, Sarva, TAMARIS, Naurum, Abona, Isca, Tamion, Aventio, Leuca, Juctius, Leugosena, Coantia, Dorvatium, Antrum, Tinoa, Liar, Lenda, Vividin, Durolani, Alauna, Coguvensuron, Darbris, LEMANA, Rovia, Ractomessa, Senua, Cimca, Velox."

This list of rivers is remarkable for its deficiencies. The Iscs, the Axes, and the Avons, are represented in it, but not so as to identify any particular river. Of the rivers of the southern counties only the Tamar and the Lympne are certainly in the list. Perhaps the Thames is named as the "Tamion"; Alauna may be the one identified as the Wey; and "Durbis" is probably written for Dubris or Dover. "Rovia", as it occurs immediately after the Lympne, may mean the Rother, at the opposite extremity of Romney Marsh.





ON AN "EXULTET" OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

BY E. M. THOMPSON, ASSISTANT KEEPER OF THE MSS., BRITISH MUSEUM.

"Pictures are poor men's books."—JOH. DAMASC.

I HAVE the honour to lay before the Association a description of a MS. which I believe to be the only one of its kind to be found in England. It was purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum in 1877, and now forms a part of the national collections, bearing the number, Additional MS. 30,337. It is in the form of a long roll of vellum, measuring 22 feet 6 inches in length by 11 inches in breadth, made up of twelve skins sewed together with strips of the same material; and it is one of those liturgical MSS. to which the name of "Exultet" is given from the first word with which the service contained in them begins. This service is that of the consecration of the Easter taper (the *cereus paschalis*), the ceremony of whose hallowing and lighting took place on Easter Eve.

The text of the service is written in so-called Lombardic or Beneventine characters, with the addition of pneumas for chanting; and at intervals are painted large pictures filling the entire width of the roll, and thus dividing the text into sections. These pictures are reversed for the following reason. As the deacon proceeded in the celebration of the service he threw the end of the roll over the front of the ambo or reading-desk, and gradually pushed it forward, so that it hung down and could be seen by the congregation, who had the pictures thus placed before them in the right position. As will presently be seen, the paintings are intended to illustrate and exemplify different passages in the text, and the meaning of certain of them would be clear even to the ignorant. Others, however, the greater part of the congregation, could hardly have understood. But they were, no doubt, content to gaze on the brilliantly coloured designs, and leave the solution of their meaning to their betters. This custom seems to have been confined to southern Italy. The character of the writing seems to be always the same, and the rolls which

are extant appear to be all of the eleventh or twelfth centuries. Our roll belongs to the later period.

There are not many specimens of "Exultet" rolls which have survived to our times. Seroux d'Agincourt, in his *Histoire de l'Art par les Monuments*,¹ has given a description and drawing of one in his own possession, together with specimens of those in the Vatican, the Barberini, and the Minerva, libraries in Rome. Others are described by Natale in his *Lettera intorno ad una colonna del Duomo di Capua* (the candlestick, in fact, for the taper), 1776, and by Raimondo Guarini in his *Ricerche sull' antica Città di Eclano*,² as I learn from a paper by Professor Wattenbach in the *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit*,³ for I have not been fortunate enough to see copies of those works. In this last mentioned paper Professor Wattenbach has also given a short description of an "Exultet" in private hands in Nürnberg—the solitary example in the whole of broad Germany. This example is assigned to the eleventh century, and differs from others in having its miniatures not reversed; so that it may be doubted whether it was used in the ordinary way, as the congregation would have had before them the pictures inverted. Our roll seems to resemble the one in the Barberini library more closely than the others.

As will be seen in the transcript below, the service closes with special prayers for the Emperor and for "comes noster", the ruler within whose country the roll was executed. Unfortunately no name is given; but it is not impossible that the Emperor here prayed for is Frederic Barbarossa, who succeeded to the empire in 1152. For it will be noticed that no mention is made of the Emperor's children in the text of the prayer; but that the words "et filiorum eius" are a later marginal addition. One would therefore suppose that the roll was executed at a period when the reigning Emperor had no children; and we know that Frederic's eldest son was not born till 1165, that is, thirteen years after his father's accession.

A few words as to the character of the drawings and ornamentation. The outlines in the miniatures are generally bold, and the figures fairly modelled. Some of the drawing is, however, inferior, notably that of the Virgin and Child

¹ Tom. ii, 66, and tom. v, pl. 53-56.

² Naples, 1814.

³ N. F., 1878, No. 8.

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in the miniature numbered 13 below. The features are drawn with the pen, and generally washed over with colour, without much attempt at shading. The prevailing colours are bright red and blue, which are relieved by a large use of an olive tint. Gilding in some of the miniatures is profuse. As is frequently the case in MSS. of Italian and other south-European countries, where a highly polished vellum was in favour, the colours and gilding have peeled off to a great extent. The E of the word "Exultet", and the U of "Uere", in the middle of the service, are large ornamental letters of the usual Lombardic type, divided into compartments, gilt, and filled with interlaced patterns in colours, and terminating in monsters' heads. The smaller initials are gilt outlined in red, and are filled with various colours.

The following is a transcript of the text and description of the miniatures in order as they are painted on the roll. The Plate represents two sections which contain the miniatures here numbered 3, 4, 5, 10, 11 :

[1. Our Saviour enthroned. In His left hand is an open book resting on the knee; the right arm raised in benediction. On either side is an angel adoring. Beneath, in capital letters, is written "LUMEN XPISTI. LUMEN XPI. LUMEN XPI.]"

"EXULTET IAM ANGELICA TURBA CÆLORUM, EXULTENT DIVINA MISTERIA,
ET PRO TANTI REGIS VICTORIA TUBA INTONET SALUTARIS.

[2. A group of angels: four standing abreast in front, with others behind them. They carry long wands.]

"Gandeat se tantis tellus irradiatam (*sic*) fulgoribus, et eterni regis splendore lustrata tocius orbis se senciāt amisisse caliginem.

"Letetur¹ et mater ecclesia tanti luminis adornata fulgoribus, et magnis populorum uocibus hæc aula resultet.

[3. The interior of a basilica, represented by a section of the building forming the nave and aisles. In the nave stands "MATER ECCLESIA", a tall female figure wearing a crown, and clad in a blue robe with broad gilt borders, her hands resting on the springs of the arch. In the left aisle is a group of tonsured clergy; in the right, the lay congregation, the prominent figures of which are a man and a woman carrying a child.]

[4. Immediately above No. 3 is the nude figure of a woman with arms outspread, and buried to the waist in the earth, on which are growing conventional shrubs and trees. At her right breast a heifer is sucking; at her left, a snake. She is mother Earth who feeds good and bad, as some interpret the heifer and snake to mean; or, perhaps, the living creatures of the dry land and of the earth-encircling sea.]

"Quapropter nos astantes, fratres carissimi, ad tam miram sancti

¹ From want of the proper type, the e with a dot beneath represents e with cedilla in the MS.

huius luminis claritatem, una mecum, queso, dei omnipotentis misericordiam inuocate

[5. The interior of the basilica. In the centre stands the ambo elaborately worked and inlaid, from which the deacon is chanting the service, and with outstretched arm blesses the huge taper which stands in front, and which an acolyte is on the point of lighting. The roll hangs from the ambo and is being examined with curiosity by the congregation below,—a few queer little figures who twist their necks in their endeavours to see the paintings. The rest of the congregation is seen behind the ambo, on the right; on the left stand the clergy.]

"Ut qui me, non meis meritis, intra leuitarum numerum dignatus est aggregare, luminis sui gratiam infundendo cerei huius laudem implere præcipiat

"Per dominum nostrum Jesum xpiſtum filium suum, uiuentem seculum atque regnantem in unitate spiritus sancti deum,

"Per omnia sæcula seculorum, Amen. Dominus uobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. Sursum corda. Habemus ad dominum. Gratias agamus domino deo nostro. Dignum et iustum est.

"VERE QUIA DIGNUM ET IUSTUM EST ÆQUUM ET SALUTARE

"Te inuisibilem deum patrem omnipotentem, filiumque tuum unigenitum, dominum nostrum ih̄m xp̄m, toto cordis ac mentis affectu et uocis ministerio personare,

"Qui pro nobis tibi, æterno patri, ade debitum soluit, et ueteris piaculi caucionem pro cruore deterisit.

[6. The Crucifixion. In the centre, Our Lord crucified; His feet not crossed. On the left the three Maries; on the right St. John, the Centurion, and an attendant soldier. Above, the sun turned to blood, and the moon hiding her face in deep blue.]

"Hęc sunt enim festa paschalia in quibus uerus ille agnus occiditur, eiusque sanguine postes consecrantur.

"Hęc nox est in qua primum patres nostros, filios israhel, eductos ex egypto, rubrum mare sicco uestigio transire fecisti.

[7. The passage of the Red Sea. On the right are the children of Israel, who have crossed in safety, Moses with his wand at their head. Near him is Miriam holding in her hand the scroll of her song of triumph; and close by is, as I suppose, Aaron with his flowering rod. Pharaoh's host, his chariots and horsemen, lie under the waves which fill the left of the picture.]

"Hęc igitur nox est quę peccatorum tenebras columnę illuminatione purganit.

"Hęc nox est quę hodie per uniuersum mundum in xp̄isto credentes a uiciis seculi segregatos et caligine peccatorum reddit gratię, sociat sanctitati.

"Hęc nox est in qua destructis uinculis mortis xp̄istus ab inferis uictor ascendit.

"Nichil enim nobis nasci profuit, nisi redimi profuisset.

[8. The Harrying of Hell. Christ, bearing a long cruciform stave in his right hand, is seen within the gates of Hell; the Evil One lies trampled beneath His feet, in the midst of flames; the gates are shattered; hinges, bolts, and locks, lie dispersed. On the right is a group of souls of the departed, at whose head stands Adam, whom Christ is rescuing and leads forth by the arm, and near him is Eve. On the left are a company of saints and prophets, at whose head are John the Bap-

tist bearing a label on which is written "Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollis peccata mundi", and David.]

"O mira circa nos tuę pietatis dignacio. O inestimabilis dileccio caritatis. Ut serum redimeres, filium tradidisti.

"O certe necessarium adę peccatum quod xpi morte deletum est.

"O felix culpa, quę talem ac tantum meruit habere redemptorem.

[9. The Fall of Man. Eve, in the centre, thrusts the forbidden fruit with her left hand into Adam's mouth, while she receives it with her right from the serpent which coils round the tree, his tail being twisted round and fettering the ankles of the woman.]

"O beata nox quę sola meruit scire tempus et horam, in qua xpistus ab inferis resurrexit.

"Hęc nox est de qua scriptum est, Et nox ut dies illuminabitur, et nox illuminacio mea in deliciis meis.

[10. Noli me tangere. Mary Magdalen, in the garden, kneels before Our Lord, who moves away while he looks back upon her.]

"Huius igitur sanctificacio noctis fugat scelera, culpas lauat, reddit innocenciam lapsis, mestis leticiam, fugat odia, concordiam parat, et curuat imperia.

[11. Censing the taper, a subject nearly similar in arrangement to No. 5; but here the ambo is unoccupied. At the foot of the steps stands a deacon with the congregation behind him; on the left the officiating deacon swings a censer in front of the taper; behind him a group of laymen and clergy.]

"In huius igitur noctis gracia suscipe, sancte pater, incensi huius sacrificium uestertinum, quod tibi in hac cerei oblacione sollemni per ministrorum manus de operibus apam sacrosancta reddit ecclesia.

"Sed iam columnę huius preconiā nouimus quam in honore dei rutilans ignis accendit.

"Qui licet sit diuinus in parte, mutuati tamen luminis detrimenta non nouit.

"Aliter liquantibus ceris, quam in substanciam preciosę huius lampadis apes mater eduxit.

"Apis ceteris quę subiecta sunt homini animantibus antecellit.

"Cum sit enim minima corporis paruitate, ingentes animos angusto uersat in pectore, niris imbecillis sed fortis ingenio.

"Hęc explorata temporum uices, cum caniciem pruinosa hiberna posuerint, et glaciale senium uerni temporis moderata deterse-rit, statim prodeundi laborem cura succedit.

[12. A flower garden in which bees are flying and gathering honey. On the left are the hives, oblong boxes raised on a framework, from one of which the bee-master, having removed the side, is cutting honey with his knife and receiving it into a bowl.]

"Disperseque per agros libratis paululum pennis, errantibus suspensis insidunt.

"Partim ore legentes flosculos, onerate nictalibus suis ad castra remeant.

"Ibique alię inestimabili arte cellulas tenaci glutino instruunt, alię liquancia mella stipant, alię uertunt flores in ceram, alię ore fingunt, alię collectam e foliis nectar includunt.

"O nere mirabilis apis cuius nec sexum masculi uiolant, fetus non quassat, nec filii destruunt castitatem.

[13. The Virgin and Child. The figure of the Child is out of all

proportion small. An angel originally stood on either side ; but both have been cut out.]

"Sicut sancta concepit uirgo, uirgo peperit, et uirgo permansit.

"O uere beata nox quę expoliavit egypcios, ditauit hebreos, nox in qua terrenis celestia iunguntur.

[14. The interior of the basilica, an arrangement similar to No. 3. The deacon in the ambo is blessing the taper which an acolyte is censuring ; a priest holding a large book stands on the right, near the steps of the ambo, with the congregation behind him ; on the other side is a mixed group of clergy and laymen. In this miniature is also seen the roll hanging from the ambo, and the group of small figures examining it from below.]

"Oramus te, domine, ut cereus iste, in honorem nominis tui consecratus, ad noctis huius caliginem destruendam indeficiens perseueret, et in odorem suauitatis acceptus supernis luminaribus misceatur.

"Flammas eius lucifer matutinus inueniat, ille, inquam, lucifer qui nescit occasum, ille qui regressus ab inferis humano generi serenus illuxit.

"Precamur ergo te, domine, ut nos famulos tuos, omnem clerum et deuotissimum populum, una cum beatissimo papa nostro, et antistite nostro, presentis uite quiete concessa, gaudiis facias perfriui sempiternis.

"Memento eciam, domine, famuli tui, imperatoris nostri, necnon [et filiorum eius]¹, et famuli tui comitis nostri,² cum omni exercitu eorum,³ et celestem eis concede uictoriam, et his qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium landis premia eterna largiaris."

¹ Added in the margin.

² An attempt has been made to erase the words "comitis nostri".

³ "Cetu eorum" is written in the margin.

FOLK-MEDICINE.

BY WILLIAM GEORGE BLACK, ESQ.

SINCE Mr. W. J. Thoms gave the word "folk-lore" to our language, the study of the home-learning of the people has grown with much rapidity, owing probably to the fact that it is found to afford the best insight obtainable into the character of a nation, without considerable knowledge of which the pages of history are difficult to read. As it is mentioned in the statement of the aims of this Association, that its objects are to investigate, preserve, and illustrate, not only those subjects which are supposed more especially to fall under the name "archæological", but also the manners and customs of our forefathers, I am encouraged to bring before your notice a special branch of folk-lore which has, I think, hardly received the attention due to it. The term above, "folk-medicine", is one for which I confess myself responsible, having first (so far as I am aware) used it while writing some articles in a provincial newspaper. It is meant to comprehend the subjects of charms, incantations, and those habits relating to the preservation of health, or the cure of disease, which were and are practised by the more superstitious and old-fashioned.

Disease was early, it is probable, attributed to the malice of a spirit somehow offended. The Bornean Dyaks say to be smitten by a spirit is to be ill; and in Samco, when a man dies, they say a spirit has eaten him. Mr. Tylor, in his *Primitive Culture*, mentions that in New Zealand each ailment is said to be caused by the spirit of an infant, or undeveloped human spirit entering the body of a man, and feeding inside. Other nations accuse the ghosts of the dead of being the plagues of the living, and are consequently anxious to be on good terms with the dying, and after death to do the spirits all proper worship. When a spirit was believed to have taken possession of a man, it was sought to be driven forth by prayers and promises and threats; but with the progress of culture this idea became incredible to long-headed inquirers. Could not disease, it was asked (we may suppose), be got rid of more thoroughly by *transference*? If a man ill of some contagious sickness could,

without conscious act on his part, infect his neighbours, why might he not also *of purpose* transfer his complaint to something of a lower order, which should suffer the disease in his place?—not necessarily fatal to it, although likely to have proved so to him who rid himself of it. Belief in transference lingers down to the present day. In Cheshire it is still by no means uncommon for a young frog to be held for a few moments with its head inside the mouth of a sufferer from *aptha* or thrush. The frog is supposed to become the recipient of the ailment, which has, indeed, in some districts received the folk-name of “the frog” from the association. Toads were at one time (and, indeed, may yet be) used in a similar manner in cases of hooping-cough; while in America Indians hold the head of a living fish for a moment or two in the mouth of the afflicted person. The Irish are said, in cases of fever, to be known to cut off some of the hair of the patient, and pass it down the throat of an ass, believing that thus the disease is transferred to the animal. Elias Ashmole set his confidence in transference, for under date 11 May 1613, he writes,—“I took, early in the morning, a good dose of elixir, and hung three spiders about my neck, and they drove my ague away. *Deo gratias.*” Burton (*Anatomy of Melancholy*) says he first saw the spider-cure practised by his mother. Then he derided the notion of any good being done by it; but “at length, rambling among authors, as often I do, I found this very medicine in Dioscorides, approved by Matthioli, repeated by Alderovandus, I began to have a better opinion of it, and to give more credit to amulets, when I saw it in some parties answer to experience.” Longfellow mentions the spider as a cure for fever in *Evangeline*,—

“Only beware of the fever, my friends! Beware of the fever!
For it is not, like that of our cold Acadian climate,
Cured by wearing a spider hung round one’s neck in a nutshell.”

Perhaps one of the simplest methods of transferring disease is that mentioned by Dalyell,¹ that laving a handful of water over each shoulder was formerly reputed to transfer disease to the person first seen; with which may be compared Burder’s statement, that the Jews of Germany shake their clothes over a pond, after a meal, that their iniquity may be cast on the fishes.

¹ *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 127.

Often disease was supposed to be communicable to a tree, and certain oak trees near Berkhamstead, in Hertfordshire, were long resorted to by aguish patients. A lock of hair was pegged into an oak, and then by a sudden wrench transferred from the sufferer's head to the tree. Sometimes it was said the infected creature or thing transferred the disease to the next person touching it, thereby disinfected itself. Thus in Thuringia it is said that a string of rowan-berries, for example, which has touched a sick man will impart the malady to the first person who touches it, the original patient being immediately cured. In this country, to touch each wart with a pebble, place the pebbles in a bag, and contrive to lose it on the way to church, was a plan well spoken of for the cure of warts, the unlucky person who found the bag receiving the warts. Hunt says a Cornish lady told him that when a child, out of curiosity, and in ignorance, she once took up such a bag and examined its contents, the lamentable consequence being that in a short time she had as many warts as there were stones in the bag.

Of *remedies* for diseases there are two great classes; the first comprising those the virtues of which are supposed to lie in the supernatural power of certain forms of words; and the second, those whose efficacy is looked upon as due to certain fortunate or lucky or proper actions (which we now specially term "superstitious"), the intelligent origin of which we have probably lost.

All charms relied on through some assumed connection with our Lord, the Virgin, the saints, or the evil powers, we may regard as belonging to the first class,—a very large one. The following, common in Lancashire, is worn inside the waistcoat or stays, and over the left breast, for the cure of toothache: "Ass Sant Peter sat at the geats of Jerusalem our Blessed Lord and Seavour Jesus Christ Pased by and Sead, What Eleth thee? hee sead, Lord, my teeth eeketh. Hee sead, arise and follow mee, and thy teeth shall never Eake Eny mour. Fiat + Fiat + Fiat." In Berkshire, where a similar charm is known, Bortron is substituted for Peter. The general belief of all country folks is that the above is in the Bible. Once, it is recorded in *Notes and Queries*, a clergyman said, "Well but, dame, I think I know my Bible, and I don't find any such verse in it." To which the good

woman made answer, "Yes, your Reverence, that is just the charm. It's in the Bible, *but you can't find it.*" An interesting Cornish version is preserved by Hunt. For ague, Blagrove, in his *Astrological Practice of Physick*, prescribes the following to be worn by the patient: "When Jesus went up to the cross to be crucified, the Jews asked him, saying, 'Art thou afraid, or hast thou the ague?' Jesus answered and said, 'I am not afraid, neither have I the ague. All those who bear the name of Jesus about them shall not be afraid, nor yet have the ague.'" Many were said to have been cured by this writing. Blagrove himself received the "receipt from one whose daughter was cured thereby, who had the ague upon her two years."

An anonymous correspondent sent me, some time back, a curious charm which (so he wrote) is sold in great numbers, at Queenstown, to Irish emigrants. It contains a prayer which is said to have been "found in the tomb of our Lord Jesus Christ in the year 803, and sent from the Pope to the Emperor Charles, as he was going to battle, for safety. They who shall repeat it every day, or hear it repeated, or keep it about them, shall never die a sudden death, nor be drowned in water, nor shall poison have any effect upon them", etc. Those who laugh at it will suffer, they are warned. "Believe this for certain. It is as true as if the holy Evangelists had written it." The prayer itself, which is addressed to the "holy cross of Christ", specially prays, "ward off from me all *dangerous deaths*". In the Black Country a child suffering from hooping-cough is sent to any couple bearing the happy names of Mary and Joseph. Bread which Joseph must cut, and butter which Mary must spread, are to be demanded; it being essential to the cure that there is no courtesy prefix of "please". In Wicklow, I am informed, it is often said that if the points of three smoothing-irons are pointed at a paining tooth three times, in the name of the Trinity, the toothache will cease. For blood-staunching we have, among others, the following:

"Christ was born in Bethlehem,
Baptised in the river Jordan.
There he digg'd a well,
And turned the water against the hill:
So shall thy blood stand still.

In the name," etc.

Another version is, "Our Blessed Saviour was born in Bethlehem, and baptised in the river Jordan,—

“ ‘The waters were wild and rude,
The child Jesus was mild and good.’

He put his feet into the waters, and the waters stopped, and so shall thy blood, in the name”, etc.

Lancashire provides two monkish charms. One runs thus : “A soldier of old thrust a lance into the side of the Saviour ; immediately there flowed thence blood and water,—the blood of redemption and the water of baptism. In the name of the Father+may the blood cease. In the name of the Son+may the blood remain. In the name of the Holy Ghost+may no more blood flow from the mouth, the vein, or the nose.” Orkney provides the following, to be repeated once, twice, or oftener, according to the case ; not aloud, nor in presence of any save charmer and patient :

“Three virgins came over Jordan’s land,
Each with a bloody knife in her hand.
Stem, blood, stem ! Letherly stand !
Bloody nose [or mouth] in God’s name mend.”

Prints of the apocryphal correspondence between Our Lord and Abgar, King of Edessa, are looked upon as preservative against fever in parts of Devonshire and Shropshire.

When the evil powers are invoked, the charm is generally sealed up, and the wearer warned that should the packet be opened, the efficacy will be gone. Thus Cotta, in his *Short Discoverie*, etc. (p. 49), inserts “a merrie historie of an approved famous spell for sore eyes. By many honest testimonies it was a long time worn as a jewell about many necks, written in paper, and enclosed in silke ; never failing to do souveraigne good when all other helps were hellesse. No sight might dare to read or open. At length a curious mind, while the patient slept, by stealth ripped open the mystical cover, and found the powerful Latin characters, ‘*Diabolus effodiat tibi oculos, impleat foramina stercoribus.*’” But instances are common of the invocation being written, not in the language of the learned, but in somewhat rough Saxon.

Leaving this only touched upon, it may be noted that even in the last century (and the custom may not yet be forgotten) it was still common to go through a ceremony which, there can be little doubt, symbolised *new birth*. Dalryell tells how children under hectic fever, or consumptive patients, were often transmitted through a circular wreath of woodbine cut during the increase of the March moon.

The wreath was let down over the body, from the head to the feet. Twenty hours intervened between each transmission. Many other instances of the custom might be easily adduced. In Cornwall sick children were frequently drawn through perforated rocks ; and in most parts of England it was not unusual to pass a child suffering from *hernia* through a cleft ash-tree. The holy places of the east, the narrow openings for the pious to squeeze through, will be recollected in this connexion.

Of the class of simple remedies to which it is at present somewhat difficult to assign a meaning, I shall, for obvious reasons, only give a few illustrations.

Hooping-cough will never be taken by any child that has ridden upon a bear (very common). Cramp is effectually prevented by placing the shoes under the bed, with the toes just peeping from beneath the coverlet (Lancashire). In some parts of Cornwall you are told to put the shoes at the foot of the bed, with the toes turned upward ; in other parts, simply to put your slippers under the bed, with the soles upturned. An Irish belief is that the blood of any man named Keogh, put into a decayed tooth, will prevent toothache ; and I lately heard, on very good authority, of a Keogh whose flesh had actually been punctured scores of times to obtain his blood.

Among other works to which all concerned in the investigation of folk-medicine must needs refer, are Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Dalryell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, Hunt's *Romances and Drolls of the West of England*, Harland and Wilkinson's *Lancashire Folklore*, *Choice Notes (Folklore)*, and the valuable volumes of *Notes and Queries*. I have to thank James Earl Moreton, Esq., F.R.C.S., of Tarvin, and sundry other correspondents, for the valuable information they have courteously forwarded.

The above notes may serve to show somewhat of the scope of folk-medicine. Many points have been barely mentioned, and many, such as substitution, the efficacy of colours, the connexion of our charms with those of other people, left unnoticed ; but it is my hope that even the slight illustrations of a few special parts of the subject may not be uninteresting, and that some attention may be directed to the important study which I have ventured to call Folk-Medicine.

THE
 ABBEYS OF WINCHCOMBE, HAYLES, CIREN-
 CESTER, AND HALES OWEN.

BY MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, B.D., F.S.A., PRECENTOR AND
 PREBENDARY OF CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

THE Abbey of Winchcombe, founded in 798 by Kenulf, King of the Mercians, was dedicated by Archbishop Wilfrid and thirteen bishops; and in the midst of the solemn rite, surrounded by ten of his chief officers, the King set free his captive Eadbert, King of Kent, before the altar. Royal presents of great price, and largess to every class, followed the ceremony. The site at first is said to have been occupied by the Nunnery founded here by King Offa in 787.

In the time of King Edgar the Monastery was known by little more than its name, when St. Oswald the Archbishop restored it in 985. A few scattered notices are all that can be recovered now with regard to its history; but imperfect and scanty as they are, they are worthy of record in the pages of the *Journal* of the Association. It was mitred.

Kenulph, the founder, was buried in the eastern arm of the church; and near him, in St. Nicholas Chapel, Henry Boteler, who leaded the nave, was interred. The old parish church of St. Nicholas becoming decayed, the parishioners used the nave of the Abbey Church until Abbot Winchcombe built a parish church at the west end of the Abbey, on the site of St. Pancras Chapel. The parish contributed £200 for the chancel; and the Abbot completed the nave with the assistance of Lord Sudley, after which it was dedicated to St. Peter.¹ It thus resembled Sherborne. On the ides of October 1091, the great tower, as was the fate with so many Norman structures, fell down, and threw down the crucifix and the image of St. Mary on the rood-screen.² 5 Richard I, Abbot Robert restored the church and claustral buildings, "ad navem ecclesiæ nostræ, domorumque claustralium exstructionem sollicitudine usus est."³ There had been a disastrous fire in the church on Sept. 26, 1151. In 1374

¹ Leland, *Itin.*, iv, p. 56.

² *Simcon of Durham ap. A Script.*, 216.

³ *Mon.*, ii, 312.

the Abbot and Convent were licensed to fortify their Abbey and houses at the request of Master John of Branktre, chaplain to the King, and there are some slight remains of the buildings in a meadow near the church. In 1398 the minster was dedicated.¹ The eastern arm of the minster was rebuilt in 1454-74, but not a fragment of it now exists.

The pensions are taken from another MS., Dec. 23, 31 Henry VIII:—Richard Munslaw, Abbas, £140; Joh. Augustine, Prior, £8; Will. Ombersley, £6:13:4; Will. Jerome, £6:13:4; Robert Enbuerth; Jo. Gregory; Will. Kenelm, £6:13:4; Jo. Placid; Wm. Maur, £6; Rich. Ambrose; Rich. Martin, £6; Rich. Angel, £6; Rich. Bernerd, £6; Walter Aldelm, £6:13:4; Jo. Gabriell, £6:13:4; Hugh Egwyng, £6:13:4; Peter Raphael; Jo. Cuthbert; Jo. Anthony; Geo. Leonard, £6:13:4; Christopher Benedict, £6; Rich. Michahel, £6:13:4; Wm. Overbery, £6; Rob. Oswald.

“Payments to xvij late religious persons, £37:8:4; to iiij^{xx} persons, late officers and servauntes in household there, £51:13:4.

“The late Abbot’s lodging, leading from the north gate to the south gate of the fraiter, with ketchyn, buttre, pantre, and lodgings within the same boundes. All the lodging on the west side of the courte from the north gate to the south gate, bakying and bruyng houses, the late Abbott’s stable, barne, cowhous, and shepemens, committed to Sir John Brydges the King’s fermor. The church with the iles, chapelles, steple, cloister, chapter house, dormytery, ffrayter, ffermery, library, with chapelles, and lodgings to them adjoining. Besides in the church, quere, iles, chapelles, steple, liberary, halle, cloister, and gallery.”

The following characteristic letter, signed “J. Chandos”, Feb. 11, ... from Blunsdare, relates to the bells:

“Perceivinge by your letters” [those of Sir Wm. Berners, Mr. Wysman, and Mr. Myldmay], says this worthy lord, “that Edmond Bridges accordinge to my commandyment bath bin in hand with you for the bells of Winchecombe, and that you have appoynted me by y^r said letters to pay for them *lxli.*, which I sold for *xli.*, and where also you have sent unto me the weyghte of the bells of Wynchecombe, which you Mr. Bernes dyd way at the tyme of your surveye, that is not unknown I thynke to you, & so not to dyvers others as I can well approve, that Sir Thomas Seymore, L^d Admirall, and then owner of the same, did exchange the same bells for other which were moche lesse, and one of them was a lyttle sannes bells, so that the bells which I found theer were nothyng lyke in weyght to those which you wayde and left there, wherefore I dowte not that you wyll not wille me to pay *lxli.*,” etc.²

¹ Harl. MS. 107, fo. 261, to SS. Mary and Kenelm.

² Land Revenue Bundle, $\frac{-2}{+5} \frac{0}{1}$.

The arms of the Abbey were—1, *arg.*, on a chevron *gu.* between three cross crosslets *sa.*, three bezants; 2, barry of six *az.* and *arg.*, on a chief of the last, two pellets between two gyrons, dexter and sinister, of the first; on an inescutcheon *arg.*, a cross crosslet *gu.*

The possessions of Winchcombe and Hayles are enumerated in Misc. Books Q.R., 31 Henry VIII. Fuller estimates the income of Malmesbury at £756 a year. Pershore Register is among Augm. Off. Books, 61. The seal of Winchcombe is in the Public Record Office, marked AS 4 : 120*.

“The Benedictines of Winchcombe had a mansion in Oxford for their freshmen and novices, confirmed to them by Pope Alexander III, July 1176. Malmesbury established a hostel in 1259, and Bury St. Edmund’s, 49 Edward III.

“Gloucester then built a hostel; and at length the other Benedictine monasteries obtained an endowment of land from John Giffard, lord of Brinfield, 19 Edward I. Upon which gift, celebrating a general chapter at Abingdon, they appointed awarders and overseers concerning the building, and after an equal tax raised from them, built several lodgings. [Coeval with the Gloucester Hall (1283) was Durham College.]

“The lodgings that are on the right hand as we come through the inner gate into the court or quadrangle of Worcester College were for the monks of Abingdon, as appears by the arms. The next lodgings, that now belong to the Principal, were built for the monks of St. Peter’s, Gloucester, as appears by the arms. The lodgings on the south side of the court being five in number, running together. The furthestmost distant from the hall, hath this rebus, a shield with a mitre over it, viz., a comb and a tun with the letter W. over it, for Winchcombe. Besides which are three cups on another shield (Argentine or Butler). [The former was allotted to Pershore, as the rebus is that of Abbot Compton (1504-27), with his mitre over it.¹]

“The next above these chambers, towards the hall, was allotted to Westminster Abbey. The middlemost were partly for Ramsey and Winchcombe Abbeys, built by John Galys and Richard Cheltenham. His name was once written on the window. The two next divisions have these

¹ Hearne, *Lib. Nig.*, ii, App. 584; B. Willis, i, 212.

several coats of arms over their doors : the first is a griffin segreant (Malmesbury), and the other a plain cross (Norwich). Besides these, both at the upper end of the hall, in form of a quadrangle, there are, over two of the doors, these coats, viz., a cross patonce with a rose in the first quarter ; and guttée, a cross humettée, trunked, with two waterpots in base ; as also others at the lower end, and east side thereof.

“These abbeys sent their monks to be trained up here : — St. Peter’s, Gloucester ; Glastonbury ; St. Alban’s, whose arms are over the outward gate, on the gabled wall over the south postern arch ;¹ Westminster, Reading, Abingdon, Rochester, St. Austin’s (Canterbury), Ramsey (whose arms are over the outer gate), Tavistock, Burton, Winchcombe, Chertsey, Coventry, Evesham, Einsham, St. Edmund’s Bury, Abbotsbury, Muchelney, Malmesbury, Norwich, and the Priories of Stoke and St. Neot’s refused, claiming to be subject to Bec.”²

It will be remembered that out of the cathedral and monastic schools, the great centres of learning grew, and adopted their names of “*academia, generale studium, universitas*”.

Canterbury Hall has given name to a court at Christchurch. The Cistercians, through the bounty of Chichele, had St. Bernard’s College, as the Austin Canons held St. Mary’s. Three-fourths of the Benedictine students went to Oxford, and the rest to Cambridge. The short-lived university of Stamford had also its Benedictine halls. When the first Benedictine took his degree of D.D., in 1298, he was attended by all the monks of Gloucester and the Abbots of Westminster, Evesham, Abingdon, Reading, and Malmesbury. The Abbots were first summoned to Parliament, 49 Henry III.³

851. Living.

985. German, Prior of Ramsey, resigned.

1005. Godwin died in October 1054.

1054. Godric, or Eadric, King’s chaplain, sent prisoner to Gloucester Castle, 1066.

1066. Galand.

1077. Ralph I, died 1095.

¹ See *Gesta Abbat.*, iii, 496.

² Wood, f. 29ff, 268, 265A ; Ashmole MS. 8491, fo. 260 ; Dugdale, *Monast.*, ii, 854-6 ; Stevens, Add., i, 338.

³ Stevens, App. ii, p. 15.

1097. Germund, monk of Gloucester, died June 10, 1137.
 1137. Godefrid, Prior, died March 7, 1138.
 1138. Robert I, monk of Clugni, died Jan. 20, 1151.
 1152. William, monk of Canterbury.
 1157. Gervase, died 1172.
 1173. Henry, Prior of Gloucester, died 1182.
 1182. Crispin, Prior, died 1182.
 1183. Ralph II, died 1194.
 1194. Robert II. On the morrow of All Souls' Day one hundred people were yearly regaled by his enactment. Died June 13, 1220.
 1222. Thomas, Prior, died Oct. 3, 1232.
 1232, Oct. 29. Henry de Thornton, or Tudenten, sacrist, resigned in 1247.
 1248. John de Yauworth, or Yarmouth, Prior of the Benedictine Chapter at Oxford in 1271. Died 1284, resigned 1282.
 1282, Oct. 27. Walter de Wickwane, cellarer, died 1314. The church of Eudstone was appropriated in 1308. See his benefactions in the Cottonian MS. Cleop. B. ii, and Lansd. 227.
 1314, June 10. Thomas de Scirburn received benediction in St. Mary's-le-Strand. Died 1314.
 1315, June 14. Richard de Ydebreri, sacrist, resigned March 20, 1339.
 1340, Apr. 28. William de Shirborn resigned Sept. 18, 1352.
 1352, Sept. 24. Robert de Ippewell resigned 1360.
 1360. Walter de Winfortune, cellarer of Worcester, died June 22, 1395. He built Eudstone Grange in 1362.¹
 1395, July 6. William Bradley, died Dec. 28, 1422.
 1422, March 8. John Cheshente, or Cheltenham, received benediction at Worcester. Died 1454.
 1454, Dec. 20. Will. Winchcombe received benediction at Alvenchurch. Died in the summer of 1474.
 1474, Aug. 22. John Twining, died in the Carmelite Friary, Oxford, 1488.
 1488, July 10. Richard Kederminster of Gloucester Hall, Oxford. He sat in Convocation, 1515. He built the precinct wall, and "did the great work of the church".
 1531. Richard Anselm, or Maenslow, resigned 1539. Rector of Radwinter, rector of Notgrove, Prebendary of Gloucester. His pension of £160 was reduced to £120, but he held benefices to the value of £40. He died in 1558, and was buried in the Cathedral.

¹ *Cent. Mag.* for 1872, p. 244.

ST. MARY'S ABBEY, CIRENCESTER, FOR BLACK CANONS
OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

Without alluding to old legends of the African magician, who burned the old town by means of sparrows with wild-fire under their wings, or of King Arthur and other worthies, it is sufficient for our purpose to remark that the abbey of St. Mary's, which, by King Henry's conditions, was swept off the earth to its foundation stone, succeeded a college of secular canons, and was endowed by King Henry I. The charter is dated in 1103, the abbey church was commenced in 1117, and finished within fourteen years, being consecrated on Sunday, October 17, by Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter.¹ Leland says the eastern part of the minster was a very old building, and the transept, the western arm, was of later date, but "new work."² William of Wyrcestre gives the length of the church 140 of his steps (19½ ins.), the breadth with the aisles 41 steps, or 24 yards. There was a chapel at the east end. The Elder Lady chapel on the south side of the choir was 44 yards, and 22 yards broad, including the aisle attached to it. This arrangement must have resembled the plan at Oxford with two lateral chapels, one being dedicated to St. Mary, on the east side of the north wing. The cloister was 52 steps on either side. The chapter house measured 14 by 10 yards, and had ten bays and six windows.³ Two bells were consecrated in 1238, and there was a fine high tomb of St. Amand.

The public Record Office contains a short survey of the site.

"The Abbot's Lodging with the new Lodging and houses of office annexed, set between the Spital Gate Grange and the Squier's Lodging, baking, bruyng, maling houses, the Abbott's stabull, *barne* in the Spittel Gate Grange with 2 entrees; the Garner in the Base Courte, the gate that eloseth the quadrante of the base courte, the Woolhouse with the stabull by the mill; the Almery grange for husbandry.

"The church with all the chapells; the Cloister with the Chapter House, Dormitory, Frayter, Library, Hostrey; the Fermery with all the lodgyngs adjoynyng, the cellarer's chamber, the squier's chamber, the sextry; the Convent kitchyn with houses adjoynyng; the storehouse in the courte, the slate house, styward's chamber, guesten chamber, stabulles and heyhouse.

"viii belles in the steeple, poiz. xiiii^{mo} weight.

¹ Hoveden, 316.

² *Itin.*, ii, 24.

³ Ed. Nasmith, 278.

"i cope embrodered with the story of Jesse, with clothe of golde upon crymsen velvet.

"2 coopes of clothe of golde reysed.

"2 myters garnished with silver gilte, small peerles, and counterfelt stones.

"Plate silver gilte 121 oz, silver parcell gilte 459 oz., silver white 217 oz.=l.xiiij.^{ss} xvii oz."

The church has been swept away, and now of two, the Spital and Almetry gates, one remains. These broken fragments of information can readily be tessellated together if we bear in mind the following facts. The cloister garth was always arranged thus. The refectory or fratriy fronted the church. The chapter house was on the east side, the dormitory usually extended over it, and also above the sacristy or vestry, and an intervening open passage, known as the slype. On the west side there was cellarage, and above it the dormitory, usually the hostry or guest house. Besides these buildings, there were others devoted to a special use, the library, the treasury, the parlour or speak-house, for conversation, when permitted, with guests or on home matters; the hall or misericord—a chamber for meat dinners; and the calefactory—a room with a fire, used for purposes of warmth in cold weather, drying boots and parchments, lighting censers, and the like. There was an ample provision of cellarage, divided by partitions into household storerooms of every description. Fanciful names of rooms have been of late years invented for these departments, whereas the cloister was the ordinary living room of the inmates; and, except a few serving brothers, easily lodged, the other converts or lay brothers being distributed over the granges or monastic farms. The base or outer court formed usually a square or quadrant, having an entrance gateway; round it were the grange for husbandry, the kiln, the barn, the bakery, the brewery, the woolhouse, the stables, hay lofts, and the garner. Near the court gate was the almonry, often with its own spital gate. The infirmary had generally its own outer cloister, a hall and gallery, and a chapel on the east side, with various lodgings in the vicinity, the vicegerent's, whatever his title might be, the cellarer's, the sacristan's in the sextry, the steward's, and lesser guest chamber. The butteries for the issue of wine and the kitchen adjoined the refectory. The superior's

lodgings, with the houses of office, were generally built somewhat apart from the rest of the conventual buildings.¹

Arms of the abbey, *gu.* on a chevron, *arg.* three rams' heads cabosed *sa.*, attired *or.* The abbey held the churches of Shrivenham, Hatcheburne, Passeham, Rowel, Bristoke, Avebiry, Melborne, Walon, Pevesy, and Preston. Its revenues were valued at £1,051 : 7 : 1.

Abbots.—1117. Serlo, Dean of Salosbury, died 1147.²

1147. Andrew, died 1176.

1176. Adam, Prior of Bradenstoke, died 1183.

1183. Robert.

1183. Robert, died 1186.

1187. Richard, Prior of St. Gregory's, Canterbury, died 1213.

1213. Alexander Necchan, buried at Worcester 1227.³

1227. Walter or Richard, died November 27, 1230.

1230, Dec. 25. Hugh or Henry de Bampton or Bathon, received benediction at Worcester, died 1238.

1238. Roger de Rodmarton, died 1266.

1266. Henry de Munden.

1281. Henry de Hamptonet.

1307, Nov. 13. Adam Brokenbury, died 1319.

1319. Robert de Charleton or Cheriton, brother of the abbot of Evesham, resigned 1334.

1345. William Hereward, died April 25, 1352.

1352, May 20. Ralph de Esteote, died in London 1357.

1358. William de Martley, had benediction at Hartlebury at Epiphany, died 1361.

1361. William de Dinton, Lynton, or Lynham, had benediction November 3, died 1363.

1363. Nicholas de Ameney had benediction July 30, died 1394.

1394. John Leekhampton, summoned to convocation 1402

1416. William Best procured the use of mitre and pontificals, died February 6, 1429.

1429. William Wotten had benediction March 5, died 1440.

1440. John Taunton had benediction at Hartlebury January 3, died 1445.

¹ Various inventories ; Augm. Misc. Books, 404, 494.

² Lamb. MS. 585, fo. 703 ; 589, fo. 201 ; Harl. MS. 7520, fo. 3-9.

³ Pits, 298 ; Bale, 272.

1455, April 10. William George received benediction at Pershore, died 1461.

1461, October 13. John Solbury or Sobbury received benediction at Alven Church, died 1477.

1477. Thos. Compton, died October 1, 1481.

1481, Oct. 25. Richard Clive.

1488, Oct. 22. Thomas Aston, confirmed in Worcester Chapel, Strand, resigned 1504.

1504, Dec. 7. John Hakeborne, D.D., Prior of St. Mary's, Oxford, died 1522.

1523. John Blake sat in convocation ; he resigned, with sixteen canons, on December 29, 1534.

THE CISTERCIAN ABBEY OF HAYLES.

Owing to the similarity of name, the two Abbeys of Hayles, co. Gloucester, of the Cistercian order, and of Hales Owen in Worcestershire, held by the Præmonstratensian Canons Regular, have been frequently confounded. I have, therefore, thought some new particulars with regard to these foundations would be acceptable to those members of the Association who visited Hayles and Winchcombe at the last Congress.

It is a remarkable fact that a Cistercian Abbey like Hayles was built so near Winchcombe, a great Benedictine house, and it is a curious coincidence that there were three bishops present both at the consecration of Winchcombe and of Hayles. Hayles, like Netley and Newenham, were daughters of Beaulieu. It was founded in honour of St. Mary and All Saints, by Richard Earl of Cornwall and King of the Romans, who was buried within its walls in 1271.¹ Matthew Paris relates that it was built as a thankoffering for the preservation of the royal founder on his return from Gascony, when in great peril at sea, so that he could hardly reach a Cornish port.² It cost ten thousand marks,³ and was designed for twenty monks and thirty brothers or converts. The chronicler once asked the Earl touching the real amount of what he had spent, and he replied, "Ah, would that all the money I laid out on Wallingford Castle had been spent as wisely and as well!"

¹ Matt. Par., iii, 378.

² Ibid., iii, 65.

³ Ibid., 311.

The *Waverley Annals* assign the date 1245 for the entry of the Convent, on the anniversary of the dedication of Beaulieu, June 26, when twenty monks and ten converts took possession. "Sumpsit in domo Belli Loci Regis xx monachos et x conversos ad hoc opus sibi assignatos xv kal. Julii."¹ The *Ypodigma Neustrie* and the *Chronicle of Evesham* give 1246 as the year of foundation.

The church was consecrated on Nov. 9, 1250, in the presence of thirteen bishops, the principal being the diocesan, W. de Cantilupe. Each of them consecrated an altar, and the Bishop of Lincoln sang mass right solemnly at the high altar. "Dedicata fuit non. Novembris ecclesia de Hayles præsentibus xiii episcopis a quibus xiiij altaria eo die in ipsâ ecclesiâ dedicata fuerunt", in presence of the King, Queen Eleanor, many nobles, and three knights, who enjoyed a splendid banquet—a Sunday feast, whilst the religious fared apart on every variety of a fish dinner. Richard "ecclesiam illam cum toto cenobio propriis sumptibus construxit." He gave, for the purchase and building houses, one thousand marks after the consecration, and the King bestowed a charter for a rental of £20.²

The *abbots* were first summoned to Parliament 23 Edward I.³

1298. John.

1305. John de Gloucester.

C. 1332. John.

C. 1380. Robert.

C. 1402. John. He took part with the Earl of Northumberland and Sir Thos. Bardolph, and was taken prisoner by the Under Sheriff of York at Bramham Moor, near Tadcaster, having been deserted by the Scottish lords, who left them on the north side of the Tweed, and pointing southward, added, "Go onward now; you have England with you." Walsingham⁴ says that he was hanged. The *Eulogium*⁵ asserts that the three were beheaded, and their heads set upon London Bridge as traitors, on Feb. 18, 1408. He was in arms; but the Bishop of Bangor more warily rode "inermis", and had a reprieve.

1420. William Henley.

—— Landrake.

¹ *Ann. de Waverleia*, 337.

² Leland's *Itin.*, v, fo. v; *Ann. de Waverleia*, 343.

³ Stevens, App. ii, p. 15.

⁴ P. 279.

⁵ iii, p. 411.

1464. William Whitchurch. He rebuilt Deerhurst in 1470.

1479. Richard Wotten.

c. 1480. John Canbeck.

c. 1503. Thomas Stafford.

15... Stephen Segar. The Commissioners for the Dissolution said that they "found the father and all his brethren very honest and conformable persons".¹ Segar retired, on a pension, to Coscombe mansion house at Corton, and twenty-one monks received annuities varying from £8 to 26s. 8d.

This Abbey was made rich by the shrine with a "counterfeit relik" of the "blood of Hales", which was given by Edmund Earl of Cornwall on Holy Cross Day, 1270, and shown as that which flowed from our Blessed Lord's side on Calvary.²

A leaden impression of the conventual seal of Hayles is in the possession of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, which was found in a field at Acaster Malbis. It represents Richard, Earl of Cornwall, holding a globe with a cross, and a branched rod, with this legend, "*Sigillum Fraternitatis Monasterii B. M. de Hayles*."³ Leland says the church dormitory, cloister, and refectory were completed in 1251, at a cost of 8,000 marks.⁴ In 1271 the church and buildings were burnt, which caused a loss valued at 8,000 marks. The *novum opus*, probably the east end, was consecrated on Christmas Day 1277 by the Bishop of Worcester. Licence to crenellate was given by Pat. Rot. 22 Edward I. The cloister was 192 ft. square, and portions of the entrance gate and abbot's lodge are still pointed out. Rudder says that the west alley of the cloister, with armorial shields upon the vault 45 ft. long, was standing, with portions of the other walls.⁵ Buck has also preserved a very interesting view of these remains. The church has wholly disappeared. It passed into the hands of Sir Thomas Seymour in the first year of Edward IV, and three years later was granted to William, Marquess of Northampton. The following record is therefore exceeding valuable, as it gives a survey of the site, which is of rare occurrence.⁶

¹ *Suppr. of Mon.*, 236.

² Lord Herbert, *Hist. of Henry VIII*, p. 431; Nichols' *Pilgrimages*, 86-90; MS. Cotton. Cleop. E. iv, p. 254b.

³ See also *Monasticon*, v, 687, and Gm. xcii, p. 545.

⁴ *Itin.*, B. v, fo. 5.

⁵ *Gloucestershire*, 486, 487.

⁶ Dec. 24, 30 Henry VIII; Augm. Off. Books, 491, fo. 67.

"Houses and buyldyngs assigned to remayne undefaced.—The late abbotts lodging extending from the church to the frayter southward with payntre buttre kitchen larder sellers and the lodgings over the same. The bakynge bruyng houses and garner the gatehouse the great barne two stables the oxehouse and the shepehouse, committed to the custode of Robert Acton, Esq.

"Deemed to be superfluous. The church with iles chapelles and steeple the cloister chapterhouse dormytory and frayter the infirmary with chapelles and lodgings to them adjoyning the priories chambre and all oder chambre lately belongyng to the officers there.

"The bells in the steeple there 5 poiz. by estymacion vjccc^m weight.

"Sume of all the ornaments sold by the seid Comissioners, cccvli. viijs. iiij*l*.

"Reserved to the use of the Kings Majestie goolde poiz. xxvii*z*. oz. silver gilte evii*z*. oz. silver parcell gilte ciij^{xx}vii*z*. oz. silver white ciij^{xx}vii*z*. oz. = cccciij^{xx}xii*z*. oz.

"The leade cxix foders.

"The clere yerely value of the possessions cccxxxli. ijs. ij*l*.

"Dettes none."

The Monastic Treasures give, gold plate, dxix oz., and in parcell gilte and white, dcxxv oz. (p. 10).

Patronage of churches: vicarage of Didbroke, Glouc.; Tuddington, Glouc.; Langborowe, Glouc.; Northlye, Oxon.; Hawley, Suffolk; Rodboro, Wilts. (given by Hugh le Despenser); St. Brice, Cornub.; St. Pallyn, Cornub.; parsonage of Pynnockes, Glouc. Hemel Hempstead was granted by charter of Edward I, along with North Leigh; the advowson of the vicarage and hospital of Lechlade, by charter, 6 Edward II, n. 22.

"Pencions assigned, Stephen Sager late abbott there by yere *eli*." [he also had Crosecombe Manor House] "Jo. Dawson, B.D., viij*l*.; Philip Brode, B.D., viij*l*.; Will. Cheo, senior, vj*l*. vjs. viij*l*.; to Silvester Kitchynner, vj*l*.; Thos. Farre, cellerer, vj*l*. vjs. viij*l*.; to Griffith, vj*l*.; Richard Ewin, B.D., vij*l*.; Reynold Lane, es.; Adam Tyler, es.; Will. Netherton, es.; Thos. Hopkins, evj*l*. viij*l*.; Rich. Dawnsor, evjs. viij*l*.; Richard Woodward, es.; Roger Rede, B.D., vij*l*.; William Holledaye, es.; Thomas Rede, es.; Eliseus Dngdell, lijs. iiij*l*.; John Halle, lijs. iiij*l*.; Cristofer Hodgeson, lijs. iiij*l*.; John Holme, vicar of Didborough, Richard Dene, vicar of Longboro, lijs. iiij*l*.

In all, cccvli. xiijs. iiij*l*."

John Griffith, mentioned by Pits, was author of *Conciones Hyemales et Aestivales*. It also notes these—

"Payments to xxj late religions persons of the Kings Ma'ties record, xlviij*l*. xiijs. iiij*l*.; to lxx persons lately beinge servauntes in household, xxxviij*l*. viij*l*.

"iiii^{xx}vi*l*. xiijs.

"And so remayneth clere, cxxiiij*l*. viijs. xd."

ST. MARY AND ST. JOHN EVANGELIST, HALES OWEN.

Founded by Peter de Roche, Bishop of Winchester, in 1215, for canons regular, Præmonstratensian. The following notes of the abbey church occur in the Prattinton collection:—"The quire in length, *i.e.*, from the altar to the arch, 86 ft. ; from the quire or arch to the west end, about 100 ft. ; breadth of the quire, taking in the south aisle, 66 ft. ; from the side to the pillar in the middle of the quire, 43 ft. ; from the pillar to the side of the north aisle, 55 ft. ; breadth of the body of the church, 78 ft. ; from the middle of the pillar to the south wall near the altar, 28 ft. ; the same to the north side." I had intended to have given a plan of the abbey if Mr. R. J. Holiday had not informed me that he had one which he would immediately publish in connection with his paper in "The Transactions of the Birmingham and Midland Institute, 1871." I therefore limit myself to the following particulars. The minster and quadrangle, as usual with the Præmonstratensians, were irregular. Of the church, little more than one bay of the presbytery, which had long lancets in the clerestory, the south and east walls of the transept, with coupled lancets in the upper storey, and a great part of the south wall of the nave, with the eastern processional door, remain. The nave was 100 ft. long by 55 ft. It had a narrow south aisle and a large north aisle, with a total breadth of 78 ft. The south wing of the transept, 23 ft. in its western wall and 30 ft. along the front, retains the ablution drain of its altar ; it was 100 ft. long. The choir was under the crossing, and from the western arch to the extreme east end there was a length of 86 ft., with a width in the presbytery of 43 ft. A south aisle made the extreme breadth 66 ft., thus in the case of the outer aisles of the nave and presbytery their width equalled that of the transept. On the south side of the quadrangle is the south wall of the refectory, 64 ft. long (it was 100 ft. by 32 ft.), showing the hall windows, with a double plane of tracery ; above remains of a vaulted cellerage ; westward of it are portions of a guest hall 40 ft. long, and eastward removed to a distance of 160 ft., the infirmary, 61 ft. 6 in. by 18 ft. 6 in., with couplets of trefoiled windows and five doorways.

There is a view of the refectory as then existing in the *Monasticon*. Dr. Thomas informed Dr. Prattinton that "there was a tradition that King John ordered the Bishop of Winchester to found the abbey here in so retired a place that it might neither see nor be seen two miles any way from it; and that the king, intending to visit it, spied it out from the top of Romesley Hill, near St. Kenelm's, near three miles distant from it, upon which he turned back, and so deprived the house of his company, and probably of many privileges."

For the concluding history of Hales Owen we have only a short document, showing that Sir John Dudley in 30 Henry VIII had the site at an annual rent to the Crown of £28 : 1 : 4. Alexander de Hales, the "irrefragable doctor", was probably educated in this monastery; he was buried in the Cordeliers Church at Paris in 1245.

King Henry III granted a weekly market on Wednesdays, and a fair on the vigil and feast of St. Denys (Henry III, m. 3.)

Among the abbots, who were confirmed by the abbots of Welbeck, occur—

1232. Richard.

After 1250. Henry Branwick, who came from Titchfield.

..... Roger.

..... Nicholas, died January 1298.

..... John, received benediction February 1, 1298, at Bosbury, from the Bishop of Hereford.

..... William.

1306. Walter de Flagge.

1314. Bartholomew.

1322, January 17. Thomas de Leche.

c. 1327. Adam de Burmingham.

1366. William de Bromsgrove.

1369. Richard de Hampton.

1391. John de Hampton.

1395. John de Poole.

1422, December. Henry de Kidderminster.

1432. John Derby, LL.B. He occurs again c. 1446.

1443. Wm. Hemele.

1485, March 9. Thomas Brigge, Sub-Prior, died 1505.

1505, July 4. Edmund Grayne, Prior of Horneby.

1539, June 9. Wm. Taylor, resigned on a pension of £66 : 13 : 4.

At the Dissolution the following pensions were paid to—
Nich. Greeves, clericus, £10 ; Rob. Shyngfells, cler., £6 ;
Tho. Robinson, cler., £6 ; Will. Bolton, cler., £4 ; Alex.
Whytehead, £5 ; Will. Boroden, 5 ; Jo. Rogers, £3 : 6 : 8 ;
Will. Glasgar, £4 ; Rich. Gregory, £3 : 6 : 8 ; Tho. Blunt,
£2 : 13 : 4 ; Hen. Cooke, £7 : 5 : 8 ; Hawkworth, £2 ; Al.
Stacey, £2 : 13 : 4 ; Tho. Singulton, £2 : 6 : 8 ; Tho. Blount,
£2 : 6 : 8.

The Abbey held the patronage of Hales, 1370. V. St. John B., with St. Kenelm's Chapel and SS. Nicholas, Oldworth, St. Michael, Brandstal or Brendhall ; Clent with Rowlege C., 1344 ; Frankley, St. Leonard ; Dodford ; Wales-hale, given by Sir William Rufus, 1215-24 ; Wednesbury, *temp.* Edward I ; Brome, St. Peter. Dodworth Priory was appropriated by 4 Edward IV, P. 2, m. 16.

The Monastery maintained a chantry in Lichfield Cathedral. The arms were, *gu.*, between three fleurs-de-lys *or*, a chevron *arg.*

ANCIENT SCULPTURE DISCOVERED IN BREADSALL CHURCH, NEAR DERBY.

BY ALFRED WALLIS, ESQ., OF DERBY.

“AN interesting and important antiquarian discovery has been made at Breadsall, near Derby. The parish church is now undergoing the process called “restoration”, in the course of which several details of interest have been brought to light. Amongst them are a “squint” in the south-east angle of the north aisle, the stairs of the old rood loft, and two large slabs of alabaster, one of which has, doubtless, served as the upper stone of the high altar, and the other probably as a reredos. Many stones of Norman moulding, which once pertained to the north doorway, and to the old chancel, have also been brought to light. But the most valuable of the discoveries has just been made under the west gallery. On removing the paving, the workmen came across a large stone, buried below the surface of the soil. On being taken up, a most delicate piece of sculpture was disclosed, the subject being the dead Christ upon the knees of the Virgin. Most of the details are finely finished, and as sharply chiselled as when first the image left the sculptor’s hands ; but, unfortunately, owing to its position, the nature of the stone was not discovered until it had been turned over with a pick, by which means parts of the head-dress and hand of the virgin, and also a portion of the face of the Christ were damaged. Judging from the disposition of the drapery and other features, the workmanship may be attributed to the fifteenth century. “Our Lady of Pity” is most rarely found in English sculpture ; and the subject appears to have never reached that degree of popularity (if we may use such a term) to which it attained in Italy, France, and Spain, where a *pieta* may often now be seen over the altar of the virgin. It is not improbable that the Breadsall *pieta* is a specimen of Continental art imported into this country. This figure must have been placed in the position from which it has just been rescued with care and deliberation, or it would otherwise have been much mutilated.”

This extract, which forms the substance of a communication made to me by a valued correspondent, was printed in the *Derby Mercury*. It naturally stimulated curiosity, and I gladly accepted the courteous invitation of the rector of Breadsall to devote a summer afternoon to the "find", and to the examination of some of the treasures of his library—an irresistible inducement. The sculpture, when I saw it, had been placed against a column and carefully arranged for the photographer. I was at once charmed by the expression, the technical skill displayed in the workmanship, and the delicacy of the details.

The material of the group is alabaster or gypsum (evidently from the quarries of Chellaston, some nine miles distant), a large slab of which was disinterred at the same time, and which, from its thickness and superficial extent, seems to have been prepared for the use of the artist. The costume, according to Strutt, is that of the ninth or tenth century; but I am told that Mr. Planché, whose authority is unquestionable, is disposed to assign it to the twelfth century. The head-dress is not a wimple, but a *couvre-chef* (the drawing is not quite accurate in this detail.) The shoes, which peep beneath the folds of the robe, are long and pointed; the dead Christ presents features which quite corroborate Mr. Planché's view, but the *workmanship* appears to be of a much later period. My own impression is that the sculpture was wrought on the spot by some wandering artist, who, if a foreigner (which is most likely), would use the conventional model, with which he was familiar. Under any circumstances, the *material*, I am quite sure, is local. The group was discovered face downwards, at a depth of about 18 ins., at the south-west corner of the church, not far from the font. The interior of the hanging sleeve shows indications of colour (vermilion) and gilding. The entire height is 2 ft. 5 ins., and the entire breadth 1 ft. 5 ins.

Breadsall Church is dedicated to All Saints, and was founded at the time of the Conquest,¹ and the recent restorations have brought to light many stones of Norman moulding, most of which have probably formed part of the chancel arch. The chancel is Early English, and the nave has an aisle with one row of cylindrical columns on the

¹ *Domesday* notes a church and a priest at Braideshale.

north side. At the east end of this aisle I find traces of an altar, the steps to a rood gallery, long since removed, and a curious "squint", splayed on the chancel side. The existence of these remains was unknown until the recent restorations were commenced. It is possible that here was a chapel dedicated to "Our Lady of Pity", and this conjecture is strengthened by the fact that such a chapel existed in Repton Priory Church, not many miles distant, whilst at the collegiate church of All Saints, Derby, as stated in some highly interesting unpublished churchwardens' accounts (*sub an.* 1486), there were kept burning "v serges (tapers) before the Mary of pety". Hence we may be tolerably certain that the east end of the aisle in Breadsall Church was the lady chapel, and that the group under notice was its distinguishing feature. In 1572, a meadow (called St. Mary's meadow) and half an acre of arable land (called St. Nicholas' land), which had been granted to the priest in the church of Breadsall, "then serving by name of priest of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and called 'our ladye priest'", were granted by the Crown to John Meashe and Francis Grencham.¹

John Dethick, the last lord of the manor of Breadsall of that name, and patron of the church, was on the Recusant Roll in the time of Elizabeth, and it may have been by his orders that this figure was thus concealed, to save it from the iconoclastic propensities of the Puritans.

Breadsall Church is the last resting place of the famous physician and poet, Dr. Erasmus Darwin, who spent the last years of his life at the priory and died there. This was a priory of friars-hermits, founded Henry III, and afterwards converted into a priory of Austin monks. The site and lands were granted by Edward VI in 1552 to Henry, Duke of Suffolk, and came finally by purchase into the possession of the Darwins. The inscription on Dr. Darwin's monument runs thus: "Erasmus Darwin, M.B., F.R.S. Born at Elston, near Newark, 12th December, 1731. Died at the Priory, near Derby, 18th April, 1802. Of the rare union of talents which so eminently distinguished him as a physician, a poet, and a philosopher, his writings remain as a public and unfading testimony. His widow has erected this monument in memory of the zealous benevolence of

¹ Patent Rolls, 14 Elizabeth, 4th pt., No. 20.



A PIETA.

DISCOVERED IN BREADSALL CHURCH DURING THE
RESTORATION IN 1877.

his disposition, the active humanity of his conduct, and the many virtues which adorned his character."

The rectory of Breadsall is in the patronage of Sir John Harpur Crewe, Bart., of Calke Abbey, and is at present held by the Rev. Hugh A. Stowell—a clergyman of enlarged views, a zealous bibliomaniac (I may have a word or two to say some day about his early printed books), and an enthusiastic naturalist. He will take good care that this valuable monument of the piety of our ancestors is not removed from the church to which it unquestionably belongs, although I am sorry to say that he has "influential" parishioners who would gladly compass the work of destruction, in which the Roundheads were foiled by the care of the unknown person who reverently laid the "image" into the earth, committing it, as it were, to the care of the dead, in order to protect it from the fanaticism of the living.

NOTES ON INTERLACED CROSSES.

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, C.E.

THE subject of interlaced crosses, which I have the honour of bringing before the meeting this evening, is one which has not as yet, I think, received from archæologists the full measure of attention it deserves. Few people indeed seem to realise that many hundred years before England possessed a school of painting, there was no lack of real artists in this country ; men of whom we may well be proud, and of whose handiwork there are still fortunately numerous examples extant. At the period referred to, our ancestors were gradually emerging from the darkness of Paganism into the glorious light of Christianity. There was then no outlet, except an ecclesiastical one, for intellect of any kind, and the whole mental growth of the nation was tinged by an intensely theological bias. If a man was an orator, he devoted the whole wealth of his eloquence to the service of the church ; if he was a logician, he plunged headlong into religious controversies ; if he was an artist, he spent the best years of his life in illuminating manuscripts of the Gospels, with unrivalled skill, or in carving those exquisite crosses which we propose now to describe. The character of the ornament in the illuminated manuscripts and on the sculptured stones is of so similar a nature that there can be but little doubt as to the common origin of both. The leading feature of this style of art, which gives it such an intense individuality, is the marvellously interlaced, knotted, and braided patterns of endless variety and unsurpassed beauty. And, again, combined with this are geometrical designs of great intricacy, and bearing some resemblance to the Greek fret and occasionally to Chinese ornamentation. The most celebrated illuminated books of this type are the *Book of Kells*, the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, *St. Chad's Gospels*, and the *Gospel of Mac Durnan*. These manuscripts are of inestimable value, and are consequently most jealously guarded from the public gaze ; but the interlaced crosses, which, except for the absence of colour, are quite as beautiful, may be freely inspected by anyone who will take the trouble to visit the churchyards where they are to be

found. It is only lately that the great artistic and historic value of these monuments is beginning to be fully appreciated, and the tide of wholesale destruction, which has been going on for centuries, is now ceasing to a certain extent. A bill like Sir John Lubbock's, for the Protection of Ancient Monuments, may do a great deal of good in this direction, but much remains besides to be done by private enterprise, in describing, illustrating, and cataloguing the examples that yet are left. Dr. Stuart has bequeathed to us a work on *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, which leaves little to be desired in this direction. Mr. J. O'Neill's beautiful drawings of the Irish crosses and Miss Stokes' *Christian Inscriptions* are well known. The Rev. J. G. Cumming has done full justice to the stones of the Isle of Man. Professor Westwood is now bringing out his *Lapidarium Wallie*. The interlaced crosses and fragments of England, however, still remain undescribed, and here is a work well worthy to be undertaken by the archæologist anxious of distinction. The following are a few brief notes and suggestions, which it is hoped will be found useful by anyone who may be tempted to take up this most interesting branch of study.

Origin of Interlaced Crosses.—The origin of these most exquisitely beautiful monuments of Christian art may fairly be traced back to the Maen Hir, or rude obelisk of the prehistoric period. The transition took place by stages, somewhat after the following manner. Long before the dawn of history, we find gigantic monoliths erected to commemorate the resting places of illustrious chieftains, probably slain in battle; and here the value of the tribute to the memory of the deceased lay in the great size and weight of the stone, and consequent labour involved in raising such a huge mass. At a later period, when the art of writing became known, the rude unhewn pillar was still adhered to, but now an inscription in mystic oghams or debased Latin characters is added. The stones chosen for this purpose were generally those which nature had formed with a smooth side or sharp angle, presenting a good surface for cutting the letters. After the introduction of Christianity, the symbol of the cross was universally adopted. Mr. Wakeman, in his *Archæologia Hibernica*, p. 88, says: "From the rude stone marked with the symbol of our faith, enclosed within a circle—the emblem of eternity—the finely propor-

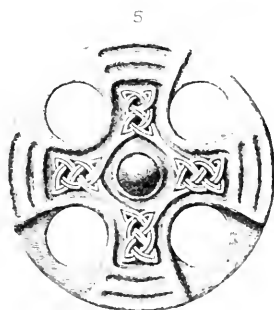
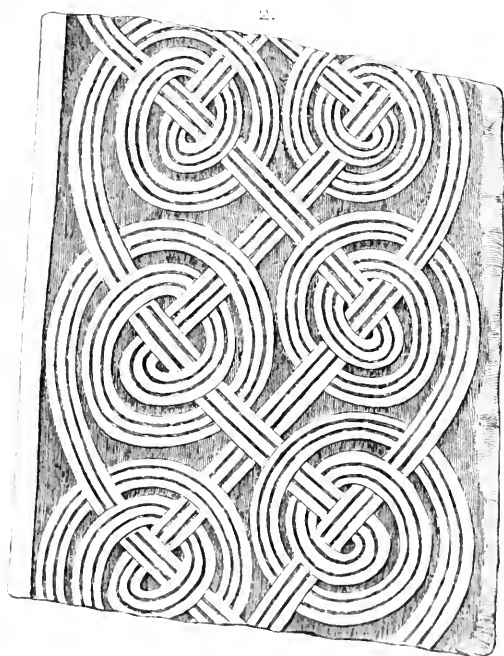
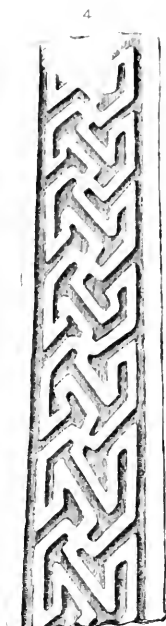
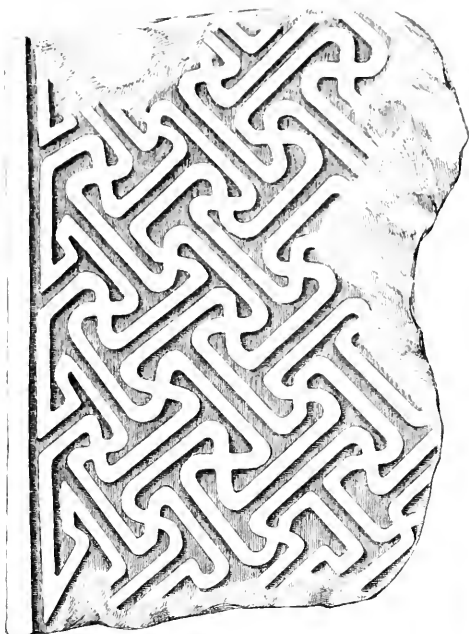
tioned and elaborately sculptured crosses of a later period are derived. In the latter, the circle, instead of being cut upon the face of the stone, is represented by a ring, binding, as it were, the shaft arms and upper portion of the cross together". The last step in the development was in fact to make the cross the principal feature in the design, lavishing on it all that wondrous skill which has made these monuments the admiration of so many successive generations.

Object of Erection.—In by far the largest number of instances these crosses were sepulchral, being erected to perpetuate the memory of some illustrious warrior or holy saint. This fact is borne out by the inscriptions, and by their being almost invariably found in connection with Christian places of worship. Crosses were, however, no doubt used for other purposes, either to commemorate some celebrated event, to mark boundaries, or to serve as wayside crosses. Some of these stones had the privilege of sanctuary; for instance, Ripon Cathedral had the privilege of sanctuary, and eight crosses, called mile crosses, marked the boundary.¹ At Hexham also there were four crosses set up at a certain distance from the church, in the four ways leading thereto, in order to indicate the limits of sanctuary. Penances were frequently finished at crosses, and perhaps the Maen a Chwynfan, or stone of lamentation, in Flintshire, may have received its name from this cause.

Date of Erection.—The period during which monuments of this class were erected ranges over about four hundred years—from 600 A.D. to 1000 A.D. With regard to the exact dates of particular examples, there exists a wide divergence of opinion. The only way in which the question can be at all satisfactorily settled will be by a minute examination of the ornament and lettering of the inscriptions (where such exist), and a subsequent comparison with the illuminated manuscripts of the same type. Philological evidence, such as that which Professor Rhys has collected, may also possibly throw considerable light on the subject.

By whom Erected.—Crosses of the kind we are describing, differing but little in their general characteristics, are found in every part of Great Britain; and, since they were all erected between A.D. 600 and 1000, this form of monu-

¹ See Walbran's *Guide to Ripon*, p. 30.



1, 2, 3, 4. Fragment of Shaft of Cross found in Penally Ch. Pembrokeshire.
5, 6. Head of Cross from St David's Cathedral, Pembrokeshire.

ment would appear to have been adopted by most of the nations inhabiting these islands during the period specified. These nations were the Kelt, the Scandinavian, and the Saxon.

Where Erected.—Interlaced crosses are generally found connected with sacred buildings, but are more especially to be met with at the centres of ecclesiastical learning and sanctity, as for instance at St. David's, Llantwit Major, etc. The builders of the Norman and subsequent periods did not hesitate to use up these most beautiful relics as material for their churches, fully justifying the thoroughly practical character that the true Englishman has always rejoiced in. The stones referred to being long and narrow, were generally built into the foundations, or into the coigns of the towers, and again as jambs or lintels to the doors and windows. Architects restoring old churches, and archæologists examining them, would do well to pay attention to this point, and may be thus rewarded by important discoveries. Mr. Chanterell, who restored the parish church at Leeds, found a magnificent cross broken up and built into the old walls in this way.

Material.—The favourite material for sculptured crosses appears to have been a fine-grained white sandstone, somewhat resembling that of which the Stonehenge monoliths are composed. In the Isle of Man clay slate is almost universally adopted. I cannot recall any instance of Bath or Portland stone being used for this purpose. The question of material is one which is, I think, deserving of more attention than it has yet received, though it is occasionally a matter of some difficulty to determine, owing to the prevalence of lichen and weather stains.

General Form.—The gradual development of the highly ornamented cross from the rude stone pillar has been already explained. The general outline of the stone is more or less the result of this transition. The tall shaft is all that survives of the obelisk which preceded it, and, crowning this, is the symbol of Christianity itself, coupled with the circle emblematical of eternity. Some of the oldest of these monuments are still simply slightly conical pillars, covered with interlaced work, but without the cross. The most celebrated example of this class is at Llantwit Major, in Glamorganshire. In a few instances the shaft

and cross are carved from one stone, but more frequently the head is cut from a separate block and morticed into the shaft. In many cases the head has got loose, fallen off, and either got broken or carried away. Where this has happened the mortice hole is left exposed, so that it gets filled with rain water, which freezes in the winter, and sometimes disintegrates the stone, by splitting, in consequence. In all such cases the hole should be filled in with cement. The dimensions of interlaced crosses vary considerably; one of the tallest and most graceful is that at Gosforth, in Cumberland, which is 15 ft. high. The shafts of the crosses are generally rectangular in section, often with a cable moulding at the angles. Sometimes the lower portion is circular, dying off into the square towards the top. The Penrith crosses are a good instance of pillar stones, differing very little in outline from the Pagan monoliths.

Origin of Ornament.—By far the finest illuminated manuscripts and crosses of this description are undoubtedly Keltic, the Irish having far excelled all the other inhabitants of Great Britain in the fertility of their designs and extraordinary skill displayed in their workmanship. It is therefore but fair to suppose that the Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians simply adopted the style of ornament of the people they conquered.

Character of the Sculpture.—The various forms sculptured on these stones may be divided into the following classes—viz., 1, symbolical devices; 2, interlaced patterns; 3, geometrical patterns of the Greek fret type; 4, grotesque interlaced animals; 5, conventional foliage; 6, forms of men and animals; 7, inscriptions. A leading peculiarity of the sculptured ornament is that it is almost always divided horizontally into panels. A marked exception to this rule must, however, be made in the case of the Isle of Man stones, which possess also other features not found elsewhere.

Symbolical Devices.—The Scottish crosses are very rich in symbols of all kinds, the meaning of which is, however, still doubtful. They are known as the spectacle, the sceptre, etc. The symbol which occurs most frequently on all crosses of this date is the triquetra—a device formed by the intersection of three equal circular arcs. Whether Pagan or Christian it stands for Trinity in unity. There

is also another symbol, consisting of two elliptical rings crossed, the meaning of which I am unacquainted with. The most common Christian symbols are the cross and the emblems of the four evangelists and the Trinity. The five bosses which occur on many of the Cornish crosses are supposed to indicate the Saviour's five wounds.

Interlacements.—The distinctive and beautiful feature which separates Keltic art from all other is the wonderful variety of interlaced patterns, known as knotwork or braidwork, and often wrongly called Runic—a term which can only properly be applied to a particular form of Scandinavian alphabet. Numerous ingenious suggestions have been made to explain the origin of interlaced work. Mr. French has written a paper in the *Journal* of this Society to show that it was copied from the wattlework of the aboriginal inhabitants. Against this theory, it may be urged that the lines of wattlework run horizontally and vertically, as in a common basket, whereas the lines of the interlacements run diagonally. Mr. Eeroyd Smith is of opinion that the Roman pavements may have been taken as models. The Rev. J. G. Cumming¹ holds by far the most plausible theory, namely, that of gradual development from simple elements. He says, "I observe that a cord or rope suggests itself very readily as an ornament to any maritime people". The straight cable occurs continually on these monuments without any alteration. A waved line is the next development, then two cords twisted, and a plait. My own idea is that a few, perhaps not more than a dozen or so different kinds of very simple knots, such as must inevitably occur to a designer of this kind of work, were taken as elements. These elements are then repeated in succession, either by themselves alone or in combination with others recurring at intervals. In this way it will be found that the most elaborate patterns take their origin from a few very simple elements. It may, however, be thought strange how so many extraordinarily beautiful variations can be obtained from such a small number of primary elements; but the mathematical theory of combinations easily explains this. A large number of new designs may also be obtained by slightly altering the angles

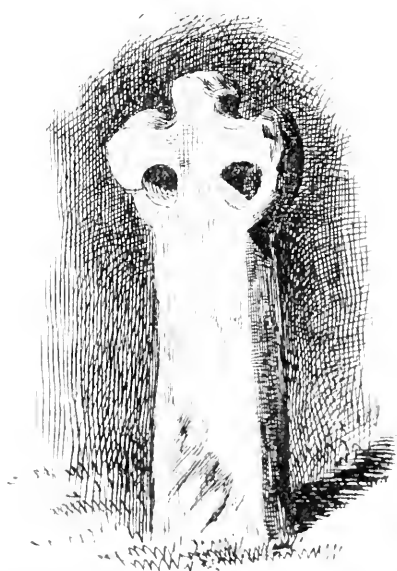
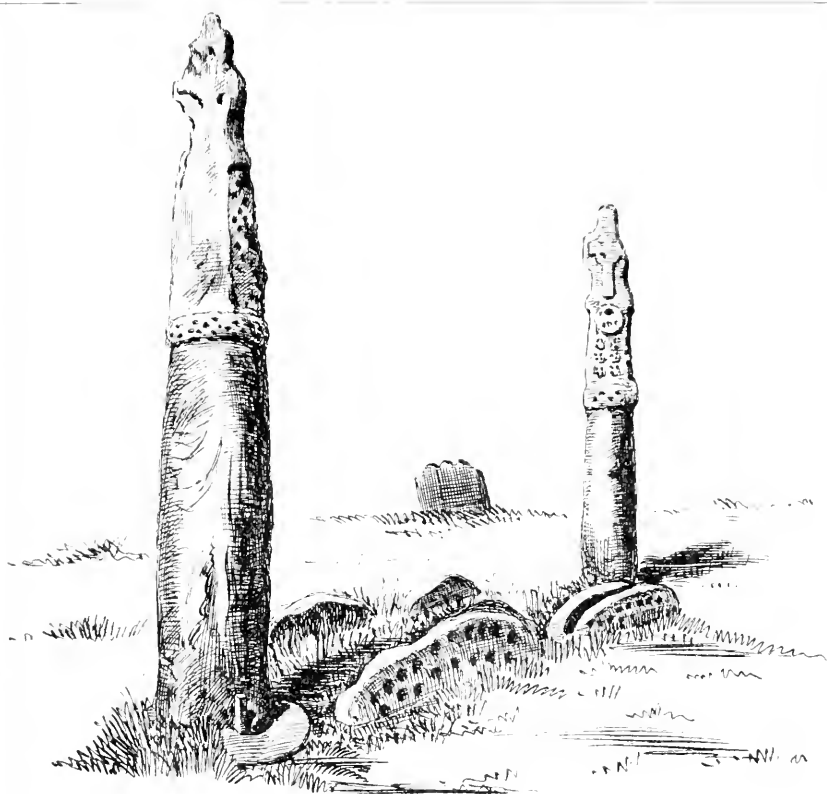
¹ See *Arch. Camb.* 1866, pp. 156-167.

at which the interlacements cross, by sharpening their curves or by doubling or trebling the cord.

Geometrical Fret Patterns.—Patterns of the Greek fret type, or, as they are sometimes appropriately called, key patterns, are almost invariably found side by side with interlacements. The contrast thus obtained between the highly geometrical character of the key patterns and the almost naturalistic appearance presented by the knotwork is most effective and striking. Fret designs occur all over the world, in China, Peru, Greece, and Etruria, and may reasonably be supposed to have been originated afresh in each of these different countries. They are remarkably well adapted for being drawn with a pointed stick on pottery, or with a reed pen on parchment, and are consequently used to a very large extent as borders to illuminated manuscripts. The origin of the Greek honeysuckle was the ease with which the sweeps of the brush followed its curves; and these key patterns may very likely be traced back to the fact of the facility with which they may be drawn with a reed.

Interlaced Animals.—The extraordinary mythical animals, with tails and paws interlaced in every conceivable way, are probably nothing more than a further development of knotwork. Mr. Cumming thinks that in the Isle of Man the pelleted band suggested the scaled animal. In reference to this, he says, in the paper before mentioned, "Starting from the form of a simple cord or riband, then of two or more different ribands intertwined, this form of decoration has passed (as I conceive) into floriation, assuming the forms of interlacing boughs and foliage, and at all times has a tendency to zoomorphism, transforming itself into grotesque figures of intertwining monstrous animals, more especially of dogs, birds, fishes, and serpents."

Conventional Foliage.—The foliage which occurs on these crosses is apparently like the animals, simply elaborated from knotwork. It is probably the last development, and when it takes the form of spiral scrolls it is exceedingly beautiful. It may here be observed that spiral lines are found much more frequently in the manuscripts and on metal work than on the sculptured stones, probably on account of the material not being so well adapted for this kind of ornament.



CROSSES IN PENRITH CH YD. CUMBERLAND.



Forms of Men and Animals.—We come at last to the highest development of the sculptor's art—that of representing the human form, in which, however, the designers of this period seem to have been singularly unsuccessful. Although there is a marked difference between the various attempts that were made, I think that, on the whole, it must be admitted that they utterly failed in this branch of art. The scenes represented on these crosses show a curious mixture of Pagan and Christian legend. Animals occur frequently, especially stags and horses. In the later examples, figures of the Saviour and of saints are common, generally with the nimbus. Before leaving this subject, there is one very curious peculiarity of some of the sculpture, and that is the representation of reversed figures. There are several examples of this at Gosforth, at Winwick, and Aycliffe.

Inscriptions.—The languages in which the inscriptions are written is either debased Latin, Scandinavian, or Saxon. The character of the letters are Oghams, Runes, Latin capitals, and the Irish alphabet of the *Book of Kells*.

MEDALS COMMEMORATIVE OF EVENTS IN BRITISH HISTORY.

BY G. G. ADAMS, ESQ., F.S.A.

THE study of the vestiges of the civilised history of mankind, which I assume is the true vocation of the archæologist, may often puzzle us to determine to which of the three classes of artists or art workmen we are most indebted—the workers in stone, clay, or metal. The first have left us the architectural remains of distant ages and lost nations. The fictile ware of the potter is, however, more enduring than the cloud-capped towers, gorgeous palaces, and temples of the architect. The workers in metal supply most of the implements of industry and war, coins which are the medium of commerce, and medals which have been struck to commemorate some great event in the world's history.

Medals may, for the sake of convenience, be divided into various classes, and we are rich in collections of almost every variety of them. First of all, there are coronation medals, which commemorate the accession of a sovereign to the throne; next there is a vast series of medals, struck in honour of statesmen and others who have rendered great public services: then the army and navy have their medals, some given exclusively to generals, field officers, and admirals, others like those seen on the breasts of so many of our brave soldiers and sailors. There are also *satirical* medals, some of them possessing great wit and humour; and last, though by no means least, medals which were struck in memory of great events in our national history. The first of these now extant is the gold medal of Henry VIII (a Welshman), and the last is that executed and struck to commemorate the proclamation of our Queen Victoria as Empress of India.

As the title of this paper indicates, my observations will be limited to a comparatively small number of medals. We exclude not only coins, but all medals used as coins, such as the celebrated gold one of David II, King of Scotland, and others, earlier, of the same character. There are also

minor medals, some of them displaying much artistic skill, which can hardly be considered of historic value, except to their possessors, for medals have been struck in honour of Bacchanalian clubs, teatotal festivals, and those of Odd-fellows, who seem to delight in wearing such decorations. There are also medals given in our schools, colleges, universities, and learned societies.

The series of royal coronation medals, from William the Conqueror to Queen Victoria, may be said to be complete; unfortunately none of them are authentic prior to the year 1545. We are indebted to Dassier, a Swiss artist, who came to England in 1740, for most of the earlier designs. He was an artist of merit, and a man of great industry, who, by the study of coins, pictures, monuments, and books, arrived at a tolerably accurate conception of the physiognomy and features of our earlier kings. Indeed, where he fails, a ready and full excuse may be given him. The archæologists of the early part of the last century had, comparatively speaking, few of the advantages in the prosecution of their labours which fall to the lot of the gentlemen who form this Association. For the sake of convenience, we may divide all these royal and imperial medals into two classes—the *authentic*, that is, those which were executed by artists who were contemporary with the events commemorated, and in which the likeness of the sovereign is taken from life; and the *artistic*, or those which the artist, assisted by the archæologist, produces as the only attainable representation of what a contemporary artist should have done if the man had lived, and the opportunity been afforded him of executing his work.

The latter kind of medal, then, which I call artistic, takes its place by the side of a historical picture, the artist not being present to witness that which he produces. In the same way Dassier and other men of genius have brooded over the relics of the hero of Agincourt, his predecessors and successors, until there had risen before them a grand procession of kings and queens; and in that hour of their inspiration have touched the more than brutal metal, and made it expressive of royal passion, thought, and power, bravery and cowardice, beneficence and avarice, intellect and stupidity, all are there for sculptors and medallists, as Dryden says from Virgil—

“ The breathing bronze shall chase,
And from the death-like marble upcall the living face.”

The *authentic* medal is, however, always more precious than the *artistic*, since, in addition to other things, it gives us an idea of the state of the fine arts at the period when the piece was executed ; it also usually has a feeling in it, expressive of the emotions of the time, which no resuscitator of the past can possibly impart to his creations. This perhaps is seen as much in the caricature medals as in any others, or even more so.

I was told the other day that, while Scotland was rich in medals, Wales had none. It might almost be said in reply, especially if there be not an error in saying it, that the English medals are Welsh, as they originated with the Tudors. I have therefore much pleasure in showing you an impression of the first royal medal that was ever executed in this country, that of Henry VIII, struck at the time of the Reformation. Until the commencement of Henry's eventful reign, England had no medals ; and, when the Tudors took possession of the throne, they inaugurated a new age in the medallie history of England.

The first medal, as before remarked, was struck in the year 1545—a year of great trouble, every effort being made to crush the Reformation. Around the head of the king is an inscription in Latin : “ Henry VIII, by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and on earth of the Church of England and Ireland, under Christ, supreme Head” ; and this is repeated on the reverse by two inscriptions, one in Greek and the other in Hebrew. You will observe that the king appears in his usual bonnet, furred gown, and invaluable collar of rubies, which precious gems were afterwards disposed of in the time of Charles I, to procure bread for the royal family.

The next of these royal (shall I call them Welsh ?) medals, dated two years later, just before the king's death, is a work of much merit. On the obverse is a full-faced portrait of the king, and around it in Latin, “ Henry VIII, by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland.” On the reverse is a monument, with Hercules breaking the ensigus of *Papal* power, and in the foreground an angel, holding a downward burning torch. The whole is executed with much spirit, skill, and ability. There are

several other medals of the time of Henry VIII, which are not without their beauty and interest. The first, however, which we have mentioned is the most important, not only in itself as the first medal struck in commemoration of a great historical event, but because it further served as an example for the first of our *authentic* coronation medals.

We are indebted to the accession of Edward VI for the first coronation medal England can boast of, which was executed at the time the event recorded, or represented upon it, happened. On the obverse, the king appears half length, with a sword in one hand and an orb in the other. Around the effigy is a Latin inscription: "Edward VI, by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and on earth, of the English and Irish Church, supreme Head; was crowned on the 20th of February, 1546, in the tenth year of his age." (We should read this date "1547", since the year then began on the 25th of March.) The inscription is repeated on the reverse in Greek and Hebrew.

The inscriptions or royal titles upon medals have varied considerably since the days of Henry VIII, but they still retain the title of "Defender of the Faith", which was conferred on that king by Pope Leo X, October 11, 1521, for his book against Luther. It was confirmed by Act of Parliament, 35 Henry VIII, c. 3, 1543. The title had, however, been used in England long before that time, notably by Richard II, in his proclamation against the opinions of Wycliffe, July 3, 1382, and was also used by the Roman Catholics, Mary, Philip, and James II; also by Protestant sovereigns. There have, however, been some significant changes. Henry and his successors were kings of France and Ireland, with the union of Scotland under the English crown. The old British, that is the Welsh, title of "Great Britain", was employed as being the most ancient, national, and expressive.

There are three royal medals which may be styled *imperial*, since they bear the word emperor or empress upon them. The first of these was issued by James I, soon after his accession to the throne. It has the head of James looking young and hopeful, and around it the motto: "James I, Cæsar Augustus of Britain, heir of Cæsar." On the reverse there is a lion supporting a beacon, and the inscription:

“Behold the haven and safety of the people.” It is difficult to see how his majesty could have explained his connection with the Roman emperors; and this perhaps was felt at the time, for a few years later another, and what we may call an amended medal, was made and issued. In this the king has not only the laurels of victory around his head, but the face is more bold and determined. The artist seems to have flattered his majesty a little. The inscription is clear enough, “James I, Emperor of all the islands of Great Britain, and King of France and Ireland”, with the motto, “They flourish in perpetual concord.”

The last imperial medal is that of our Queen as Empress of India. It was thought sufficient (by the Indian Government) to record the fact in all simplicity. When James issued his medal with the word “emperor” upon it, he reigned over something less than seven millions of people. Queen Victoria reigns over fully one-fourth of the human race, and the ancient, civilised, and mighty country of which she became empress, contains a population of nearly two hundred millions of souls. No emblems that I know of can express that mighty change. It is a thing that the mind can realise, but which neither painter nor sculptor can embody, either on canvass, in marble, or in metal.

The Empress of India medal, as will be seen by the impressions before you, bears a profile portrait of her Imperial Majesty, the only words employed are, “Victoria, 1st January 1877” (the day of the proclamation in India), and on the reverse, in English, “Empress of India”, and in Persian and Hindi the same, or a similar title.

These medals, as I have already shown, commemorated great historial events, and may be termed purely national medals, since they were struck in honour of something that had been done, in which the whole heart of the nation had been absorbed.

The next in order are, I consider, the two celebrated medals which were executed in 1587, to commemorate the destruction of the Spanish Armada. They have been said to be of Dutch workmanship, and with great probability, as Holland was at this time almost as much interested in that celebrated event as the English themselves, and may therefore have paid it that honour. What may be called the first, represents on the obverse all the Catholic princes

seated in a circle, with their eyes bandaged and their feet resting upon spikes ; over their heads is a Latin motto : “ O the blind minds of men ” ; and around an inscription, “ It is hard to kick against the pricks.” The reverse shows a powerful sketch of the Armada itself. The huge unmanageable ships are rolling in the trough of the sea or sinking down hopelessly in the watery abyss, reminding one forcibly of Byron’s lines—

“ Then rose from sea to sky the wild farewell ;
Then shrieked the timid and stood still the brave.
Then some leaped overboard with fearful yell,
As eager to anticipate the grave.”

Above is an appropriate motto, “ Come, see, live, etc.” The other medal is not equal in artistic finish, still it is not without its merits. The obverse represents the Queen as seated upon the throne, around are the shields of monarchs, held by boys, representing the ambassadors of Europe paying homage to the fortunate sovereign ; encircling them is the inscription, “ To the best and greatest God be praise and honour for ever.” The subject of the reverse represents the pope, cardinals, bishops, and monks as smitten with the wrath of heaven, who are falling crushed, and over this, in Hebrew, the word “ Jehovah.” The inscription proceeds, “ Whom God shall destroy with the breath of His mouth.”

These medals may be considered as significant, since they are, so far as I am enabled to determine, the first that celebrate the naval victories of Great Britain. All true Britons love the sea. In ancient times they met the foe at the ninth wave. They launched out into the deep to meet him there. The record of our naval triumphs, down through succeeding generations, has been preserved, however imperfectly, on our medals. I have given you a sketch of the first, on which the valour of Hawkins, Drake, and other heroes, who broke the power of Spain, is displayed. I now submit an impression of the obverse of a medal (the Queen’s profile portrait), which commemorates a deed of adventure equal in intensity and daring—it is the medal of the last Arctic Expedition (1875-1876.) The reverse represents a ship imbedded in ice.

Before leaving this subject, however, let me call your attention to a curiosity, in the form of a coronation medal,

which possesses for me at least no small interest. I by chance met with and purchased in London a pair of huge steel dies, the impressions from which will show the medal as unusually large. It is nearly 6 inches in diameter, and is a coronation medal of George I; but all inquiries have failed in gaining any knowledge of it, and it is by no means clear that it was ever used for the purpose for which it was executed. Nothing is known of it at the British Museum, at the Royal Mint, or in other collections visited by me. All seem anxious to obtain impressions of it, but none have as yet been issued. The name of the artist is N. Seelænder, who flourished in 1711, and died in 1743. Now the Seelænder family appear to have been celebrated as medallists for more than two hundred years. Nicholas Seelænder published a small book on coins and medals, another artist of the same name published an elaborate work on the same subject no longer ago than 1853. Both these books were published in Hanover.

Now what we may call the real dies, used for the coronation medal of George I (impressions of which are before you), were cut by E. Hannibal, and it is singular that we find no trace of him. He does not appear to have been of sufficient mark to get his name into any biographical record. The medal has considerable merit, and you may contrast the manner in which two artists have displayed their genius in recording the same event. We have no authentic account of how it happened that two artists were employed upon dies to celebrate the same event, and bearing the same date. For argument's sake, suppose (as the prince was a German) there was a competition by two of his countrymen, then we might imagine why Seelænder's medal was not selected. Perhaps from its large size, and money not being so plentiful in those days. His medal would have taken at least £120 worth of gold to have made one for his majesty. Seelænder's medal is not without its peculiarities, as well as its merits; and it is the only attempt that I have seen where symbolical letters instead of plain ones have been used on a royal medal. Indeed, the medal and its associations will afford matter enough for a paper by itself. Both medals have the profile portrait of the king on the obverse. The reverse of Hannibal's is the more simple in design, and is the usual size of coronation medals.





The first modern satirical medal which we possess was struck about the year 1501, and published by Frederick (the expelled King of Naples) against his adversary, Ferdinand, King of Spain. It bears on one side the head of Ferdinand, with the inscription in Latin : " Ferdinand, King of Arragon, *the old wolf of the world*", and on the other side a wolf carrying off a sheep, with the motto, "My yoke is sweet and my burden light." It is said that the enraged monarch, on seeing it, declared that he would rather have lost a regiment of soldiers than the medal should ever have been struck. About the time of the Reformation they became very plentiful, and the first of these were points of wit directed against the papacy. During the time of Charles I and the Commonwealth, many fine satirical medals were struck, notably one in which is ridiculed the anxiety of France and Spain in seeking the Protector Cromwell's favour. It was made in Holland by the partisans of Charles II. There is a famous medal ridiculing the Rye House plot ; and there are two more serious ones on Sancroft and the seven bishops who were sent to the Tower. They were pungent weapons thrown at the heads of sovereigns and statesmen, and occasionally at the mob, which sometimes did good service, especially before we had a free press. The last edition of Pinkerton's work on *The Medallic History of England* was published seventy-two years ago, and that only brought the subject down to the reign of Anne. Other publications on medals are merely an epitome of that author's work. Time forbids my pursuing this subject further.

The universal and systematic culture of the fine arts which adorn civilised life received a great impetus in 1851, through the patronage of the Prince Consort ; and although medals and coins have received less attention than the other branches of art, still, though slowly, we are, I trust, attaining to a better state of mind in relation to them. Nevertheless, we cannot forget that at the present moment the art of medal die is in advance of us, by patronage, in Germany, France, Belgium, and other countries. For instance, it is a fact, that since Waterloo I know of no medal being struck *commemorative* of our great battles gained. It is true also that nearly twenty-five years have passed since our Government (through the recommendation of an officer

of the Royal Engineers, Captain Harness, who was commissioned to report upon the establishment of the Royal Mint) agreed that the services of our artists stationed there should be dispensed with, so that the dies which were executed then and previously are multiplied, and still being used for the coins now issued. But hopes are, that the time is not far distant when due thought and encouragement will be again given to this art ; and that this country may have the fair opportunity of competing in it with other nations ; and that we may be enabled to sing with Pope, somewhat in this strain—

“ When shall Britain, conscious of her claim,
Stand emulous of Greek and Roman fame ;
In living medals see her wars enrolled,
And vanquished realms supply recording gold ? ”

ON SIEGBURG STONEWARE.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

THE Chinese annals record that pottery was invented by Houen in the reign of the Emperor Hoang-Ti, B.C. 2698, and although western barbarians are too prone to scoff and quibble about celestial chronology, we have good reason to believe that vessels and various objects of stoneware, coated with stanniferous glaze, were employed in China at a very remote epoch, and of which specimens are still preserved in the cabinets of the virtuosi. A few pine-cone and lemon-shaped bottles of terra cotta have been met with in Theban tombs, of a deep reddish-brown hue, and so intensely hard and highly fired that they may fairly come under the designation of *stoneware*, and prove beyond question that the art of manufacturing this peculiar and valuable species of pottery was well known to and practised by the ancient Egyptians. Examples of these fruit-shaped vessels exist in the British Museum and in my own collection, and one, in form of a pine-cone, is engraved in Denon's *Travels* (pl. 98, fig. 31).¹

Some of the larger Roman crucibles, *cadi*, *amphoræ*, and *mortaria*, and the black *olla* of the fourth century, bear a slight affinity to *grès-cérame*, but it was not until late in the middle ages that veritable *stoneware* was produced in Europe, tradition attributing its invention to the year 1425, and Teylingen, near Leyden, as its birthplace. But without halting to inquire into the truth of these assertions, we may accept as fact that Teylingen, Arnheim, Siegburg, Cologne, Aachen, and other localities in the neighbourhood of the Lower Rhine, carried on a vigorous manufacture of vessels of light-coloured stoneware towards the close of the fifteenth and throughout the sixteenth century. One of the earliest examples of this kind of pottery, of which the date can be determined with precision, is a costrel or pilgrim's bottle, once in the possession of our former associate Mr. George Isaacs, and now in the British Museum.

¹ A nearly similar bottle is reported to have been found in Berkshire. See *Journal*, xiv. p. 358.



It bears in low relief on one of its flat faces the busts of St. Clement and a bishop, and on the other the holy coat, with a cherub above, and beneath a shield charged with a double-headed eagle; and from an inscription surrounding this group, we learn that the vessel was wrought at AKON (Aix-la-Chapelle) about the year 1480. During the reign of our sovereign Elizabeth there dwelt in this same city of Akon one Garnet Tynes, who dealt in and exported "pottes made at Culloin, called drinking stone pottes", at least so we are told in a curious document printed in our *Journal* (v, 38). But it is time we hasten on to the productions of Siegburg, a few miles from Cologne, and for the identification of which reference must be made to an example of the sixteenth century in the British Museum. It is a beaker-shaped jug, about 5 ins. in height, the mouth funnel-formed, the body ovate, embossed with three medallions, each occupied by a group of Sampson and the Lion. At the back is an annular handle, and it has a spreading foot impressed round its edge with the thumb, in the manner observable in pottery of a much earlier age. This fine specimen was found in London, and purchased in 1855. There is also in the British Museum a bottle-shaped Siegburg vessel, the globose body of which is decorated with three medallions of Scriptural subjects, and which is of special value, from its bearing the date 1559. This choice object formed Lot 3,040 at the sale of the Bernal collection in 1855.

The stoneware of the Lower Rhine is distinguished by its lightish hue, the extreme durity and density of its paste; its intense firing rendering glaze needless, although there be nothing repugnant to its reception, as we shall presently see. There are two types of vessels characteristic of, if not absolutely peculiar to, the Siegburg pottery. The one, a somewhat skittle-shaped jug, with more or less cylindric neck, the other a beaker of the form given in our *Journal* (vol. v, p. 23, fig. 8), which was made both with and without a handle. And it is worthy of note that drinking vessels of the latter contour are found delineated in paintings of the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, copies of which may be seen in D'Agincourt's *History of Art by its Monuments*, iii, 83 and 75.

At our meeting held on December 6, 1876, our Vice-President, Mr. R. N. Philipps, exhibited to us a fine tall Sieg-

burg jug of the sixteenth century, discovered with a similar example in Guelderland, Holland ; and this exhibition has prompted me to gather from the Baily and my own collection a few stoneware vessels of Siegburg origin, and place them before you for inspection this evening. The skittle-shaped jug I produce was found in the Steelyard, Upper Thames Street, in 1865. Its neck, to which the handle was attached, has suffered damage, but the body well displays the horizontal channels called by the French writers *cercelé*, and the expanded foot the thumb ornamentation. My next specimen was also discovered in the Steelyard in 1863, and is, I believe, a variety of the beaker, but its neck is so much broken that its exact form is rather doubtful. The body is less ovate than is usually the case with the beaker ; it shows the *cercelé* in the style of the foregoing jug, and the foot is thumbed round the edge. The date of this small and scarce type cannot be later than *circa* 1500.

I have now to call attention to two sixteenth century beakers of different capacity, but each measuring nearly 5 ins. in height. The largest one was exhumed in Cannon Street, February 1855, the smaller in Old Broad Street, July 1866. We have only to add annular handles to the ovate bodies of these vessels and we convert them into jugs, similar to the one in the British Museum, save that these are undecorated, whilst that is adorned with medallions.

We will pass now from the beaker jug in the British Museum to two highly interesting examples in the Baily collection, both of which were found in London. The first has on its ovate body three medallions, that in front displaying the demi-figure of a lady in the costume of the sixteenth century, with her hands pressed in prayer, behind whom is a band or ribbon, inscribed DE BOENVX. The two other medallions have half-length profile figures of a lady, bearing in her right hand a cross-staff, and in her left a cup. The legend on the ribbon reads DER GELVE. Each of these figures is enclosed in a lozenge, the spaces between which and the wreath-margin of the medallion being occupied with cherubs' heads, with expanded wings. Mrs. Baily's second specimen was exhumed from the Steelyard in 1864. On the front of its body is a large medallion nearly filled with a shield, charged with the imperial double-headed eagle, ensigned with a crown. But the most remarkable features

in this beaker jug are two large thistle-like leaves, one on either side, incised in the paste before firing, and which extend from just beneath the annular handle at back, to near the edge of the medallion. This species of embellishment is seldom met with on Siegburg stoneware, but I have the front portion of the body of a vessel produced in the same mould as the foregoing, which shows the tops of the incised leaves on either side of the medallion. It was found in Moorfields, November 1865. We should not fail to observe the glaze on the jug from the Steelyard, which, from its only partially covering the surface, looks more like the effect of accident than design, though it cannot be denied that the Siegburg pottery was at times coated with a glaze, as is evident by a large jug in the Baily collection, on the two opposite sides of which are great medallions, with the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Eden by an angel. And, as a further example of the glazed ware of this manufacture, I submit a sixteenth century jug, discovered in Lombard Street in 1866. It is $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in height, the flat handle arching from the cylindric neck to the swelling body, the spreading foot being as usual thumbed round its edge.

I have endeavoured in this brief communication to indicate the origin, and point out the leading characteristics of a singular and highly interesting description of German stoneware, which from time to time is exhumed in England, but in far less abundance than the mottled-brown ware manufactured in the vicinage of the Middle and Upper Rhine, and of which the renowned *Bellarmines* or *Long-Beards* are old, familiar, and favourite examples.

ON

THE "RESULTS OF THE RECENT EXPLORATION OF THE ROMAN STATION AT SOUTH SHIELDS."

BY THE REV. R. E. HOOPPELL, M.A., LL.D., F.R.A.S., MEMBER OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, PRESIDENT
OF THE TYNESIDE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB.

THE town of South Shields is situated in immediate proximity to one of the most interesting and important of the Roman fortresses in the North of England, but, through circumstances which it is not necessary for me to enter into on the present occasion, its claims to regard, both on account of its interesting archaeological associations and its neighbourhood to charming natural beauties, have been, until very lately, almost entirely ignored.

The Roman fortress was situated on a commanding eminence, known to subsequent ages as the "Lawe", jutting out like a promontory towards the north, on the southern bank of the Tyne, where that river falls into the sea, and isolated from the mainland in Roman times by a narrower branch of the same river, which ran past its southern face, and thus formed a second outlet for the stream. The position of the station was thus immensely strong, and it was, in addition, powerfully fortified by art.

During the past few years, building operations have remarkably extended in South Shields, and it was the bringing of this lofty hill into the market, as an eligible site for new streets and edifices, that stirred up local antiquaries and their friends, to endeavour to disentomb the buried treasures of history and art, concealed beneath the surface that for generations past had been consecrated to the plough. In this attempt they have been entirely successful, and their labours have been abundantly repaid. They have traced the ramparts on all the sides of the station, excavated the four gateways, laid bare the pavement of the ancient forum and the walls of numerous important buildings, and amassed a vast and profoundly interesting collection of relics of Roman art, and of the military and domestic life of that remarkable people.

I propose now to lay before the British Archaeological Association a brief summary of the results attained. In the first place, with regard to the size and arrangement of the station. The exploration proved that it contained five and a third English acres; that it was surrounded by a massive wall exceedingly well built; that the outside was faced with particularly fine squared stones; that the corners were rounded; that the upper part of the wall was narrower than the lower, the junction between the upper and lower portions being effected by a course of massive chamfered stones; that there were four gates, one on each side, the northern and southern gates opposite each other, and in the centres of their respective sides, the eastern and western gates, not exactly opposite each other, and nearer the northern than the southern ends of their respective ramparts. The exploration showed, too, that the station had many fine buildings within it, as well as houses inhabited by individuals of taste and wealth; and that it, or its immediate neighbourhood, was thickly peopled, for the evidences of the passage along its streets, and over the pavement of its forum, and through its halls, of innumerable feet, are unmistakable. Nearly in the centre of the station the explorers uncovered what proved to be the forum. It was paved throughout with central pavement, side walk round three sides, the east, south, and west, and channeling to carry off the rain. On the western side were found three pillars; one quite whole, one nearly so, the third in fragments. These lay in and about the channeling. They appeared to have stood on that side of the forum, possibly as a kind of imposing entrance. They appeared to have been thrown down from their erect position by a wall, which fell from the north side of the forum and struck them in its descent. This fallen wall was one of the most interesting features of the exploration. It evidently belonged to a stately edifice abutting on the forum. Into this building was a grand entrance from the forum. The keystone of the arch which spanned it was found with the head of a bull (*bos longifrons* evidently) sculptured on it. The threshold, which lay below the arch, was there, worn deep with footsteps. Over the threshold was the concrete floor of a noble hall. The wall which fell, and which had been fully 30 ft. in height, for nearly that breadth of prostrate masonry lay in an unbroken mass on the floor

of the forum, had formed its southern bound. To the north were other apartments. A large room with concrete floor in perfect preservation, with flues beneath, and breaks in the wall, as if indicative of windows, and a remarkable chamber 4 ft. below the rest, approached by a flight of stone steps quite perfect, paved with flags, with an oblong cistern or impluvium sunk in its floor, and a window with cill and jambs remaining, and holes in the cill for iron bars and walls 4 ft. in thickness, formed of vast stones, once clamped together with lead or iron, or both, and which had manifestly been portions of other buildings of an earlier age before they had been used to build the walls of this impregnable chamber. The nature of the purposes for which this strong apartment was intended and used it is difficult to determine, especially in consequence of the sunk receptacle I have called above a cistern or impluvium. Were that not there, we might plausibly conjecture that the room was really the bank of the governor, the treasury where the military chest was kept; and so it may have been, notwithstanding the oblong paved and walled pit within it. In any case, the visits of inmates or officials to the room were frequent, for the steps bear striking marks of wear, not on one side only, but on both (for they had been turned), which could only have been caused by incessant traffic, extending over long periods of time.

In another part of the station, what was evidently another very important building was uncovered. The walls perfect to a height of several feet, and the paved flooring also; the length 70 ft., the breadth 47 ft., inside measurement. The exterior of the walls on all sides furnished with buttresses, indicative perhaps of an open roof. On the south side a portico of apparently four pillars. The pedestals on which three of the pillars stood were found in their original position. Beneath the south-western corner of this building was a subterranean chamber, which had been probably connected with the arrangements for heating the building above. It had been arched over, not continuously, but in the style called, I believe, by builders "arched and stepped". The stones of which the arches were composed had come in great part from older buildings, as was evident from the varied "broaching" or "tooling" visible on many of them. What had been the use of this capacious edifice can only be conjectured. A favourite theory is that it had been a temple.

I do not see why, if it was used for worship of any kind, it may not have been a Christian church. No altars or other symptoms of heathen worship were found within or near it. Indeed, the number of recorded altars found at the station is remarkably small, while there can be no doubt that the Christian religion flourished, more or less, in every part of the Roman empire long before the station at South Shields fell a prey to the destroyer.

In other parts of the station were found hypocausts, and the lower walls of private houses. Near the eastern gate was found a room with a fireplace, and doorway with place for bar to fasten it, and on the wall of an adjoining room the remains of plaster, still exhibiting the traces of the coloured ornamentation with which it had been decorated. The station has proved particularly rich in the smaller articles indicating Roman occupation. Coins of silver and bronze have been found in considerable abundance, and of every era, from the last days of the Republic to the abandonment of Britain by the Romans. Some of these are in a fine state of preservation. One, a large bronze, has Greek inscriptions. The head of the Emperor Antoninus Pius on the one side, with his names and titles, and on the other the representation of a temple, with the words, "The Ephesians, keepers of the temple of Diana." Several coins have Christian symbols on their reverses. The earliest coins are consular, one of the quadriga type, and one of Antony's legions. The latest Imperial coin is one of the Emperor Arcadius. Besides these, several Romano-British minimi have been found. Next to the coins may be mentioned the fibulæ. Large numbers of these have been found, of very various patterns, some enamelled, many quite perfect, with the pin attached, working as exactly as on the day they were manufactured. Besides the fibulæ, abundance of hairpins have been found, mostly of bone, but some of jet; a writing stilus, an elegant cup, in shape somewhat resembling a wine glass, unguent spoons, lamps, and many other articles, indicating refinement and luxury. Of this latter class particularly are the rings. Numerous annuli have been found, set with cornelians, with intagli engraved upon them. Besides these, cameos without setting have been found. One, a magnificent one, a sardonyx of oval shape, nearly two inches long, by nearly an inch and a half broad. The subject is a bear, boldly executed in relief. The stone is of two colours,

white and brown. The bear is cut in the white layer, the brown layer forming the groundwork of the cameo, which, from the contrast of colours, is most effective. Besides these articles, numerous fragments of swords, and some remarkable enamelled portions of equestrian trappings have been found, numerous pieces of glass, among them some solid globes of about three inches in diameter, a mason's trowel, and many other articles.

Of bones, the usual varieties have occurred. Many of the skulls of the oxen used for food exhibit unmistakeable evidences of the fatal blow which killed them. The type is, I believe, without exception, that of the *bos longifrons*. A vast quantity of fragments of the antlers of the red deer were found, affording a striking proof of the extreme abundance of that animal in the county of Durham in early times. A fragment also of an antler belonging to the Irish elk, or some kindred species, was found, and a vertebra of a whale, but these latter may have found a resting place on the spot later, though not much later, than Roman times. Abundance of shells of molluscs were turned up, as is almost invariably the case in Roman stations.

Of pottery, I need hardly say that innumerable fragments were unearthed. Great quantities were of black ware, two of which have potters' stamps—one HNHICISI, and the other QVADRATI. This, I believe, is not a common thing in the case of black ware, and the former name is also, I believe, new to British lists of potters' stamps.¹ Numerous fragments were of Durobrivian ware, variegated and decorated in many ways. Many were fragments of mortaria and amphoræ. Some of these had the stamps of the potters on them; two of them OCGFLI and ANANS, or some similar word, also, I believe, new to British lists. A great number of the fragments were of the so-called Samian ware, and among them were many bearing stamps. Of these, as far as I am aware, the following are new in this country, besides many others that are new variations of already discovered stamps :—

GENMORF	MEN...INVS	R.L
LMVF	CNDEO	M
DITTV	MARMIN	INF OR INIF
EYATTVSF	HNHICISI	LVGHTV....
SVIVA	VVV...	

¹ Careful examination of specimens in the British Museum, in which I was

Many of these fragments of pottery bore graffiti, or scratched inscriptions, generally on the under sides. The following are some of these personal memorials, of from fifteen to eighteen centuries ago :—

REMYLI	H
NEPV	VIM
LINDITI	XXVV
LVC	XXII
PNM	X
V (on two or three different fragments)	

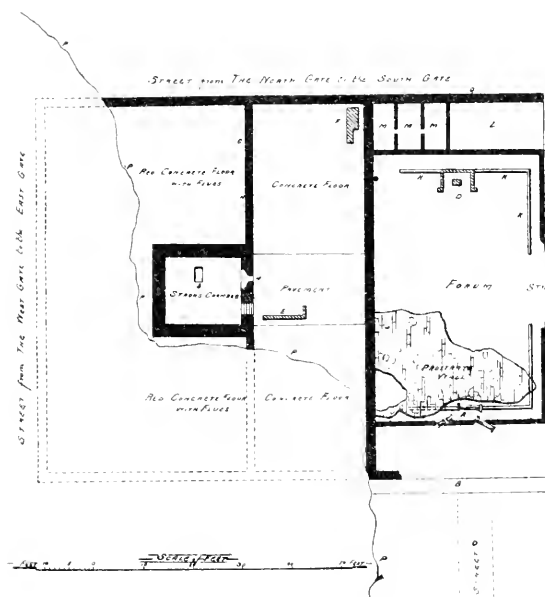
An amphora bore the letters BELSIM, and on another fragment MYHS. A tile bore the letters VOO, and under them the letters OSYY, and another tile bore the letters CALI, S, BVS in three lines, one beneath the other.

I have mentioned tiles. Many of these were found, some perfect, but most fragmentary. One had the remains of the iron nail with which it had been fastened to the woodwork of the roof. Many of these tiles bore marks which they had received while yet unbaked. The impress, for instance, of the nails in a Roman soldier's caliga or boot, the mark of the naked heel of a man, the footprints of a dog, the roughening caused by the splashing of raindrops. Many bore a stamped inscription, which may hereafter prove of much archaeological importance. It reads thus, COHV̄G, and the expansion can hardly be anything else than COHORS QVINTA GALLORVM, and the interpretation, "The fifth cohort of the Gauls." The only other notice yet found of this cohort occurs on an altar discovered at Cramond, near Edinburgh. It is a matter of much regret to many that so few inscriptions of any length have been found at South Shields.

While the exploration recently made has been so remarkably productive in numerous other results, it has been singularly barren in the matter of inscribed stones. A few of a sepulchral character have been found, on which a word or two only could be deciphered, but no altars have been discovered, nor tablets bearing legible inscriptions. Many such may possibly still be covered by the soil, but the prospect of discovering them, if such should be the case, is

kindly aided by Mr. A. W. Franks, has convinced me that the two fragments mentioned above are in reality Samian, changed to a black hue by subjection to intense heat, probably after they were fragments, and in the final conflagration which destroyed the station.

DISCOVERIES ON SITE OF ROMAN STATION.
SOUTH SHIELDS.



NOTE.

The dotted portions are conjectural, the earth not having been removed from them.

A. *The Columns, as found.*

B. Raised flagged footpath.

C. Keystone to arch, with sculptured head of *Bos Longipous*, as found.

D. Table Altar: of subsequent erection.

E.F. Dry Stone Walls, of subsequent erection
G.H. Breaks in Wall, where windows

possibly have been

1. Stone steps.

J. Cisterna or impluvium.

—K.K.K.K.K.K. Channelled Stones.

L. Walled Pit

M.M.M. *Supposed shops.*

N. Splayed window.

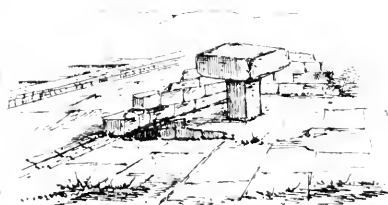
Q. Thus street went from Forum to great building which had portico the portico abutted on the street.

PPP.&C. Limit of Exploration of
this part of Station.

Q. It was judged probable that a street emerged from the Forum at about this point, but it was not explored.

The portions "hatched" on plan are
of a later period.

Ground Plan of Forum, Prætorium, &c.



from a sketch by R. Blair Fig.

Table Stone in the Forum.
D. (post roman)



Sketch of the Columns.

A.



*Pavement of Forum, Channeling,
and Prostrute Wall.*

rapidly fading away, for the ground is being fast covered with streets and houses, and a new town, rivalling in population the old Roman one, will soon crown the heights and slopes of the Lawe. It is a comfort to think that discoveries may still await future generations, for the relics lie at such a depth below the present surface that, in the majority of cases, it is only when a cellar happens to be constructed in connection with a house that the builder, in laying his foundations, reaches the level of the Roman city.

I must not omit to mention also the finding of leaden or pewter signacula or bullæ. These have been but rarely found at Roman stations in England, with the exception of one memorable example, Brough-under-Stainmoor, where large quantities have been discovered. At South Shields, up to the present time, eight have been found. The inscriptions on these small articles are seldom easy to interpret. They are much abbreviated, and frequently the letters are also much corroded. Several of those found at South Shields are singularly plain. One in particular hardly admits of the slightest doubt; the letters on one side are LVI, and on the other side DVA. The expansions would seem to be *LEGIO VICESIMA* and *DEVA*, and the interpretations, "The twentieth legion" and "Chester." Another bears ASA on one side, and what appears to be VRN on the other, which I have thought may signify *ALA SABINIANA* and *VRICONIVM*. Another has CVG on one side, and, as far as can be conjectured, from the imperfect state of the letters, TVM on the other, of which the first seems to be a contraction of the legend with which the explorers became so familiar on the tiles, *COHORS QVINTA GALLORVM*, and the latter might be a contraction of *TVNNOCELVM*. Others bear the heads of Severus, Caracalla, and Geta, with the letters AVGG above them, and the eighth bears inscriptions which I am not at present at liberty to give. I think it possible the finding of these leaden or pewter bullæ may prove of very considerable interest and importance.

One of the most instructive results of the exploration at South Shields was the evidence afforded of portions of the subsequent history of the locality. The station itself was manifestly occupied for a time by the population left behind by the Romans when they departed from Britain. Mingled with the erections of the conquerors were others, which

must have been put up by the Romano-British after their masters had left the country. In particular, there was a large square pier near the temple-like building, the stones of which were bedded in clay instead of mortar, no doubt for the want of means or labour wherewith to obtain lime. That building, too, had fallen to ruin or been demolished before the total abandonment of the city, for the subterranean chamber in its south-west corner had been filled with clay tightly puddled in; and broad footpaths, made of shingle from the beach, had been carried along two sides of it, one of them upon the lower courses of the western wall. These footpaths, too, had been carried round the whole town within the walls, and the height at which they were above the lowest level of Roman work showed through how many generations the fortress had reared its head on the Lawe, and been held by the disciplined soldiers of the Imperial city. But there was no evidence that the Romano-British had been able to keep possession of the fortress, strong though it was, both by nature and art, for any great length of time after the loss of their rulers and protectors. Complete destruction by fire overtook it. Of this, the evidences were most complete. Over the whole area (with the exception of the forum, which had doubtless been open to the skies), wherever the explorers excavated, a thick sheet of ashes was spread, like a pall, above everything that remained of Roman or Romano-British work. The ashes were of wood, doubtless of joists and rafters, and mixed with them were innumerable fragments of roofing tiles. They seemed nowhere to have been disturbed. A human skeleton in the strong chamber and portions of others on the pavement of the forum may have belonged to persons who perished in the flames, or who were slain ere the conflagration of the town was kindled. Above the ashes were signs of other visitors. It was plain the numerous, and brave, and civilised inhabitants of past times had given place to a scanty, savage, and Pagan race. Stone walls devoid of mortar were erected here and there by these strange visitors, possibly for shelter, possibly for other purposes. Flint tools were used by them in their operations, one of which, a remarkably fine specimen, was found by the explorers. An altar, composed of one thick flat stone, standing upon a slender pedestal, and carefully covered with fine white plaster, was erected by

them, with dry stone walls around three sides ; the fourth, which faced the south-west, being left unclosed, and a semi-circular bench or court, apparently for the administration of justice, or for formalities in connection with the holding of assemblies, was built with its face in the same direction.

After this came a time when the scene of so much life and energy for so many generations was absolutely deserted. I do not think there is any reason to suppose that the whole neighbourhood was abandoned by its inhabitants, but the spell of superstition fell upon the Lawe, and consecrated the treasures it contained to the use and instruction of the generations which should be born a thousand years later than the rude Pagans who last resorted thither. Instead of the summit of the Lawe, the bank of the river, stretching inland from the slope beneath, was colonised, and fear of the demons, who were supposed to guard the ruins of ancient Roman towns, kept the newly Christianised Angles and Danes from venturing near the frowning ramparts. In no other way can the singular fact be explained of the dry stone walls, the table altar, and other erections, which a child might almost have thrown down, remaining uninjured and erect through so many centuries, while Nature gently piled against them the drifting dust and sand and the *débris* of vegetation, and spread over everything at length a fruitful mantle. In no other way, I think, can the fact be explained that not a single metallic coin, as far as I am aware, has been found of the Saxon or Norman periods—none between the Romano-British *minimi* of the early days after the Roman evacuation and the time when Philip and Mary appeared on English coins as joint sovereigns of this realm. Of the reigns subsequent to the Reformation, not a few coins were found, and it is pretty clear that at, or perhaps somewhat earlier than, that period the builders of the quay walls of South Shields and of other erections began to resort to the Lawe, as to a quarry, for materials, and thus the ramparts and walls of the edifices within the station were levelled to the then existing surface of the ground. After that, the whole surface came under the plough, and it was regularly tilled for green crops and corn.

I should not omit to notice that the burial ground of the station was found on the south-west, and that several urns with ashes were taken from it, also graves with bones were

found ; and one, in particular, most perfect and interesting. Fine collections of the smaller articles discovered have been made by several gentlemen of South Shields, in particular by Mr. Robert Blair, solicitor, Mr. Thomas Vint, and Mr. T. J. Bell. The larger articles and many smaller ones have been presented to the town, and are in the very interesting museum attached to the free library maintained by the borough.

With regard to the ancient name of South Shields, I think it must have been Tunnocelum. That station was a marine one, and must have been either on the eastern or western coast of England. It is enumerated in the *Notitia* as one of the stations *per lineam valli*. The exploration at South Shields has proved that the station there was a most important one, at least as important as, if not much more important than, any other between Wallsend and Bowness. It is, on every ground, therefore, most probable that it was included in the *Notitia* list. If so, I think it must have been either Glannibanta or Tunnocelum. Glannibanta I am inclined to place at Tynemouth. That there was a Roman station at Tynemouth is well known, and the name Glannibanta in Keltic exactly expresses the character of its site. It is situated on the edge of a lofty rock, and Glan y bant signifies "The brink of the height." It is singular that the name occurs also in Roman records as Glanoventa, and Glan o vant has precisely the same signification in Keltic as Glan y bant. Tunnocelum, in like manner, is most expressive of the situation of the Lawe at South Shields. We may derive it from Tyn o celch, "The encircling Tyne",—the Lawe was in Roman times an island, as already remarked, between two mouths of the river,—or from Tîn uchel, which I prefer, "High tail." Leland intimates that Pen bal craig was also an ancient name of Tynemouth. He gives an interpretation of it, which I hardly think perfectly correct. It appears to be the same as Pen balch craig, and to mean "Towering head of rock"; and taken with Tîn uchel, forms an exact analogy to the present Bolt Head and Bolt Tail on the coast of Devon.

There are several interesting examples, along the line of the Roman wall, of a second British name having been given to a locality, after the original British name had ceased, through Latinisation, to convey its British signification to

native ears. In this way, I think, Tîn uchel, after being Latinised into Tunnoecelum, was abandoned by the Britons, when the Romans left them, for another appellation. Leland says the Roman station was then called Caer Urfa; and so, no doubt, it was, but the hill, I think, must have been called Penarth, which signifies “promontory”, and which is the only reasonable derivation of the name Panarse, which existed till modern times in that form, and which still exists in the form of Pan Ash, as the designation of a locality at the foot of the hill, on the bank of the river, where the earliest settlers probably erected their abodes after the final destruction and abandonment of the city on the summit. The names South Shields and North Shields seem certainly to have been derived from the Roman buildings, which were standing on either side the river, not only when the Angles and Danes commenced their predatory incursions, but for centuries after they had settled down as colonisers and inhabitants of the land. According to the *Notitia*, Tunnoecelum was garrisoned by the first marine cohort, called the Aelian. This may have been the same as the fifth cohort of the Gauls; or the latter, though the builders of the station, and doubtless its occupants for a time, may have given place to the former, when the northern seas became infested with the piratical hordes, which afterwards proved so sore a scourge to the abandoned provinces. It is a singular fact that several inscriptions, consisting simply of the letters A.C., the initials of Aelia Classica, have been found in the station at South Shields, on stone, brick, and tile, and that the last leaden or pewter bulla found (the lettering on which I have referred to, but have not been able to give, but trust to be able to communicate shortly to the Secretary) bears inscriptions strongly corroborative of the views expressed above.

ON THE
COMPOTUS ROLLS OF THE MANOR OF OUNDLE,
IN THE POSSESSION OF THE ASSOCIATION.

BY I. H. JEAYES, ESQ.

THE eleven parchment rolls which I beg to bring before the notice of the Association contain the yearly accounts of the bailiffs and receivers of the manor of Undele, now Oundle, co. Northampton. "Oundle", says Bridges, in his *History of Northamptonshire*, "was among the earliest possessions of which the monastery of Medhamsted was seized soon after its foundation, before it had assumed the name of Burgh. After its destruction by the Danes, when the convent was restored by Athelwold, Bishop of Winchester, King Edgar in the year 972 ratifying by his charter their former privileges and possessions, confirmed to them the township of Undele, with the mercate and toll, and all the rights and franchises of the eight hundreds which the abbey enjoyed, and of which the court was usually held here." The same authority tells us that the abbey of Peterborough continued to have possession of Oundle manor till the general dissolution of religious houses in the reign of Henry VIII, when it came into the hands of the Crown, and in the third year of Edward VI was granted to John, Earl of Bedford.

The abbots referred to in these rolls are therefore the abbots of Peterborough, of whom a list, from 1353-1496, is now given. Robertus Ramsey, 1353-1361; Henricus de Overton, 1361-1391; Nicholas Elnestowe, 1391-1396; Willelmus George, 1396-1408; Johannes Deeping, 1408-1438; Ricardus Asshton, 1438-1471; Willelmus Ramsey, 1471-1496. The earliest of the rolls is dated 38, 39 Edward III (1365-6), and there are two more of the same reign. Then follows one with the date 9, 10 Richard II (1385-6), and the rest (with the exception, perhaps, of No. 11, which is discussed more particularly in its proper place) are all of the early part of Edward IV, the latest being dated in the thirteenth and fourteenth year of his reign (1473-4), when Ricardus Asshton was abbot of Peterborough.

I have given in each case a few extracts, which seem to me more or less curious, and which may be worth the notice of the archæologist, and also the names of any persons, referred to as having any rank at all, social or official, above the level of the ordinary tenant. I have also thought it worth while to quote any expressions or phrases which may tend to show in any degree either the manners and customs, the cost of labour and the value of property, or the style of living of the period. The manor of Biggyng—a farmhouse adjoining Oundle, to which frequent reference is made, also belonged to the abbey of Peterborough.

1. "*Compotus Willelmi Bulle, Ballivi, 38, 39 Edward III (1365-6), et anno Domini Henrici de Ouerton, Abbatis, iiij^{to}.*"

EXTRACTS.—"*Compotus carucarum.* Item in lx. cloutis emptis vjs. 9d. Item in dc. clanis ad idem xvij^d. Item in j pari rotarum emptarum ad ferrandum ix^s. Item in ij gropes cum clavis emptis vd. Item in ij nouis capistris de corio cum ij raynes ad idem emptis xv^d. Item in ij kippecordis emptis iiij^d. Item in j carterop empto xiiij^d."

"*Compotus autumni.*—In carne, pisce, et allece emptis præter ij paruas bacones, caseum, butirum et lac de Dayeria de Biggyng viijs. Item in ij lbs. candelis iiij^d."

"*Expensæ seneschalli, etc.*—Item in expensis monachorum in eundo versus Oxoniam per j tallagium ix^d. In ferruris equorum Johannis Harwedone per vices xv^d."

"In expensis ipsius Ballivi in eundo Northamptoniam de parte seneschalli pro negotio placiti tangentis Geruasium de Welforth morando et redeundo ijs."

The prices of labour and stock may be gathered from the following :—

"j carpentarius per ij dies ad reparandas carucas 12d. j cymentarius per x dies ad faciendas les jambas etc. 3s. 4d. j cooptor ad cooperiendum le Stepyngghous per ij dies 6d. iiij furcatores [feni] per v dies 4s. 2d. iiij operarii ad tassandum fenum et peditandum in gran-gia 4s. 2d. euilibet per diem ij^d. In ij multonibus emptis 6s. In ij agnis ijs. In xxx agnis 20s. In xxiiij caponibus emptis pro abbattia 8s. In xvj gallinis 2s. 9d. In xvij qr. avenæ xxvijs."

The only name worth noting is "*Johannes de Herford, Receptor denariorum domini.*"

2. "*Compotus Willelmi Bulle, Ballivi, 40, 41 Edward III (1367-8), et in anno Henrici de Ouerton Abbatis vj^{to}.*"

EXTRACTS.—"*Exitus manerii.* De xiiij^d. pro warda bestiarum venientium de vaga custodia vsque ad calumpniatum."

"*Perquisita foris.*—Et de xiiij^{li}. vjs. viij^d. pro firma et redditu seldarum fori, tolueto, stallagio, placea fori, ij furnorum et toleestrie brasi-

atrie ville sic diss' Willelmo Budde computanti et Johanni Radbourne per dominum videlicet a festo Purificationis beate Marie anno instant vsque idem festum anno sequenti ad iiij terminos &c. De catallis forisfactis per mercatores nihil hoc anno. De tesanro siue aliis catallis inuentis super latrones siue eissores bursarum nihil hoc anno. Summa xij*li*. xjs. viij*l*.

"*Expense seneschalli et superuenientium.*—Item in expensis vj hominum de familia Duesse Lancastrie¹ per j noctem et j diem præter fenum et probum (?) pro xvij equis ijs. Item in expensis famulorum de Abbathia per iij vices ducere equos pro monachis Oxoniæ xij*l*. Item in expensis dictorum monachorum per iiij vices hoc anno in eundo et redeundo xvij*l*. Item in expensis sacriste in autumpno j vice x*l*. In j iro empto et liberato vsque Burgum pro adventu domine de Wake iij*l*js.

"*Pratum falcabile.*—Sunt ibidem pertinentes dicto manerio videlicet in Smethefeldmedwe subter salices iiij acræ. Item in Dademor xxiiij acre. Item apud Assleton Dampmisen de ij acræ. Item apud Ouirflet v acræ j roda. Item in Netherflet ix acræ di. Item in Milneholme xvj acræ. Summa lx acræ ij rodæ."

3. "*Compotus Willelmi Bulde, Ballivi, 47, 48 Edw. III (1374-5) et anno domini Henrici de Ouerton Abbatis xij^o.*"

EXTRACTS.—*Exitus manerii.* Et fenum in tassis venditum nichil hoc anno et hoc propter mundacionem aquarum. Et de vs. pro warda animalium hoc anno scilicet de Roberto Hotoft milite pro warda v. equorum per v. dies et v. noctes captorum pro viridi cera iij*l*js. ij*l*. et de ij hominibus de Thrapestone x*l*.

"*Necessaria.*—Et in x lbs. ferri Hispanie emptis pro diversis inde factis in manerio xij*l*. ob. per lb.

"*Compotus bidentium.*—Et in pice empti pro bidentibus signandis ij*l*.

"*Forinsece expense.*—In expensis domini et familie sue venientium ibidem pro colloquio habendo cum cancellario domini Regis per j billam sigillatam ijs. 4*d*. Et in expensis seneschalli venientis de Itelyngburgh per j billam ijs. Et datum in cementario Rectoris operanti in cancello ibidem per candem billam xij*l*. Et in expensis Roberti Ferour iij*l* hominum et viij equorum venientium de Keteryng cum quodam litere domine principisse in qua dominus equitavit uersus Keteryng, etc."

The account for corn includes food for the horses used in the Princess's journey, mentioned above; horses belonging to the manors of Byggyng and Werungton: "pro cignis sustinendis;" "in i apro et xi porcis de manerio et i apro et xx porcis de manerio de Byggyng incrassandis pro larderio."

Names to be noticed.—"Robert Hotoft, miles; John de Ardynghon, receptor domini abbatis."

4. "*Compotus Willelmi Bonde, Ballivi, 9, 10 Ric. II (1385-6), et anno domini II. de Ouerton Abbatis xxi^o.*"

EXTRACTS.—"*Perquisita fori.* Et redditus de xv*l*li. hoc anno de perquisitis fori hoc anno existentibus in manerio domini et non plus vt

¹ Blanche, wife of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.

dicat super sacramentum suum ultra repris et ideo minus causa more domini Ducis Eboraci apud Fodring" (Fotheringay).

This Duke of York was Edmund, son of Edward III, first duke, who owned Fotheringay Castle at this time.

"Necessaria.—Et in ij cratibus factis postea casualiter combustis pro toyallo cum collectione virgarum in boscis domini xijd.

"Expense forinsece.—Et in expensis Henrici Lyvermere unius armigerorum domini supernientis ad venandum pro Wlpc etc. ijs. iiijd. Et in expensis Johannis Mauntell et vxoris sue cognate domini supernientis etc. xijd. ad ij vices. Et in expensis predicti Henrici Lyvermere supernientis cum canibus domini ad venandum in parco pro le gres etc. per j tallagium xxjd. ob. Et in expensis clerici super facturam huius compoti et compoti Byggyng xvjd. Et in pergamenta pro eisdem compotis xjd."

Names.—"Dominus de Chyrchefeld, J. Budde, *capellanus.*"

5. "*Compotus Ricardi Leff collectoris onerum, etc., 1, 2 Edward IV (1461-2).*"

EXTRACTS.—"*Redditus burgagiorum.* Et de xliijs. ijd. de claro reddito diuersorum burgagiorum ibidem vt patet per rentale renouatum anno domini Ricardi Aishton abbatis xix^{mo} in quodam quaterno papiri et non plus licet nuper ad xlii. xvijs. vid. cum decasn, etc.

"Firma seldarum.—Et xvijd. de firma vnus selde in fine boreali subtus aula placitorum nuper cuiusdam Johannis Lokyn mereeri nichil hoc anno pro defectu conductoris.

"Tolnetu, etc.—Et de vs. ijd. receptis de lez aletolls—et perquisitis curiæ ibidem hoc anno tentæ ibidem die Sabbatis vocatæ lez market mote.

"Stipendium compoti, etc.—Et in feodo Jacobi Barbour occupantis officium forestarii ibidem cum vis. viiid. pro vestura sua quia nullam habuit de garderoba domini.

"Expense seneschalli cum alijs.—In solutione Margerie Wyse vt in precio vnus equi abducti extra de manerio ibidem per homines ex parte boriali xvijd. et in allocationem factam eidem compoto vt in precio vnus selle perdit in sericio domini ijs. iiijd."

Names.—Ricardus Aishton, *abbas*; Johannes Grymbald, *capellanus*; Johannes Folkesworth, "*nuper firmarius manerii de Oundell*;" Thomas Aylesham, "*nuper balliuus.*"

The term "Hokkeday" in the expression "terminis, St. martini et les Hokkeday," is thus explained by Du Cange. "Hokkeday est dies martis qui quindenam Paschæ expletam proxime excipit. Sic appellarunt Angli festiuitatem annuam quam ob ejectos ex Anglia ab Aethelredo Rege Danos eosque poene omnino uno eodemque die anni 1002 interuicini datos institutam ferunt."

6. "*Compotus Ricardi Leff collectoris reddituum, etc., 3, 4 Edward III (1463-4).*"

EXTRACTS.—"*Pannagia porcorum.* Et de ijs. de pannagio porcorum

ibidem superannatorum euntium in campis et in boscis domini tam de liberis quam de bondis tenentibus de antiqua consuetudine termino sancti martini sum ijs.

“*Firma molendinorum et furnorum.*—Et de iiijl. receptis de firma ij molendinorum aquaticorum quorum vocatur Coppelmyle sic sibi de Ricardo Oylemaker *al* Whyte ad terminum xii annorum hoc anno viijs. cum xxs. solutis per ipsum Ricardum annuatim domino Rogero Lowkenore militi et dictus Ricardus reparabit dictum molendinum, etc.

“Et de ij*l.* de Willelmo Harriot pro licencia piscandi infra mansum suum pro se et familia sua.

“*Tolneta, etc.*—Et de vijs. receptis hoc anno de lez Tolchestralle cum viij*l.* de fine Willelmi Harryot pro lez aletolls. Et de xs. viij*l.* receptis de proficuis nundinæ tentæ ibidem, etc.

“*Stipendium computantis, etc.*—Et in stipendio computantis pro redditu et firma ibidem colligendis cum vis. viij*l.* pro garno suo eo quod nullum habuit de garderoba domini hoc anno. Et in stipendio eiusdem tenentis paruas curias de portmansmote hoc anno xiiis. iiij*l.*

“Et in feodo Guidonis Wolston sibi concessio per commune factum ad terminum vitæ suæ iiij*l.*”

Names.—Thomas Aylesham, *post ballivus*; Robertus Boleyn, *nuper firmarius manerii de Biggyng*; Johannes Folkesworth, *nuper ballivus*; Ricardus Ashton, *abbas*; Willelmus Iselep, *firmarius manerii de Oundell*; Ricardus Armston, *firmarius manerii de Biggyng*; Rogerus Lowkenor, *miles*; Jacobus Barbour, *Purcarius de Oundell*; Guido Wolston, *Armiger*.

7. “*Compotus Ricardi Leff collectoris reddituum, etc., 4, 5 Edward IV (1464-5).*”

EXTRACTS.—“*Redditus turni, etc.* Et de ob. de gardianis gilde beate Marie virginis pro quadam parcella terre de vasto domini continenti in longitudine xx pedes et in latitudine in fine boreali ij pedes per standardum et in fine australi ij pollices super qua dicti gardiani edificent l murum lapideum in elargandum viam domum dicte gilde pertinentem per licenciam domini.

“*Firma seldarum.*—De xvij*l.* de firma vnus selde in fine boreali subtus aulam placitorum nuper Johannis Lokeyn nihil hoc anno pro defectu conductoris.

“*Expensæ seneschalli, etc.*—Et in expensis Johannis Presteigne et aliorum seruientium domini venancium vlpem et catum ibidem per preceptum domini et seneschalli iijs. vi*l.* ob.

“*Summa allocationum, etc.*—Et eidem (Thome Thorp) de onere dicti firmarii vt in denariis solutis Waltero Mawncell vicecomiti comitatus Northamptoniæ pro quodam fine facto cum domino Rege in scaccario suo vis. viii*l.* Et eidem de onere dicti firmarii vt in denariis solutis ballivo honoris Gloucestriæ pro amerciamentis exactis super dominum abbatem in curia de Claphoru ijs. iiij*l.* Et eidem xxs. soluti Rogero Lowknore domino de Stoke pro firma cuiusdam cursus aque sic per dominum abbatem affirmata, etc. Et eidem vs. ix*l.* ob. pro suo bono servicio in officio suo impensi et impendendi.”

8. “*Compotus Ricardi Leff collectoris reddituum, etc., 5, 6 Edward IV (1465-1466).*”

EXTRACTS.—“*Firma virgata terræ.* j*l.* de aletolle pro qualibet brasina

si brasiaverit ad vendendum j lageum vel j*l.* et præter sectam curiæ de Hallemote.

“*Firma shoparum, etc.*—Et de ij*l.* de Willelmo Harriot pro j shopa in lez Wullemarket. Et de ij*l.* de eodem pro j stallo in lez Bocherye.

“*Expensæ seneschalli, etc.*—Et in solutione Willelmo Harryot pro piscibus recenter emptis pro (*sic*) ad vsu domini abbatis vs. iij*l.* Et in solutione pro pane empto pro venaticis domini viij*l.* Et in solutione Johanni Folkesworth, Jun., pro expensis confratrum domini itinerantis versus Oxoniam ix*l.* ob.

“*Custos manerii et molendinorum aquaticorum.*—In solutione pro diversis reparationibus factis hoc anno infra manerium ibidem vt patet per billam super hunc ostentam et examinatam xis. x*l.* ob. Et in solutione pro dinersis reparationibus factis hoc anno super molendinis ibidem vt patet per billam xiijs. v*l.*”

9. “*Comptus Ricardi Leff, collectoris reddituum, etc., 8, 9 Edward IV (1468-1469).*”

EXTRACTS.—“*Firme virgate terre.* Et de iij*l.* de Ricardo Archer pro ij messuagiis quorum unum est hospiciu de le Swan.

“*Firme pratorum.*—Et de ijs. iij*l.* de Rectore ibidem pro quadam separali piscaria ibidem incipienda a Stokemyldam vsque ad Aissseton.

“Et de vis. iij*l.* de diversis tenentibus.

“*Expensæ seneschalli, etc.*—Et in expensis Roberti Brygman venatoris domini ibidem xi*l.*

“*Liberati denarii.*—Et eidem (Willelmo Ramsey) recepti super captionem huius compoti coram auditore es.

“*Summa.*—Summa omnium allocationum lx*l.* xvs. v*l.* Et debet cvij*l.* vis. E quibus allocationibus xxs. soluti Rogero Lowkenor domino de Stoke pro firma eiusdem cursus aque sic per dominum abbatem affirmata, etc. Et eidem ijs. soluti pro vno equo conducto pro Willelmo Baker equitatu London in negotio domini, etc. Et eidem computanti pro expensis per ipsum factis hoc anno in negotio domini quam pro suo bono et diligenti servicio in officio suo impensis discretionem receptoris, xxvijs. iij*l.* Et debet cv*l.* xivs. ix*l.*”

10. “*Comptus Ricardi Leff, Collectoris reddituum, etc., 13, 14, Edw. IV. (1473-4).*”

EXTRACTS.—“*Liberati denarii.* In denariis liberatis domino Abbati per manum Guidonis Wolston armigeri vt patet per papirum domini super hunc compotum ostentum xxvi*l.*

“Et eidem domino erga nundinam de Styrbrydge vt patet per librum domini super hunc compotum ostentum vj*l.* xiijs. iij*l.*

“Et eidem domino ad curiam Michaelis per manum Johannis Prestgane ex recognitione domini presentia super hunc compotum lxvs. viij*l.*

“Et eidem domino super captionem huius compoti xij*l.*

“Et eidem domino de onere Willelmi Iselepp firmarii manerii ibidem per manum fratris Willelmi Burgh lijs. iij*l.*

“Et eidem domino de onere firmariorum de Byggyng super captionem huius compoti xj*l.* xiijs. iij*l.*

“*Summa.*—Et eidem [Rogero Lowkenor] pro expensis fratris Willelmi Burgh equitantis versus Northamptoniam ad capitulum generale xvj*l.* Et eidem de redditu Thome Brandon sic eidem Thome ex ele-

mosina domini propter inopiam et paupertatem xxiijs. viij*l*. Et eidem pro suo bono et diligenti seruicio vt in decimis colligendis infra arche-diaconatum de Oundell xixs. xj*l*. ob."

Names.—"Gulielmus Augustus *collector per decena*; Johannes Hosyer, *firmarius manerii de Byggyn*; Guido Wolston, *armiger*; Ricardus Halton *nuper receptor domini abbatis*."

11. This roll is in a very imperfect and damaged condition, and there is neither beginning nor end remaining. The only clue to the date is the mention of "Willelmus nuper Abbas." There were only two abbots of Peterborough of the name of William between the reigns of Edward III and Henry VII—viz., William George (1396-1408) and William Ramsey (1471-1491). From the character of the handwriting and the general date of the other ten rolls, it is probable that the William here referred to is the former, William George. This would place the roll somewhere in the early part of the reign of Henry IV. There is scarcely anything worth remarking in the roll, but I quote below a few curious items from the "*compotus carectarum*" and "*compotus domus manerii*."

"*Compotus carectarum.*—In ij carectis axillandis hoc anno cum ij axibus domini vij*l*. Et in v vulnis de canevas emptis pro veteribus colariis reparandis xvd. Et in pakthred ij*l*. Et in lx. middilspikes emptis pro carectis reparandis ijs.

"*Compotus domus manerii.*—In xij waynscotos (*sic*) pro ostiis aule faciendis iijs. vj*l*. Et in diversis ferramentis emptis cum veteribus reparandis pro ij ostiis aule."

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS IN THE POSSESSION OF T. F. HALSEY, ESQ., M.P.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L., HON. SECRETARY.

I HAVE carefully examined the documents which were, by the kindness of Mr. Halsey of Great Gaddesden, Hertfordshire, exhibited before the Association on Wednesday, 6th June 1877, and beg to lay the following account of them before the members. Transcripts of those which contain matters of interest have been added.

1. Release from Ysabel, daughter of Bernard, son of Nicholas, to Elyas de Waude of suit and service. (Thirteenth century.)

“*Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Ysabelle filia Bernardi filii Nicholai concessi et quietum clamaui et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Elye de Waude et heredibus suis pro me et heredibus meis et assignatis meis omnimodam sectam curie mee et heredum meorum et assignatorum et si forte aliquo casu eueniat quod predictus Elyas uel heredes sui curie mee uel heredum meorum compareant non pro secta curie mee uel heredum meorum uel assignatorum predicto Elye nec heredibus suis computabatur. In cuius rei testimonium presens scriptum sigilli mei appositione roborauit. Hiis testibus, Hugone de dakenhal, Johanne Dulthe, Hugone filio Nicholai, Roberto filio Nicholai, Willelmo reymsey, Willelmo filio yuonis, Willelmo bloc, et multis aliis.*”

2. Indenture of lease by John de Bergeveny of Edelesburgh (Edlesborough, co. Bucks), to Nicholas, son of Elyas de Walda, of lands in Edlesborough for sixteen pence per annum, with seal. (Thirteenth century.)

“*Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Johaunes de Bergeueny de Edelesburgh concessi et presenti scripto meo confirmaui Nicholao filio Elye de Walda pro homagio et seruicio suo terras et tenementa cum pertinenciis suis que quondam dictus Elyas de Walda tenuit de dono antecessorum meorum in Edelesburgh habenda et tenenda de me et de heredibus meis dicto Nicholao et heredibus suis vel suis assignatis libere quiete bene et in pace iure et hereditarie in perpetuum. Reddendo inde annuatim michi et heredibus meis vel meis assignatis sexdecim denarios argenti ad quatuor anni terminos debitos et consuetos pro omni seruicio seculari consuetudine exaccione et demanda salvo forinseco domini Regis quantum pertinet ad tenementum tantum eiusdem feodi. Et ego Johannes et heredes mei omnia predicta tenementa cum suis pertinenciis vt predictum est prefato Nicholao et herebibus vel suis assignatis contra omnes gentes per predictum*

seruicium warantizabimus in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus, Ricardo de bello campo Nicholao filio Hugonis, Willelmo de Blakewell, Willelmo Block, Johanne filio Johannis, Willelmo Barbe, Willelmo fabro, Johanne Red, Stephano Godman et aliis."

3. Grant by Nicholas, son of Bernard, to Robert, chaplain of Wendoure (Wendover, co. Bucks), of land in Cherlemede, with seal. (Thirteenth century.)

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod Nicholaus filius bernardi dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Roberto capellano de Wendoure uel cuicumque assignare uoluerit vnam dimidiam acram prati in campo de cherlemede proximam dimidie acre quam tenet de simone filio Willelmi quod est tenendum de me et heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis uel cui assignare uoluerit libere et quiete reddendo inde annuatim duos denarios pro omni seruicio scilicet unum denarium ad festum sancti Johannis baptiste et unum denarium ad festum sancti Thome apostoli. Et ego Nicholaus et heredes mei predictam terram predicto Roberto uel cui assignare uoluerit contra omnes homines et feminas warantizabimus. Pro hac donacione et confirmatione et warantizatione predictus Robertus dedit mihi duodecim denarios in gersumia. Hiis testibus, Simone de bello campo, Olivero filio filippi, henrico de daggehole, Clemento filio Ricardi, Mattheo clerico, Nigello diacono, Wateman de Norhale, et multis aliis."

4. Grant from Henry, son of Herbert, son of Simon of Dagenhale (Dagnal, Bucks) to Hugh, son of Robert Elfred of Waldene Abbot (co. Essex), of a messuage and six acres of land in Hodenhale, in the parish of Edlesberue (Edlesburgh, co. Bucks), for seven marks, with seal. (Thirteenth century.)

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Henricus filius Herberti filii Simonis de Dagenhale dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Hugoni filio Roberti Elfred de Waldene Abbatis heredibus et assignatis suis vnum mesuagium et sex acras terre cum omnibus pertinenciis suis quod quidem mesuagium cum dictis sex acris terre acet in Hamelleto de Hodenhale in parochia de Edlesberue quod habui ex dimissione Herberti filii Simonis de Dagenhale patris mei. Habendum et tenendum dictum mesuagium et dictas sex acras terre cum omnibus suis pertinenciis dicto Hugone heredibus et assignatis suis libere quiete inre integre bene et in pace hereditarie in perpetuum de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per seruicia inde de iure debita et consueta. Et ego dictus Henricus heredes et assignati mei dictum mesuagium et predictas sex acras terre cum omnibus pertinenciis suis dicto Hugoni heredibus et assignatis suis contra omnes gentes warantizabimus in perpetuum. Pro hac autem donacione concessione warantizatione et presentis carte mee confirmatione dedit mihi dictus Hugo septem marcas argenti premanibus in gersumam. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus, Johanne de La He de Dagenhale, Roberto le Goldsmyt de eadem, Johanne le Ster de Stodham, Henrico de Hodenhale, Roberto hyngold, Nicholao de Holeweye, et aliis."

5. Grant from Robert the chaplain, son of William the clerk, of Wendoure (Wendover, co. Bucks) to Symon, son of Richard Brun, of Horneecastle, of lands in Eduluesbergh (Edlesburgh, co. Bucks), on condition of the said Symon keeping a lamp burning in the church of Eduluesbergh, during the "hours" and mass. Witnesses, Richard, Prior of Dunstaple, John the deacon. With seal. (Thirteenth century.)

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Robertus Capellanus filius Willelmi clerici de Wendoure dedi et concessi et assignavi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Symoni filio Ricardi brun de Hornechaster et heredibus suis vel cui vel quibus assignare voluerit omnes illas terras et prata que habui et tenui In villa de Eduluesbergh cum homagiis et serviciis cum releuiis et exemptiis cum consuetudinibus et omnibus aliis pertinenciis suis videlicet totam illam terram quam Gilebertus Bonarius tenuit de feodo Oliuieri filii Philippi exceptis mesuagio etcrofta eiusdem Gileberti et duas acras prati a crematimede et vnam dimidiam acram prati In capite de Cherlesmede quam Johannes filius Spileman tenuit et sex acras et dimidiam terre et duas acras prati de feodo Clementis filii Ricardi de Wiscebir[gh]. Item de feodo eiusdem Clementis totam terram quam Ricardus de Hortum tenuit in Dagehale de dicto Clemente. Item dimidiam acram prati in capite de Cherlesmede de feodo Nicholai filii Bernardi. Item dimidiam acram prati In capite de Cherlesmede quam habui de dono Henrici Mustel et dimidiam acram prati in eodem loco quam Symon filius Willelmi mihi dedit. Habenda et tenenda sibi et heredibus suis vel cui vel quibus vel quando dicta tenementa dare vel assignare voluerit et heredibus eorum vel attornatis libere et quiete Integre et pacifice faciendo dominis feodi debita et consueta seruicia per annum scilicet domino Oliuero filio Philippi et heredibus suis seruicium octo denariorum ad quatuor terminos anni ad quos census eiusdem ville reddi solet et forinsecum seruicium quantum pertinet ad quartam partem vnius nurgate terre In Eduluesbergh et faciendo clementi de Wiscebirgh et heredibus suis seruicium quatuordecim denariorum per annum ad terminos eiusdem ville et forinsecum seruicium quantum pertinet ad decimam partem vnius nurgate terre et ad duas acras prati In villa de Eduluesbergh et faciendo Willelmo filio Ricardi de Hortum et heredibus suis seruicium sex denariorum per annum ad terminos eiusdem ville consuetos et ad pascha vnum denarium et faciendo Nicholao filio Bernardi et heredibus suis seruicium duorum denariorum ad duos eiusdem ville terminos scilicet ad festum sancti Johannis Baptiste vnum denarium et ad festum sancti Thome apostoli vnum denarium et faciendo Johanni de la He et heredibus suis seruicium duorum denariorum per annum scilicet ad festum Sancti Michaeli vnum denarium et ad festum beate marie In marcio vnum denarium et faciendo Waltero Reimfrei et heredibus suis seruicium vnius denarii per annum videlicet ad festum Sancte Marie in marcio pro omnibus serviciis consuetudinibus exactionibus et demandis que ad predictos dominos pertinent. Et ego et heredes mei warantizabimus omnes predictas terras et prata cum omnibus pertinenciis suis sicut predictum est predicto Symoni et heredibus suis vel cui vel quibus predicta assignauerit et eorum heredibus vel attornatis per predictum

seruicium contra omnes homines et feminas in perpetuum. Pro hac autem donatione concessione et assignatione confirmatione et warantizatione predictus Symon et quibus predicta tenementa dederit uel assignauerit inuenient vnam lampadem ardentem ad horas et ad missam In Ecclesia de Eduluesbergh pro me et successoribus meis in perpetuum. Quod ut perpetue firmitatis robur optineat presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus,¹ Domino Ricardo priore de Dunstaple, Domino Willelmo russell milite, Henrico de dagehal, Ricardo Sperner, Ricardo clerico, Nicholao filio Roberti, Waltero Bergeueny, Johanne Diacono, Hugone de Bedeford, Anketill longo, et multis aliis."

6. Grant from John, son of William Scalon of Edlesburgh, (co. Bucks) to Geoffrey, the skinner, of Edlesburgh, and Alice, his wife, of a messuage in Cherchehend (Churchend), Edlesburgh. Date, feast of St. Thomas Apostle, 9 Edward III (Dec. 21, 1335), with seal.

7. Grant from John Whitechild of Edlesburgh (co. Bucks) to Simon le Smyth and Cristina, his wife, of half an acre of land in Edlesburgh. Date, 10 April, 20 Edward III (1346). Seal.

8. Grant from Walter, son of William Blok of Dagenhale (Dagnal, co. Bucks), chaplain to Robert Blok, of an acre of woodland in Dagenhale, in Edlesburgh (co. Bucks). Date, 10 June, 20 Edward III (1346), with seal.

9. Grant from William, son of John Barbe of Northale, in Edelhisburgh (Edlesborough, co. Bucks), to John Smyth of Edullesburgh (Edlesborough), of half an acre of land in that place. Date, Sunday after the Feast of St. Alphege (April 19), 27 Edward III (1353). Seal.

10. Grant from William, son of John Barbe of Northale, in Edlesburgh (co. Bucks), to John Smyth of Edlesburgh, of land in that place. Date, Sunday after the Feast of St. Hilary (Jan. 13), 31 Edward III (1358), with seal.

11. Grant from Thomas Pykworthe of Eyton (co. Bucks ?) to John, son of John of Masseworth, of lands and tenements in Dagenhale in the parish of Edlesburgh (co. Bucks). Date, Tuesday after the Feast of St. Alphege (April 19), 35 Edward III (1361), with seal.

12. Grant from Nicholas Muriel of Edlisburgh (Edlesburgh, co. Bucks) to William Smyth of the same place, of half an acre of land there. Date, Sunday after the Feast of Epiphany (6 Jan.), 8 Richard II (1385). Seal.

¹ For a charter containing names of some of these witnesses, see *Archæological Journal*, No. 134, pp. 180-85.

13. Grant from Thomas Bullok to William Smyth, both of Edlesburgh, of land in Edlesburgh. Date, Saturday after the Feast of St. Agnes (Jan. 21), 13 Richard II (1390), with seal.

14. Defeasance of mortgage from Robert Salman, Cristina, his wife, John Clee, clothworker, and Peter atte Hethe, citizens of London, to Johanna, widow of John Underwode, citizen and clothworker of London; John Askewith, scribe; and Robert Mildenhale, skinner, of rent of houses in Mugwelstrete, in the parish of St. Olave, London, in consideration of £120. Date, Feast of Pentecost, 16 Richard II (1363), three seals.

15. Grant from Thomas Rede of Northale to William Smyth of Edlesburgh (co. Bucks), of lands in Edlesburgh. Date, Monday in the Feast of St. Thomas the Apostle (Dec. 21), 18 Richard II (1394). Seal.

16. Grant from Thomas Rufford of Northale (Northall, co. Bucks) to William Smyth of Edlesburgh (co. Bucks), of land in Edlesburgh, for a red rose. Date, Saturday after the Feast of St. Hilary (Jan. 13), 20 Richard II (1397), with seal.

17. Quit-claim from William Wynslawe, rector of Odestoke (Odstock, co. Wilts), to William Smyth of Edlesburgh, co. Bucks, of a messuage and lands in Edlesburgh. Date, Feast of St. Michael (29 Sept.), 7 Henry IV (1406), with seal.

18. Grant from Johanna Hoygges of Edlesburgh (co. Bucks) to Nicholas Puttenham of the same place, of land there. Date, 20 June, 8 Henry VI (1430), with seal.

19. Grant from Roger Cokerell of Edlesburgh (co. Bucks), to Thomas Cobbe of Northale (Northall, co. Bucks), of plough lands in Edlesburgh. Date, Thursday after the Feast of St. Luke (18 Oct.), 9 Henry VI (1430), with seal.

20. Grant from Robert Olkyn of Edlesburgh (co. Bucks), to John Colyn, vicar of Wyngrave (co. Bucks); John Russell of Edlesburgh and John Stanbrygge of Northale (Northall, co. Bucks), of lands in Edlesburgh. Date, Sunday next before the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (June 24), 14 Henry VI (1436), with seal.

21. Power of attorney from John Braham of Chetyndon (Cheddington, co. Bucks) to Hugh Stanbrygge of Edlesburgh (Edlesborough, co. Bucks). Date, 8 January, 32 Henry VI (1454).

22. Indenture of lease from George Darell of Lytilcote (Littlecot, co. Wilts) to William Heron, citizen and haberdasher of London, of premises in Milk Street, London, with conditions respecting repairs. Date, 17 December, 9 Edward IV (1469).

23. Regrant by Queen Elizabeth to Anthony Putnam, Johanna, his wife, and Thomas, his son, a mill, etc., after surrender in Edlesborough (co. Bucks). Date, 4 February, 24 Elizabeth (1582), with seal.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 217.)

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1ST, 1877.

TO-DAY the members paid a visit to Denbigh. Whatever might have been the discomforts of yesterday, this day has made ample amends. A clear atmosphere, panoramic scenery, and historic sites of great interest and value, brought the week to a successful close. On our way from Corwen to Denbigh we passed churches full of objects of great rarity and of archaeological interest, which many members will return to visit. The Vale of Clwyd is called the garden of Wales, and well it deserves the name. Students of the earlier antiquities of the land will find the Llandyrnog hills, to the east, full of ancient encampments, circles, *carneddau*, and other objects of antiquarian interest. We, however, could only gaze at these from a distance, as we passed Ruthin on our way to Castell Caledfryn yn Rhos (the Castle of the craggy Hill in Rhos), as Denbigh once was called.

Coming by the ordinary train, *via* Corwen, and arriving at 11.30, we were met at the Railway Station in Denbigh by his Worship the Mayor (Mr. Thomas J. Williams) and Dr. A. E. Turnour, senior borough magistrate, who cordially welcomed the Association to Denbigh. In the High Street, Mr. Wright, *Excursion Secretary*, proclaimed a halt opposite the Mayor's handsome house. Dr. Turnour pointed out the house in which Oliver Cromwell slept the night before the Castle capitulated to the Parliamentarians. The house is now occupied by Mr. H. Hughes, draper, and was formerly for many years a publichouse known by the sign of the "Golden Eagle". The old lock-up, or jail, in Highgate next claimed attention.

When climbing up the sharp hill past the Independent Chapel, the members halted again before the old and massive Burgesses' Tower. This Tower excited much attention and admiration; so much so that several of the members returned to it again after visiting the Castle. It consists of a pair of very massive towers flanking a gateway, all but in a perfect state, the portcullis, grooves, and the shot-holes being still there. Mr. Tom Burgess took a sketch of it for future reference.

The next object of interest was Old St. Hilary's Church, now dis-used, and all the windows boarded up. Near this point, too, Dr. Turnour drew attention to the magnificent view of the portion of the Vale of Clwyd lying between Denbigh, Bodfari, and Rhyl. The Mayor now presented the Association with a copy of *Denbigh Ancient and Modern*, from which Mr. Wright read the following extract: "St. Hilary's Chapel, now (1856) used as a parish church, is a very old structure with few architectural pretensions, standing within the Town Walls. It is a double-aisled church with a very large chancel. The northern aisle is much more modern than the southern, and of a totally different style. It would appear that the original north aisle fell about two centuries ago, owing, perhaps, to the bad foundation. The present aisle was lately found to be in like danger, and buttresses were built to support it. In old time the Corporation had almost the entire management of parochial affairs; hence we find the following order of the Court of Convocation, dated 19th May, 21 Charles II (1670), among the borough records: 'Ffor as much as St. Hillaries Chappell, lately fallen down, being within the said town of Denbigh, remaynes vnrepaired, and the benevolent moneys or voluntary contribuçon of the inhabitants of the said town and other well disposed persons appears short to defray and dischardge the chardge of repairing the same chappell, it is therefore ordered by this Courte that a ley or tax of 1x^l. be imposed vpon the inhabitants and landholders of the said town and p'ish of Denbigh for the reparaçon of the said chappell, and that the same be taxed and assessed by Humphrey Haward and John Hughes, gents., bayliefes; John Eves, Thomas Roberts, gents.; Thomas Shaw, glover, and Owen Lloyd, mercer. And in case any p'son or p'sons soc by them charged refuse to pay his or their p'porçon, to distreyne for the same. Cessors bring in the assessments; and the said Thomas Shaw and Owen Lloyd, being churchwardens, bring in likewise their accounts, all receipts and disbursements, to this table, upon the 27th day of this instant month of May.' " This Early English edifice, which has been so studiously barbarised by modern improvements, is probably coeval with the Castle. Leland, who visited Denbigh upwards of three hundred years ago, remarks,—“There is a goodlye and large chappelle in the old towne of St. Hillarie, whither most of the new town do yett cumme.” The chancel of this building measures 43½ feet by 23¾ feet; nave, 72 feet by 25 feet; north aisle, same length, and 7 feet narrower. The cover of the altar has on it, “*Spes mea in Deo est*, 1530.” It is said to have come from the Abbey.

Mr. Loftus Brock made an earnest appeal to the Mayor and the people of Denbigh not to demolish this church, which he said was of very great antiquity, and on that account very interesting; but he had known instances in which churches of this kind, which had been

allowed to decay, had been actually rebuilt to supply the needs of the people for church accommodation, as at Bristol and several other places.

The Mayor and Dr. Turnour thanked Mr. Brock, and said they would endeavour to give his suggestion practical effect.

The company then moved on to the Royal Denbigh Bowling Green, which is formed out of a portion of the Castle grounds; and here the Mayor invited the ladies to a seat, while Dr. Turnour pointed out to them the varied beauties of the lovely Vale of Clwyd, of which, said Dr. Turnour, we people of Denbigh are very proud. Moel Famman and its fallen obelisk, and the other mountains of the range, were pointed out, as well as the ancient church (the real parish church of Denbigh) in the Vale, St. Marcellus or the White Church. The Mayor here invited the company to partake of some light refreshments, the wine, etc., being served on a silver tray won by the Mayor himself last year on the Bowling Green, and in cups which had been won by various members at different times. There were also exhibited two fine richly chased silver tankards and a tobacco-box, all the property of the members of the Green. Here the company were joined by Mr. T. Mainwaring of Galltfaenan, one of the Vice-Presidents, and Mrs. Mainwaring, also Mrs. Williams (the Mayoress), Major Casson, Mr. John Robinson, etc. After recording their names in the book, the visitors went to the Castle itself, under the able guidance of Mr. Robinson, Secretary to the Committee who have its care and preservation in their hands.

The members having assembled in front of the Castle, Mr. J. Robinson pointed out to them the special points that were dangerous, and how it was intended to shore them up. He stated that the town and neighbourhood had subscribed and obtained £600, which was to be expended, not in rebuilding, but in preserving the precious ruin. Those buttresses which were to support the overhanging parts were to be built of rubble, so that in a thousand years to come the supporting part might easily be distinguished from the real old ruin.

Mr. Loftus Brock highly complimented Mr. Robinson on his discretion and discernment, and trusted he would carry out the work in the spirit in which he had conceived it. He especially advised that the east corner of the noble front arch should be made secure. As to the entrance itself, he noticed that the groove of the porteuillis was round, and not square, which was a very rare feature. He was sorry to take from Denbigh the honour of being the last castle which held out for King Charles. The palm must be awarded to Harlech, Denbigh having surrendered in 1646, and Harlech in 1647. There still, however, remained the fact of Wales having held out longest: and he thought the gallant defence of Denbigh Castle by W. Salisbury showed the indomitable courage of Welshmen and Englishmen.

The company then moved on to what is called the kitchen ; but upon its being really the kitchen, some expressed their doubts. Mr. Brock said that there was no doubt that an older fortress stood on this site, and probably the tradition was right which ascribed the building of the Castle to Lacy, Earl of Lincoln. To architects it was especially interesting, from the worked stone so plentifully used at the grand entrance and in other parts of the building. Much was recorded of the many towers in the Castle, one of which overlooked that in which they were standing, though built in the valley beneath. This was the Goblin Tower. He thought that the green courtyard they saw must have had an intersecting wall supported by towers, to account for the number. The architecture was of various dates, and was altogether a good specimen of a strong castle, and he rejoiced at the efforts made by the people of Denbigh to keep it from falling down. It was curious that notwithstanding the gallant defence it made on behalf of Charles I, his son ordered both it and Carnarvon to be dismantled. This was blasted by gunpowder ; but Carnarvon yet remains.

Mr. Robinson rather warmly criticised the Government of past days for keeping Carnarvon Castle in repair with public money, whilst they would not give a penny to preserve Denbigh for the people.

In answer to a publicly expressed desire, Mr. Tom Burgess gave a brief account of the fortifications and general plans of the Castle. He said that though he had only seen the Castle that day, he dissented entirely from the idea that the gateway which bore the name of the Burgesses' Tower should be considered as belonging to the town wall. On looking round the fortifications he found that the Castle, like many border castles, and those constructed in a hostile country, was not only a fortress proper, but afforded defence for a much larger population than an ordinary garrison of the retainers of the lord of the Castle. The Burgesses' Gate was the principal, and indeed the only, entrance to the Castle then visible, though possibly there were others on the basement story. A curtain-wall extended from this gateway to two corner towers, from which walls could be traced to the outer wards of the Castle proper. The space thus enclosed contained the church of St. Hilary, and the large ruin they had seen. It was, in fact, the outer bailey of the Castle. The stately entrance was a remarkable feature. It was the keep,—a building of great strength, and presented many features of military architecture of the period prior to the general introduction of machicolated parapets. The keep had a drawbridge, a portcullis, and inner gates, all commanded by the garrison. If these defences were taken, the assailants would find themselves in a close space open to missiles of all descriptions, and a similar portcullis and gates before them. They would find that not only this, but each of the towers, was a complete fortress in itself,

capable of making a separate defence, and probably held by some baron or knight of the Marches. Beyond these was an outer guard or ward commanding the escarpment, and affording quarters for the purely military garrison outside the domestic offices. There was no reason to suppose that the open space before them was ever divided.

Mr. Brock said he had just had handed to him, by Miss Gee of Denbigh, a map giving the whole line of the ancient Castle. He then traced it out for the company, and remarked that there had been three towers to the outside wall: two inside as well as the tower at the entrance. He pointed out the indications of the Goblin Tower, supposed to be used for the protection of the water.

Mr. Talbot did not believe that had been a chapel at all. Unless there was some far better evidence than was seen by the building itself, he very much doubted it; and he pointed out several indications about the building to prove his statement.

Mr. Brock said he had great diffidence in expressing the opinion that it was the chapel. Other gentlemen thought the building conclusively proved that it was not the chapel.

A move was made to what is considered the oldest part of the existing building, a block overhanging the rocks looking towards Segroit. Various interesting portions were inspected, and a short visit was paid to the small Museum, where some cannon-balls of Oliver Cromwell's time were shown, and various other relics found in the grounds, as well as some ornamental bricks which Mr. Brock believed were Flemish bricks of about the reign of Elizabeth, that had been used for the back of one of the fireplaces.

From here the party went to Leicester's Church, the ruins of the building being in Miss Fazakerley's grounds. That lady was from home; but she had written a letter to the Mayor asking him to express her regret for her absence, and to say that she had given orders for the grounds and house to be thrown open to the members of the Association. The first object noticed was the foundation-stone of the building, bearing the name of Leicester; which, however, is now very faint; and Mr. Brock suggested to Miss Fazakerley's house-steward that that lady should have a small piece of slate laid above the stone to prevent the impression made thereon by the water, which in a few years more would render the word illegible. The stone bears date 1576, and the names or initials of the Bishop of Winchester, and Griffith, Bishop of St. Asaph. The company having assembled in the interior, the good proportions of the arches were pointed out.

Mr. Brock said one great feature of interest in connection with the building was that it was the first Protestant church founded after the Reformation, by a man whose name was so well known as Robert Earl of Leicester. It was intended by him for a cathedral. He was a man

of great ambition, and he intended making this building into a cathedral, and removing the see from St. Asaph to Denbigh. He could not tell them how far the negotiations in that respect progressed. The foundation-stone, however, told them that the Bishop of St. Asaph was present, and helped to lay it; but how far Bishop Griffith was in favour of the transfer of the see was not known. The church was begun in a most liberal manner, and its proportions could be seen to have been great; and if it had been completed, it would in some respects have been of more importance and interest than the Cathedral of St. Asaph. He was not going to weary them with the story so interesting to the inhabitants, as to the work of the fairies, only so far as to say that the legend stated that the fairies removed the stones during the night that had been placed in position during the day. Stories of this kind were told of several buildings,—a church they saw that week; also the parish church of Rochdale in Lancashire, which it was said was thus destroyed several times. This building before them presented few architectural features; but had it been completed, it would have been one of much interest, and the more so since Elizabethan churches were rare. It had evidently been intended to provide a broad nave with two side-aisles separated by circular columns. The outlines of the centre windows, the roof, and the bases of the columns, were traced.

The company then proceeded through the grounds, and passed an old seat said to be four hundred years old; and thence to the “Bloody Well”, called so from the supposed murder of one of the early princes. The labour involved in reaching the bottom of this well deterred many from going down; but those who performed the feat were greatly delighted at having done so.

A walk along the terrace by the outer wall of the Castle brought the company to a side-door on to Bron-y-Parc. All expressed delight with the extent and interest of the Castle, and regret that a day had not been given wholly to Denbigh. It being now 2.30, an adjournment was made to the Assembly Room, where an excellent luncheon was served up by Mr. John Lloyd, Bull Hotel.

After all had partaken, Mr. Wright said it was not usual to make speeches at their luncheons; but he felt that he must ask them to join him in drinking “The Health of the Mayor of Denbigh”, who had so kindly and considerately met them and conducted them to the various objects of interest, and had given spirit to their proceedings whilst on the Bowling Green. He thanked the Mayor most heartily for the way he had received and entertained the British Archæological Association.

Mr. Cope seconded the motion, and it was carried with applause.

The Mayor said it was an honour to him to have the pleasure, on

behalf of the townspeople, to welcome so distinguished a company as that Association. He was only sorry that they had not been able to make Denbigh their headquarters, for, as they would know, the ancient borough of Denbigh was rich in historic lore. He had much pleasure in welcoming them; and had he known earlier at what time they would have arrived, he should have provided for them in the Bowling Green in a more liberal manner than he had done.

"The Health of Mr. T. Mainwaring", one of the Vice-Presidents, was duly honoured, and responded to by Mr. Mainwaring.

Mr. Wright gave "The Health of Mr. Robinson", which was seconded by Mr. Brock, who said during his experience he had met with many clerks of works, surveyors, and others, but he had never met with a man whom he could better trust to carry out his suggestions than Mr. Robinson. He evidently understood what were the needs of the old Castle; and the Association would leave Denbigh feeling certain that Mr. Robinson would do to the Castle all that was necessary for its preservation.

Mr. Robinson responded.

A few only found time to visit the desecrated remains of the Carmelite Friary, known as the Abbey, where the fine east window and poor walls hardly gave a local habitation to the legend of John Salusbury, the founder, who killed a dragon which had set its foot on the church. His effigy, which is said to show that he had only thumbs on his hands, not fingers, has been removed to Whitechurch. There are monuments to the Myddeltons in this church, and many good features; but time did not permit of visiting this and other buildings in the neighbourhood. They were enabled, however, to observe the cottage to the right of the Castle gateway, in which many of the Denbigh people firmly believe Stanley, the African explorer, was born.

On reaching Ruthin by the afternoon train, the members proceeded through the town to the Castle, where they were met by the Mayor of Ruthin, Dr. J. R. Jenkins, and Mr. J. F. Jesse of Llanbedr Hall, who had been requested by the Lord Lieutenant to represent him during his absence from North Wales. The Mayor pointed out many of the quaint houses on the way. The most interesting was one called "Plasnewydd", a low-porched, half-timbered house which gave little promise of the treasures inside. A balustered gallery went round the central apartment, and the moulded beams of another showed signs of the Tudor period. Here were many most valuable paintings which had been brought from Rug, including portraits of Catherine Tudor de Beren in a Welsh hat, her first husband, her son, and many worthies, which Mrs. Edwards showed with much graceful courtesy.

The company then made a tour of the wall of the old Castle, Mr.

Brock pointing out the base of the wall and the fine old towers to be seen at the angles. The course of the old moat is very distinct. Having traversed the outside walk of the winding staircase, a few steps led to the old walls of the Castle and to the splendidly laid out modern flower-garden. A downward staircase was found leading to what some thought had been a gaol, others a sort of guardroom. In the centre stands an old whipping-post of stone, to which the culprit was attached for punishment. On this stone and the walls of the room are cut all kinds of curious devices, and on the post knives seem to have been sharpened. A large company, by the aid of torches, waded through mud and dirt into what was thought to have been a dungeon. This, when arrived at, was considered by Mr. Tom Burgess and others to be no more than an old storeroom.

Having inspected the exterior, the members were invited into the Castle, where, by the kindness of Major and Mrs. West, tea, fruit, and other refreshments, had been thoughtfully provided; after which Mr. Tucker said they could not leave that room without recording their thanks to the Lord Lieutenant and Mrs. West for their kindness, and asking the Mayor and Mr. Jesse to convey to them their thanks for the kind and liberal hospitality shown. It was a matter of regret that they were absent; but the thoughtful arrangements for their reception and pleasure had been most gratifying to them all.

The company then proceeded to inspect various objects of interest. In the hall were placed all kinds of old weapons, armour, and objects of that kind, which had been found in the old Castle armoury, and, under the direction of Major West, cleaned and polished and placed in the hall in such a position as to form a very effective display. The picture gallery and drawing-room were a source of great pleasure and interest, some remarkably fine and beautiful paintings being on view, one of the best being Sir H. Middleton of New River celebrity. Two charters of Charles I and Charles II were laid out; seals of Charles II; a collection of bronzes; a case of rare old coins of various nations; choice gems of every kind; a large size British urn; a magnificent figure of Proserpine, by John Gibson, which received much attention: a beautiful bust of Mrs. West, in white marble, and the family paintings, were all duly inspected with pleasure.

Mr. Wright then assembled the members in the large drawing-room, and remarked that there was a brief history of the Castle in the album placed in his hands, though it had never been published. We extract the following particulars from the account thus given by Mr. Wright. The old Castle can be traced back to 1281, though there is some evidence of it being of greater antiquity; in which year a grant of the barony was made to John de Grey. In 1341 the Lieutenant of Ruthin Castle was one of the Lords Marchers of Wales. In the Wars of the

Roses the people of Wales were chiefly friends of the house of York. It reverted to Henry VIII; then came to Elizabeth, who granted it to Earl Warwick; but afterwards it became the property of the crown. Subsequently it was bought by Sir Francis Crane for £4,000, Sir Thomas Myddleton of Chirk being also a candidate for the purchase. On October 2, 1614, Generals Myddleton and Mitton met at Llangollen, and on October 20 began an assault on Ruthin Castle, which lasted two days, without effect. In 1645 King Charles came to North Wales. In 1646 the Castle surrendered, and shortly afterwards it was demolished. It then passed into the Myddleton family, and by marriage with the latter family was possessed by the present owners. The rebuilding was begun by Mr. West, third son of John Earl De la Warr, and completed by Mr. F. R. West, M.P. for the borough, from designs by Mr. Clutton. Its present owner is Major Cornwallis West, Lord Lieutenant of the county, and High Sheriff in 1872. The following is a list of the known possessors of the Castle:—1282, Reginald Grey, in whose family it remained till the twenty-second or twenty-third year of Henry VII; Henry VIII, Earl of Richmond; Ambrose Earl Warwick, 1565. 1635 (Charles I), Sir Francis Crane and Richard Crane, Esq.; 1676, William Chaplin, Esq., grant of chief rents; 1678, 1703, Sir R. Myddleton; 1716, Sir William Myddleton; 1733, John Myddleton, Esq.; 1747, Richard Myddleton, Esq.; 1795, Richard Myddleton, Esq.; 1798, Miss C., Miss M., and Miss H. Myddleton; 1818, Miss Harriet Myddleton; 1848, Hon. F. R. West; 1862, F. Myddleton West, Esq.; 1868, W. Cornwallis West, Esq., the present owner.

Mr. Brock, who had had handed to him a representation of the old Castle, said it enabled them to make out what the old Castle really was. The new building, although planted in the midst of the old, had not obliterated what remained. The old buildings had disappeared, with the exception of the circular towers and other portions, which proved the old Castle had been in existence. There was a drawing in the British Museum indicating what it was in the time of the civil wars. Surveys had been made of several of the Welsh castles, and the drawing of the elevation indicated the extent of the Castle, and how it was arranged. Prior to the time of the civil war many changes had been effected by the lords of Ruthin, in which the towers were altered, and some had lost their conical roofs. After some other observations as to the alterations, he concluded by remarking that no one who had looked round the room, and seen the many interesting objects of antiquity, could help concluding that Major West had done a great deal to make that a very pleasant day for them, and one of great service to the Association.

A few of the members ran the risk of losing the train by taking a

look at the church, where the heraldic devices and curious figures were the chief objects of attraction.¹

A special train, under the direction of Mr. G. J. Morgan, conveyed the members back to Llangollen at half-past six.

At the evening meeting the conclusion of Mr. Compton's paper was read, and Mr. Lynam, who read an interesting paper entitled "Notes of Early Monumental Sculpture", exhibited some interesting coloured diagrams, and laid down some canons regarding the classification and date of early crosses, fonts, and columns, adorned with interlaced and knotted patterns, and figures of monstrous, semi-human, semi-animal forms. These are of great value, in so far that the study of these remains (which have been strangely neglected) must eventually become of prominent interest; and from the similarity of much of their ornamental character with the scroll-work of Roman pavements, and the illuminations of early Biblical and religious MSS., there cannot be very much difficulty in approximating very closely to their dates. Mr. Dillon Croker's paper on "Pen-y-Caer and Caractacus" was one which especially recommended itself to Welsh antiquaries, and the happy and original way in which it was treated added to the charm. There is hardly a hill in the district which does not bear clear traces

¹ Several members, instead of returning to Llangollen from Ruthin, proceeded to St. Asaph, and stayed there during Sunday, being amply rewarded by an inspection of this exceedingly plain Cathedral; whose details, if not elaborate, yet speak volumes to the educated eye. Though the capless piers are not uncommon, they are still sufficiently rare to show the varied resources of the old architects; and their severe simplicity contrasted favourably with the ornate modern church of Bodewyddan, which is in the immediate neighbourhood, and on which the Dowager Lady Willoughby de Broke has expended no less a sum than £60,000. The few old monuments in St. Asaph spoke of the devastations made by the Cromwellian troopers and the officials they appointed. Still there were many points which were worth recording, both at the Cathedral and parish church lower down the town. Students of history, however, joined with the archæologists in their visit to Rhuddlan. Here we were on one of the old landmarks, for when castle and church were built, the river Clwyd was navigable. The church tower is still a landmark, and the church has many features of great interest, particularly the monuments, the effigies, and inscribed coffin-lids. It is hard to believe that this poor village which we saw in the rain was actually an important borough at no distant period, when the present watering place of Rhyl was but the delta of the Clwyd and the Dee. The Castle, however, accounted for all. It was once in the possession of Robert de Rhuddlan, a nephew of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, whose cruel excesses were long the theme of the Welsh bards. The natives, smarting under oppression, turned on this Norman tyrant, and slew him under Orme's Head, which is here distinctly visible. The modern Castle is said to date from Henry III, but no perceptible traces of this structure can now be discovered. The bold drum-towers which guard the narrow gateway, and command the corners of the building, are evidently of Edwardian design and construction. It was here that Edward I promised the Welsh a native prince. It was so notable a stronghold that it was subjected to many sieges and disasters; but at last ruin fell on it after its gallant struggle in defence of King Charles I, when Colonel Mytton captured the fortress in 1647, and then the Parliamentary authorities ordered it to be dismantled.

of military occupation at a more or less remote period; and among these, such great and formidable heights as Dinas Brân, which overlooks Llangollen, with the Dee at the foot (just as the Gaer overlooks Corwen, with the same river in the same intermediate position, and Pen-y-Caer in a not unsimilar situation), may be instanced as fortunate examples of the early forcible tenure of the country by the dominant tribes. These papers have been included in the *Journal* at pp. 97-100, and pp. 139-44.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1877.

This morning the Association, notwithstanding a steady downpour of heavy rain, left by special train from Llangollen, *via* Chester, to Mostyn. On their arrival they proceeded to Mostyn Hall, having received an invitation from Lord Mostyn, Vice-President of the Congress, and they met with a most cordial and hearty welcome from his Lordship and Lady Mostyn. The Hon. Misses Mostyn and the Hon. Roger Mostyn also very kindly assisted in pointing out the objects of interest to the visitors. In the entrance-hall Lord Mostyn explained that he had been obliged to pull down and rebuild the oldest part of the house, which was of the fifteenth century,—built early in the reign of Henry VI. He found that the greater part of it was erected of clay without lime. The hall was a facsimile of the old one, and the chimney-piece was modelled on the old chimney. In describing a curious shield, which was exhibited at the Art Treasures Exhibition at Wrexham, Lord Mostyn said it was intended to represent the arms of the proprietors of land in that part of the country, supposed to be favourable to the Pretender's cause in 1745. It was, however, exceedingly incorrect in that respect. With regard to his own family, they were strong supporters of Charles I, and suffered greatly in consequence. Col. Mostyn commanded the Royalist forces at Flint, and during the time of the Commonwealth he was confined to Plasacre. Mostyn Hall is a gabled mansion, portions of which are as old as Henry VI, but the main building was re-edified in 1637. There are a few traces of the older buildings, however, yet to be seen. The window is yet shown from which Henry, Earl of Richmond, escaped, when in Wales trying to rouse the Welshmen in his favour. Richard Ap-Howell was then the owner of Mostyn, and in the subsequent invasion by Henry joined his forces with the Earl of Richmond's band of mercenaries, and was amongst the conquerors at Bosworth. When the grateful Sovereign asked Ap-Howell to come to court, he excused himself by replying, "I love to dwell with mine own people." By a curious coincidence the present Mostyn family are allied to the Savage

family, whose "white hoods" did such good service to Henry at the "fatal field of Redmore", and, indeed, were those who cut Richard down. The hall at Mostyn is a good example of the great hall at a time when modern ideas were coming into use. It has a dais, a minstrel gallery, and is "hung around with pikes, and guns, and bows", all belonging to the Elizabethan era, and to the period of the civil war. On the dais the old oak dresser yet remains. Some of the benches and settles date from the age of Elizabeth. The specimens of old furniture are exceedingly good, and indeed give us an insight into the varied tastes and styles until the time of Chippendale and the later cabinet makers. The most curious object in the hall was a hollow basin, formed from the root of a tree. This was found at Dinas Mawddwy nearly a century ago. The bowl is 11 in. across and $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. deep, and has been formed by ruder means than a turner's lathe. On one side is a smaller and shallower excavation, 3 in. across and 1 in. deep. The log itself is 22 in. in diameter and 10 in. deep. On the top are some rudely carved representations of the mistletoe, and the word, cut by another hand, "Athrywyn", which is said to express "happiness or tranquillity". It is supposed to have been an early font, and the smaller hollow was used for oil or salt. The other great curiosity was a circular shield containing the arms of a great many Welsh and border families, arranged round a circular white heraldic rose, and on a ribbon round the whole was this legend—"Under the rose be it spoken: 'Pense que voules, mais garde que parles';" "Didweh yehydige", the latter words being translated, "Say it quietly". A tall clock of the Elizabethan era also attracted great attention. The dining-room had many family portraits, amongst which Sir Roger Mostyn and his wife, by Mytens, and Sir John Wynn of Gwydir, who flourished in James I's time, were conspicuous. The panelling was old and good, and the fireplace a fine specimen of Carolian work. Some fine pieces of old statuary were in the windows, which were collected by the grandfather of the present lord. In the drawing-room were many portraits, including two by Vandyke, and one of Admiral Savage Mostyn, who, it is said, changed the naval uniform from red to blue. The chapel is now used as the house-keeper's room. It is in the older portion of the house, and the barrel roof has some circular bands, and near this is Henry VIII's window. There were exhibited a gold torque, found at Harlech, forty inches long, a silver harp, won at one of the Welsh Eisteddfods in the time of Elizabeth, a small silver oar of unknown date, and the family pedigree, which begins with Adam, and, like many other Welsh pedigrees, is essentially biblical in its earlier part.

Several of the smaller rooms contained some exquisitely worked tapestry, the beauties of Charles II, and a singularly beautiful portrait

of a lady of the reign of Edward VI. Indeed, so many were the curiosities of this little-known house that a full day would not exhaust them. The large and most interesting collection of family and other portraits on the walls were described by his lordship. In the dining-room the date of the house (1632) is carved on the oak panelling over the fireplace. Amongst the portraits in the drawing-room are those of Charles I and Henrietta Maria by Vandyke, and one of Charles II. A portrait of the beautiful Duchess of Roxburghe was especially admired. On the way to the drawing-room his lordship pointed out some pictures he had inherited from the Roxburghe family, to which he is related. On entering the drawing-room the visitors were much struck with its comfortable, old-fashioned air, the old furniture and all the surroundings being in perfect harmony with the architecture, and presenting a pleasant contrast to the upholstery of modern times. One of the chief curiosities in this room is a clock which belonged to William III. This clock was constructed to go for twelve months on being wound up, and it has been known to go for thirteen months. A window of the mansion now blocked up was pointed out, through which Henry Earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII, made his escape from some troops of Richard III. "The party was on the point of sitting down to dinner when Richard's troops disturbed the banquet, and Henry had to make his escape through a window." The visitors proceeded to inspect the library, which contains one of the most magnificent collections of ancient books and manuscripts in Great Britain.

The books and manuscripts were described and commented on in an interesting manner by Mr. W. de Gray Birch of the British Museum. The account he gave will take the form of a paper hereafter. He concluded by thanking Lord and Lady Mostyn, in the name of the Association, for their kindness in allowing them to inspect these MSS., and for the very courteous manner in which they had received them. The thanks of the public generally were also due to Lord Mostyn for the great care he had taken of these precious relics of the past.¹

Mr. G. R. Wright seconded the vote of thanks, which was heartily accorded, and acknowledged by Lord Mostyn.

In another apartment was some fine tapestry of the date of 1620, representing the four seasons. The colours were beautifully preserved. Before leaving the house, Mr. Brock referred briefly to the architecture of the building, which he said was one of the most interesting old houses the association had visited. It must be a gratification to all archaeologists to find a house like that so admirably kept. He was glad to see that the modern portions which had been rendered neces-

¹ We may mention that among the books was a copy of the original folio edition of Shakespeare, which, although it had been cut down by the binder, was otherwise in good condition.

sary from the lapse of time, were designed in a style so admirably and eloquently in accordance with the old parts. Their warmest thanks were due to Lord and Lady Mostyn, for so kindly and courteously opening to them their hospitable house. Some refreshments were served to the visitors, who were obliged to decline a pressing invitation of Lord Mostyn to stay to a substantial luncheon, which had been provided for them. We may add that opposite Mostyn Hall are the ivy-covered remains of the original house, and in the entrance hall is the inscription "Anno Domini 1552", and "Anno Mundi 5522".

The party, after taking their leave of Lord and Lady Mostyn, left by train, about two o'clock, for Holywell Station, whence they proceeded in carriages to the Well of St. Winifred, one of the wonders of Wales, where the crutches and bandages deposited as offerings by those whose miraculous cures had been effected by the all-powerful aid of the saint, and by their own unshaken faith in her ministrant power, were very instructive as an instance of the late lingering of a thought and feeling which formerly pervaded the whole of the inhabitants of our land. The holy wells of Wales, like those of Ireland, are more respected than those of England. During our various excursions we frequently saw the bubbling springs, which bore the names of various saints, and were connected with most extraordinary legends. None of these could compare in beauty or associations with St. Winifred's Well, which we visited at Holywell. The graceful, Perpendicular building which Margaret Beaufort, the mother of Henry VII, and the wife of that Lord Stanley whose treachery to Richard gave Henry the ascendancy at Bosworth, erected over the Well, yet remains in all its beauty, with its five recesses symbolical of the Pools of Bethesda. Here we saw the escutcheons of the Stanleys, the badges of the Tudors, the Beauforts, and their alliances. Hither came Father Garnet, Catesby, Sir Everard Digby, and others of the Gunpowder Plot conspirators, during the autumn of 1605, to pass away the time until Parliament met. Hither, too, came James II to propitiate the Virgin Saint, in hopes of an heir, as William the Conqueror, and Henry II, and Longshanks, before him. Even in these days, and particularly since it has passed into the hands of the Roman Catholics, it has been the object of many pilgrimages. Young girls and old men, matrons and husbands, kings, cardinals, nobles, and common folk, full of faith, in pursuance of a vow, have visited this spot, bathed in its cold yet never freezing waters which gush so plentifully from their rocky bed, in hopes of being healed of their ailments, or having their aspirations responded to. Like the famous well of St. Bridget on the rocky eminence on the southern cliffs of the Bay of Galway, the walls and neighbourhood are decorated with crutches and small offerings of the pilgrims. There

are many persons who still believe in the miraculous virtues of this Holy Well. The legend is thus told by the late Mr. Timbs: "In the seventh century lived a virgin of the name of Winifrede, of noble parents, her father Thewith being a rich noble, and second man in the kingdom of North Wales, next to the king. At a very early age she was placed under the care of her maternal uncle Benno, a holy man and a priest. Under his care she lived, with certain other pious maidens, in a small nunnery erected for her by her father, near the site where the spring now is. Having been seen by Caradoc, Prince of Wales, he was struck by her great beauty, and finding it impossible to gain her in marriage, he attempted to carry her off by force. She fled towards the church, pursued by the Prince, who, on his overtaking her, in the madness of his rage drew out his sabre and struck off her head. The severed head bounded down the hill, entered the church door, and rolled to the foot of the altar where St. Beuno was officiating. Where the head rested, a spring of uncommon size burst forth, a fragrant moss adorned its sides; her blood spotted the stones, which, like flowers of Adonis, annually commemorate the fact by assuming colours unknown to them at other times. St. Beuno took up the head, and at his prayers and intercessions it was united to the body, the virgin was restored to life, and died in the odour of sanctity fifteen years afterwards."

After luncheon a visit was made to the remains of Basingwerk Abbey, a late Cistercian house, where the hideous paraphernalia of a dirty farm mingle in strange juxtaposition with Early English arches, monastic dormitories, the scriptorium, the refectory, the chapter-house, and the granaries. Mr. Brock, in a brief description of them, which will be printed hereafter, said that it was greatly to be regretted that the owner, Sir Piers Mostyn, himself a Roman Catholic, had allowed them to fall into such a state of neglect and decay. The party afterwards left by special train for Chester, and arrived at Llangollen about seven o'clock.

In the evening the concluding meeting was held, when Mr. T. F. Dillon Croker, F.S.A., read a paper by Mr. F. G. Westmacott Chapman upon the Castles of Harlech and Criccieth, the sister fortresses of Cardigan Bay. The paper has been already printed in the *Journal*, p. 159.

Dr. Phené gave the results of investigations he had carried on during the past week in *Settle*, a little village about six or eight miles from Llangollen, over the Berwyn Mountains. The name suggested a connection with serpent-worship, and investigation showed remarkable facts which will form the subject of a future paper.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, *Hon. Secretary*, recapitulated the work of the week, passing in rapid review over the great variety of archaeological

subjects which had been brought before the Congress ; and by classifying the topics showed how much instruction was to be, and had been, obtained by the exercises which had engrossed the attention of the members. Although the work of the past eight days might not appear to have been considerable, yet to him the total results achieved in so many directions appeared almost incredible. Of fortified dwellings they had heard of or seen specimens of almost every age, including the cave-huts of which Dr. Margolionth had spoken, the numerous entrenched camps, Offa's and Wat's Dykes, and the mediæval castles raised on more ancient banks at Dinas Brân, Caergwrle, and later examples at Denbigh, Chirk, and Ruthin, the last two yet inhabited. The three religious houses examined had been all of the Cistercian order ; but they had seen at least a dozen churches, from the traces of Norman at Corwen to the Jacobean at Rûg, and sixteenth century work at Dolgelly. Of domestic dwellings they had seen several examples, including the site of Owen Glendower's house and Mostyn Hall. Of the monumental remains, the most interesting had been the three pillars,—the first that of Eliseg, which he thought to be Roman in workmanship, but lettered with an inscription in the small so called Irish writing of much later date than the occupation. The others were "Glendower's sword" at Corwen, and the churchyard-cross at Rûg. At Gresford they had seen some fine glass in the north chancel-aisle, dated 1498, and a good east window ; while at Plas Newydd they had seen a great deal of wood-carving. Having alluded to the collections of MSS., Mr. Birch concluded by an allusion to the fact that archaeology was every year splitting into a greater number of branches, and that more good would be accomplished if every student set himself to some definite part of a special line of inquiry.

After the daily excursions, evening meetings have been held in the Assembly Room, Llangollen, for the reading of papers, and discussions ; a temporary museum of interesting MSS. and ancient objects illustrative of local antiquities being also arranged in the same building. This museum consists of a series of antiquities contributed by various friends, and possessing considerable local interest. Mr. J. F. Edisbury, Wrexham, contributes an interesting series of coins of all ages from the Roman period to Mediæval times, mostly found in the localities visited ; a series of old engravings illustrating the progress of the art being exhibited by Mr. Brock. Sir Watkin W. Wynn also forwarded a most interesting collection of silver plate, including an elaborately chased salver of much beauty, inlaid with a number of early Roman coins ; an immense, antique, and curiously constructed watch obtained from the Spanish Armada, etc. Captain Mascie Taylor sent interesting specimens of Celtic date, found in the immediate district of Corwen, amongst which were several very curious bronze imple-

ments. Miss Smith, of London, likewise contributed several Etruscan vessels; Mr. Loftus Brock, a series of ancient lamps of Greek and Roman date, etc. Several members have forwarded coins and antiquities from the locality, and various objects of pre-historic date.

EXTRA DAY.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 4, 1877.

On Tuesday a large number of members of the Association went to Llangedwyn, at the invitation of Sir Watkin and Lady Williams Wynn, on the occasion of the annual flower show there. They arrived at Oswestry about one o'clock, and carriages were in waiting to take them to Llangedwyn. On reaching Llangedwyn they were heartily welcomed and hospitably entertained by Sir Watkin and Lady Williams Wynn. Amongst the curiosities inspected was a large golden torque, which was found on Cader Idris, and some tapestry of the 17th century. The visitors much admired the picturesqueness of the old-fashioned house, and the beauty of its surroundings. Just before leaving, Mr. G. R. Wright conveyed the thanks of the Association to Sir Watkin and Lady Williams Wynn for their courtesy and hospitality.

A section of the visitors, however, explored the remains of Old Oswestry. During the brave resistance made by the Carnabii, the Silures, and the Ordovices, under Caractacus and Venusius, the great camps which yet remain on the Salopian hills and the Welsh borders played a conspicuous part. Though it is almost impossible to identify any particular one of these, there can be no doubt that the oppidum known as Old Oswestry (little more than a mile north of the town) must have borne an important part. A slightly oval space of 16 acres which crowns one of the low hills, billows of pebble and gravel which here overlook the Cheshire Plains, has been entrenched, escarped, and defended by works of no slight strength or importance even when measured by such formidable earthworks as Old Sarum and those on the Herefordshire Beacon. By the kindness of Lord Harlech, this most interesting encampment, which, with its ditches and outworks, covers an area of nearly sixty acres, was not only thrown open to visitors, but the nettles and weeds which flourished in the ditches were cut down to permit a close inspection of the contour of the works. Those who took advantage of this opportunity were amply rewarded, for this great oppidum presents many peculiar features. The ramparts or valla are ranged in terraces round the hill, varying not only in number but in slope and depth, but in no instance are there less than three lines of rampart, and the others merge into these in a

similar manner to those of the great encampment on the Herefordshire Beacon. Those on the Western side are not only the most numerous, but they enclose a series of elliptical hollows now partly filled with water. Eight of these are on the north side of the south-west entrance, and two on the south. They answer to the "slingers' pits" in the great stone entrenchments at Worle, near Weston-super-Mare,¹ but cannot have been used for this purpose. From the great care taken to fortify this position they possibly may have been formed to contain the household treasures of the leaders of the Carnabii, on the frontier of whose territory Old Oswestry stands. The spring which supplied the camp with water is situated by the side of this entrance and in close proximity to these singular hollows. Watt's Dyke is connected with the outer vallum on this side, and runs due south in the direction of Oswestry, near the lane, but it is lost at Maesbury, three miles off. The encampment at Porkington, known as Castell Brogyn-tyn, lies to the west and south-west. A low tumulus crowns the summit of a slight elevation skirting the old road to the camp. The Wrekin can be plainly seen on the south-east, marking the site of Uriconium—the City of the Carnabii or Cornavii, for the name is variously spelt. The gray and misty heights of Breidden, "the city of robbers", is plainly visible on the south. On these slopes one of the Roman legions was cut to pieces, and the Roman power trembled for supremacy until Julius Agricola assumed the chief command.

Oswestry itself rewarded the ardent few who wandered through its spacious streets. Half-timbered houses, with well designed gables and barge boards, strange penthouse roofs springing from low-pitched first floors, and surmounted by dormer windows, spoke of old times and of a taste to preserve these memorials. One fourteenth century window in a house bearing a carved double-headed eagle, the crest of the Fieldings, earls of Denbigh, was so rich and pure in its treatment as to be a model of beauty. The well of St. Oswald, who gave his name to the place—Oswestry being the "treo", or town of Oswald—together with the church, filled up an exceedingly interesting afternoon. The church has been recently restored by Mr. Street, who has succeeded in giving the interior a sense of rawness and newness very jarring to those who remember the old church. The stained glass was much better than any we have seen in Wales, and of archaeological interest, the heavy Dutch-looking monument to Alderman Hugh Gate and Dorothy his wife, who are shown kneeling on either side of a reading desk, alone remains, with the font. The double pillars in the nave appear to mark where the rood-loft stood. These are similar to those in Hawarden

¹ See *Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 267, for a plan of Worle.

Church. The old panelled and carved Jacobean seats are gone, but some portion has been re-made up in the form of cupboards in the new vestry, which has the somewhat unusual feature for a Protestant church, a newly constructed piscina. The heavy buttressed and picturesque tower, which was partially destroyed during the siege by the Parliamentarians, and restored in that vague Palladian style which prevailed in the reign of Charles II, was worth inspection, as well as the lych gate and framed house adjoining.¹

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

As the paper by Mr. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, on the excavations at Mycenæ, which was read on the 7th February 1877, has not yet appeared in the *Journal*, and as Dr. Schliemann's work on Mycenæ has since been published, which furnishes further details than were then known, as well as figured representations of objects discovered, the following remarks by Mr. Morgan may help to keep alive the discussion upon these most important remains of ancient Hellas :

“The difficulty we labour under in examining the beautiful jewellery and metal work is, that supposing these to date back as far as the siege of Troy, we have no Greek work of the same period wherewith to compare them, and the same remark applies to the sculptured stone slabs. We are therefore driven to compare them with works of foreign art, that is, Egyptian or Assyrian; and if the workmanship is found to resemble that of either of these nations, we then should have to consider them as imported works, though this assumption would hardly be conclusive.

¹ On the way to and from Llangollen, many visited the section of Offa's and Wat's Dyke, to be seen on either side of Ruabon. There were some features in the church at Ruabon which well repaid inspection. The monument to the Eytons, who fought at Bosworth Field, is a very interesting altar-tomb bearing the effigies of a knight and lady (*temp.* 1526). One of the Wynns of Gwydir is stiffly portrayed in the costume prevalent in the reign of Queen Anne. An elegant statue, by Nollekens, to Lady Wynn, daughter of the Duke of Buckingham, are amongst the attractions of the church. The famous fresco on the wall of the south aisle bears an inscription in Welsh, “As I have done unto the least of my servants, so do thou”, etc. This painting has been attributed to the eighth century by some enthusiastic Welshmen, but it probably is not older than the latter portion of the fourteenth century. It is much disfigured by the tasteless colouring by which it has been surrounded. The most interesting objects are two comparatively unnoticed effigies lying beneath table-tombs at the north side of the churchyard.

The exception to this rule is the figure of the double axe, represented between the horns of a cow or bull on a thin gold plate of *repoussé* work, found in the fourth tomb, No. 329-330, and another similar figure, or rather two on one handle, on a signet ring, found in the tomb to the south of the Agora, which seems to be admitted as a genuine Greek symbol, met with on the medals of the ancient kings of Caria, and on the coins of Tenedos. The metal work argues a higher state of civilisation than the pottery, the paintings on which are very rude and very archaic. Here, again, we are at fault for comparison, although the later discoveries in the islands of Rhodes and Cyprus are supplying us with the desired links. Omitting, however, these late discoveries, we have the high authority of C. T. Newton, Esq., of the British Museum, for saying that the most archaic forms of Græco-Phœnician art known does not extend further back than about B.C. 800, therefore there is nothing to compare with the more archaic forms discovered at Hissarlik and at Mycenæ. All this is in one sense favourable to the remote date assigned to the tombs by Dr. Schliemann. The destruction of the citadel by the Argives in B.C. 468, the existence of a new city in Macedonian times, say from about B.C. 400 to 200, and final abandonment of the site, which had been long in ruins when Pausanias wrote his account of the tradition of the spot; the knowledge Euripides had of the Agora and royal palaces; these facts together form a chain of evidence which, taken in conjunction with the six tombs and their contents, seem to me stronger than what we can usually get for determining ancient sites and ancient monuments. The supposition that the wealth here buried formed part of the spoils of the Persians, after Marathon and Thermopylæ, is supported by no evidence, and is improbable. If this had been the case, and the city sacked so soon after by the Argives, such spoils would probably have been carried off. The Macedonian city, lying in ruins above the level of the tombs, is as little likely to have furnished forth such sepulchres as any Gothic tribes who invaded Greece in later times; at least, neither the pottery nor the jewellery would lead to this conclusion, nor yet the sculptured slabs of stone.

“ We will now take the signet ring found in a tomb south of the Agora, about which so much has been said, and which shews more design and composition than the other engraved works. The design is engraved upon the gold, and not upon a gem or stone, as was the practice in later times in Greece. The figures are too small to enable us to fix with certainty the details which Dr. Schliemann has ingeniously filled in. The tree on the left, though like a palm, as to its trunk, is probably a conventional form of tree, and the fruit is as much like bunches of grapes as any other fruit. The six objects in the sky to the right, to which Dr. Schliemann gives helmets, hands, and eyes, though Mr.

C. T. Newton considers them like lions' heads, may be, according to his not unreasonable supposition, the *τεῖρα*—the heavenly constellations in the sky which make up with the sun, the moon just filling her horns, and the wavy lines of ocean confining the earth in its undulating boundary, the first scene described by Homer as engraved on the shield of Achilles (*Iliad*, viii), these being the primary objects of nature-worship. I would further add a suggestion of my own, that the whole scene may be no more than the state of peace and war, which Homer next goes on to describe on the shield. The young woman on the left is plucking a bunch of grapes, and the other matrons are offering flowers to each other, emblematic of peace and plenty, regardless of wars, *matribus detestata*, while in the sky is an armed figure of the god or goddess of war, with his spear ready to fulfil the destiny assigned to him by the higher powers represented in the air.

"It has been suggested in an interesting paper by Mr. Bryant, read on 19th June before the Royal Society of Literature, that the scene may represent the birth of Apollo in the island of Delos. If this were admitted, I fear the date of the gem must be brought down to a much later period than the time of the Pelopidae or the siege of Troy. The concrete idea of the birth of Apollo and Artemis would hardly agree with the early date assigned to the tombs, though the gem may have come from Delos, and the idea of identifying that island with the introduction of civilization and poetry, combined with peace and plenty, are in harmony with the idea of the birth there of Apollo and his sister; and indeed the more simple image of an early date would naturally grow into the other at a later. Were it not for the same objection in the matter of date, as in the case of the birth of Apollo, the scene might be applied to bright Rhodes, where the sun always shines, when Apollo sojourned there with Cytherea amongst fruits and flowers, and a shower of golden ornaments was poured down upon them from above. Such golden ornaments might take the form of lions' heads, typifying the vanquished antagonism to civilization and peace, which the ancients understood by these animals. As to the details of female attire, the lappet or pendant which hangs down behind from the head-dress or turban, which each of the five women wear, Mr. Gladstone would identify with the Homeric *κρηῖς*, and if this is so, here is another correspondence between the poem and the date of the gem. A massive golden lion was found in the same tomb (No. 532), as well as another signet ring (No. 531).

"The general agreement of the articles found, with the simplicity yet metallic wealth of the age indicated by Homer, seem to substantiate the truthfulness of the poems, and the points of resemblance are so copiously referred to by Dr. Schliemann in his work and by Mr. Gladstone in the preface to the same, that I need say no more on that head.

The later poets have "gilded refined gold" by their flowery descriptions of the golden age, so that it might have come to be discredited altogether were not the gold now brought to light in quantities unquestionable testimony. I must refer to the book for the forms of bracelets, gold cups, earrings, beads, buttons, and various ornaments, which are there figured. Some of the designs are very elegant, as the butterfly, No. 243-256; the cuttlefish, with its long feelers coiled up into the conventional volutes, No. 270, 271, 240; two female figures, with birds, Nos. 267-268, recall Cytherea and her doves; the chariots and their wheels of four spokes engraved on tombstones, No. 141 and No. 24, and on plates of gold, No. 316, together with many of the patterns, have a very Assyrian look. One geometrical figure, No. 241, formed within a circle, by drawing other half circles from its circumference through its centre, and thus forming a kind of flower, is an exact facsimile of the pattern of a pavement in the British Museum, from one of the palaces of Assyria. The painted pottery and rude idols of earth may be compared with similar articles from Cyprus.

"The marks of gold are a striking feature in the remains from the tombs, but the magnificent specimens of masks of metal in the collection of Mr. Augustus W. Franks, Director of the Society of Antiquaries, shows that the custom of applying these to the faces of the dead has been in use elsewhere than in Argolis. Lastly, I will mention the head of a cow or a bull in silver, with horns of gold, perhaps once offered up at a shrine of Jupiter, or Juno, or Pallas, and the double axe figured between the horns of one before referred to, Nos. 329-330, may be emblematical of this sacrifice. Compare *Iliad* xi, 726-8, 772, and Ovid,

'Ara Jovis media est; mactatur vacca Minervæ,
Alipedi vitulus; taurus tibi, summe Deorum.'—*Met.* iv, 754-5.

The *οὐλοχέται* or salt cake placed between the horns of the victim is well depicted on the head, and resembles in shape some of the cakes found at Pompeii. There are also some small figures of griffins in gold, which are emblematic of wealth accumulated by some of these early great families, by traffic and commerce with distant parts, and the importation by them of cattle into Europe must have been a main source of their riches. Jupiter, in the form of a bull, transported Europa across the Hellespont out of Asia. Navigators, before sailing on a voyage, sacrificed a black bull to Neptune, to give them fair winds and successful trading. The great mountain, at the foot of which, in a corner, Mycenæ is situated, bore the name of Eubœa, which seems to immortalise the lowing kine which once grazed upon its sides, and I need not multiply examples to show the importance of this branch of commerce to Hellas and its islands.

To revert to the golden griffins, it will be remembered that Herodotus says they dwelt among the Hyperboreans, and their eagle beaks and

sharp talons effectually kept off those who would dig for gold, and carry it away. This was one of those fables invented by the Phœnician navigators to magnify the difficulties encountered in their voyages, to deter others from going to the same rich market, and to keep up the price of what they had to sell; but their voyages up such rivers as the Danube, the Don, or the Volga were not so difficult as they would make them appear. Time not being an object in a voyage of a few years, they might draw enough gold from the Oural mountains or the sands of the rivers, through trading with the natives, to found a family, notwithstanding all opposition on the part of the griffins or the arimaspi.

“ These discoveries and discussions upon the early commerce of the *Ægean* are particularly interesting to us now that we are becoming alive to the importance of the early navigators of our northern *Ægean*, the Baltic Sea, and the habits and manners in the one sea will very well illustrate those in the other. The abundance of gold is a feature in both. Perhaps to us the most interesting discovery at Mycenæ has been the circular Agora, with its adjoining palace in the Acropolis, showing the stone seats, inclining inwards, on which the elders sat around. The first suggestion of Professor Paley, that this Agora and seats corresponded with the classical descriptions, has been fully borne out by the subsequent discussions on the subject, and is an important addition to our historical knowledge, because we can see and realise it, and it is impossible not to call to mind our own stone circles in the witenagemot, or assembly of the witan or elders, who were wont to assemble and discuss the public business of the community in our island. The custom, too, of burying great men, as a special honour, within the circle of the Agora has been confirmed by these discoveries.”

The Fen and Marshland Churches.—If the hill country of the west of England, which we visited last year, left its charms of natural scenery still lingering in our minds, the level plains of the eastern side of our island are not without their beauties, which can exercise quite as powerful a spell over us. The broad fields yielding their rich harvest of grain were around us, and as we passed along the roads we saw many an ancient spire and embattled tower that marked the churches of the Fen and Marshland. The choicest and noblest of these sacred edifices have been photographed by Mr. Edward Johnson for Messrs. Leach and Son of Wisbech, by the silver process, and published in three series, with historical and architectural descriptive notes, generally by the clergymen of the respective parishes. The first series contains eight exterior and seven interior views of Walsoken, Walton, Emmeth, Wisbech, Walpole St. Peter's, Terrington St. Clement's, Tilney All Saints, and Leverington. Most of the churches described in these series were visited by the late Archæological Congress, and

the admirers of ecclesiastical architecture cannot do better than obtain these photographs and notes to serve as a guide to their studies, and as a memorial of their visit to the Fens. All of these buildings contain specimens of various styles. The fine Norman arches of Tilney and Walsoken; the first Pointed, or Early English so-called, of Walton; the second Pointed, or Decorated style, of Walton and Walsoken aisles; the Perpendicular of Walpole St. Peter,—are excellently figured in the book before us. The peculiarity of the complicated group of arches at the north-east corner of the principal nave of Wisbech, which attracted so much attention at the visit of the British Archæological Association, is well shown. In this church there is a great fund of instruction for the comparative and archæological ecclesiologist. It has been described as consisting of two churches placed side by side,—one with a north aisle and very long chancel wider than the nave, the other having a nave with a south aisle and short chancel; the wall separating the two naves being replaced by a lofty arcade reaching almost to the broad, flat ceiling which covers both at the same height. Terrington Church is a magnificent structure of cathedral-like dignity and proportion, and the author of the descriptive notes about it rightly pronounces it to be one of the most beautiful, not only in the Fen and Marshland district, but in the kingdom.

The second series contains views of even greater interest than the first. Five views of Ely Cathedral, with nine other exterior and two interior views of Elm, Terrington St. John's, Whittlesey St. Mary's, Outwell, Thorney Abbey Church, and Upwell, are given, the descriptions of all being worthy of attentive perusal. The Rev. W. E. Dickson's account of Ely is a capital specimen of condensed writing, showing how much really valuable information concerning this historic pile can be put into print in a few pages.

The third series is dedicated entirely to Lincolnshire, and therefore naturally contains accounts of Boston, Spalding, and Croyland, among other churches, with fifteen photographic views. In this volume the publishers have drawn largely upon the learning and researches of the Rev. E. Moore, M.A., F.S.A., vicar of Spalding, who has contributed no less than five descriptions of churches and nine ground plans, among them that of Croyland, which was exhibited at the visit of the Congress to the site of St. Guthlac's Abbey. Boston church, another edifice of truly cathedral proportions, has always attracted the attention of the church architect, and a very good account of it is given in Pishey Thompson's *History of Boston*, which was reviewed in the *Journal* for 1876, pp. 134, 135.

We can cordially recommend the book before us to the notice of our members, as containing much valuable information upon the history and architecture of the churches of the neighbourhood of Wisbech;

and this not only derived from other existing materials, but in a great measure entirely new, and deduced from careful examination of the fabrics, and made especially for the present publication. Hence much of the contents of the text must be sought for in vain elsewhere.

Life of St. Guthlac.—The desire has been expressed by the members of the Wisbech Congress of the British Archaeological Association, and by those who take an interest in the local history and literature of the neighbourhood, that the Latin and Anglo-Saxon MSS. and Harley roll of pictures relating to St. Guthlac of Crowland should be published. Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., of the British Museum, *Hon. Sec.*, has agreed to edit these ancient literary and art relics, provided that a sufficient number of copies be taken up by subscription. As the issue will be limited, and confined to subscribers only, names should be sent without delay to Mr. John Leach, Wisbech. The price of the volume will not exceed twenty shillings.

Castle Acre Priory, Norfolk.—An interesting monograph of these fine old ruins, so lately visited by our Association, has just been published by Mr. Edward Preston Wilkins, of No. 13, Great James Street, Bedford Row, W.C. The book is of a convenient size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and issued to subscribers at the moderate price of 5s. a copy, and contains a complete set of carefully measured drawings of plans, elevations, sketches, etc., with an account of this conventual establishment founded by Earl de Warenne for a fraternity of the monks of Cluny, and intended to be a cell to the Priory at Lewes in Sussex, which was dependent upon the great house of Cluny.

Purchase of the Abbot's House at Arbroath.—Lately the Town Council of Arbroath has resolved to purchase the Abbey House or Abbot's House, with garden, from Dr. Colvill, at the price of £1,000. The house, which adjoins the ruins of the Abbey, was anciently the residence of the Abbot, and historical associations are connected with it. It is understood to be about the only abbot's house extant in Scotland. It was suggested at the Meeting that it might be converted into a museum. The Council have acquired a number of other properties in the neighbourhood, with the view of extending the Abbey Green over their site, converting it into a public park, and opening up to view the Abbot's house and the ruins of the Abbey on the south side.

Our associate Mr. F. C. Price has just published a facsimile of an heraldic MS. by J. Witlie, containing the arms of the aldermen of Aldersgate Ward from 1451 to 1616. This excellent little book is neatly got up with Mr. Price's well known skill, and will prove an interesting addition to the library of the herald, genealogist, and topographical antiquarian. It may be obtained at Messrs. Golding and Lawrence's, Great Russell Street, W.C.

Important Excavations at St. Just.—Mr. W. C. Borlase, F.S.A., in a communication printed in the *Athenæum* on the 21st Sept., writes thus :

“The rocky headland of Karn Gluze, in the parish of St. Just-in-Penwith, overlooking Cape Cornwall on the one side, and the bay stretching round to the Land’s End on the other, is one of the grandest spots on the north coast of Cornwall. The promontory itself had been formerly entrenched against the land side by one of those cliff-castles so common along this line of coast, and of which three others are visible from it. A portion of the mounds and trenches are still to be seen on the south side, though the remainder has been destroyed by the *débris* thrown out by the St. Just Amalgamated Mines. To this latter cause, however, is owing the preservation of the immense stone tumulus or cairn I am about to describe, since antiquaries and treasure-seekers have alike passed it by, half buried as it has been in the burrows of mine-stuff. It was the presence of surface-stone in one particular spot, on the very top of the promontory, which led me to drive a trench into the heart of the pile with the following result. At a distance of about 10 feet from the edge of the mound, on the east side, a wall was brought to light, built of massive granite stone set on edge, and fitted together without mortar. This is at present about 4 feet high. Within this, at a distance of 18 feet, as the workmen approached the centre, a second wall was opened up, resting, like the former one, on the natural soil, and surrounded at its base by ashes and charred wood. This second wall proved to be 11 feet in height, and to be neatly built in the form of a beehive, with layers of square or flat stone. The top of the cone was truncated; but if it were ever perfect, as from the accumulation of *débris* it once in all probability was, it must have been at least 20 feet high in the centre. At the highest part of the wall still remaining, the facing stones receded 5 feet 4 inches from the base. On breaking through this second wall, at a distance of 5 feet 6 inches, a third wall appeared, also built in the form of a beehive, and constructed in the neatest manner of dry masonry. The spaces between the concentric circles were filled with loose stones occasionally intermixed with black earth and ashes. The central circle was 30 feet in diameter at the top, giving to the whole tumulus, not including the loose stones outside the outer wall, a total diameter, supposing it to be perfect, of somewhere about 88 feet, and a circumference of 262 feet.

“As we cut into the inner ring ashes became more plentiful, and in the middle, on clearing up the surface of the natural soil, an earth-cut grave was discovered, 8 feet in length by 3 feet wide. It lay in a direction bearing north-east by south-west, and at the north-east end was between 3 and 4 feet deep. Its floor, however, was found to be descending by two steps, each 1 foot 6 inches high, into a second trans-

verse grave which crossed its south-western end in the shape of the top of the letter T. This, which probably was the actual place of interment, had been excavated under the natural soil. It was, in fact, a cave 8 feet long by 2 feet wide, and its floor 6 feet under the surface. I was at first inclined to think that miners had preceded me in my excavations, and that this was a pit for tin ; but the miners who were at work for me gave several reasons why it could not have been such ; and the discovery in it of black, greasy earth, ashes, and a stone bead, confirmed the view that it was a similar work to those graves which I had previously found in connexion with the rude stone monuments of the district. The bead differs from the so-called spindle-whorls in being thicker than they. It is formed of a dark granitic stone containing much mica.

“In clearing the ground at the north-east end of the pit a flat stone was discovered, which proved to be one of the two covering stones of a neatly formed stone cist, 2 ft. 3 ins. long, 1 ft. wide, and 2 ft. deep. At the north corner of this little vault, close against the wall, stood a small cylindrical urn, perfectly plain, without knob or handle. Two small pieces of burnt human bone lay on the top, but otherwise it was filled with dark earth and charred wood. It is $5\frac{2}{3}$ ins. high, and its diameter $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins. In the same cist were three other fragments of another small urn, which had two knobs or cleats on its side, and also a small piece of metal, which though very much decayed, has the appearance of having been a little copper coin. About 2 ft. from this cist, on the west side of the grave, was a second, similarly constructed, 2 ft. long, 1 ft. wide, and 1 ft. deep. Against the southern side of this another little urn lay on its side, evidently purposely placed in that position. It is $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high, and 4 ins. wide at the mouth. It is extremely rude in its baking and construction, is of thicker pottery than the other, and has a bulge under the rough rim at the top. With the exception of this the cist was empty. Close by was a third cist, with nothing in it, and two others occurred further to the south. Near these latter cists was found the jaw-bone of some animal, which I believe to be that of a wolf. Although ranged round two sides of the grave, the cists could not be said to be placed in a circle, and no others occurred on the further side, though careful search was made. Excavations, however, are still in progress, and the tumulus is of such immense dimensions that further discoveries may be made. As one piece of the upper part fell away, a sixth little cist was found, containing fragments of pottery of the domestic type, similar to that which occurs in the hut villages of the district, and generally ascribed to the Romano-British period. This probably marked the place of a secondary interment. In the magnificence of its situation, as well as in its peculiar construction, reminding us of Buddhist topes or Sardinian nuraghs,

this cairn is undoubtedly one of the most interesting remains discovered in Cornwall for many years. In its immense size alone, composed as it is of thousands of loads of surface stones, some of great size and weight, it is calculated to impress the visitor with the thought of the amount of labour which must have been brought to bear upon it. In the absence of more human bones in the excavations, as well as in the peculiar position of the little urns, as also in other respects, it is worth the careful consideration of archæologists in general.

“A second depressed cairn, which I opened at the same time some few hundred yards distant, contained evidence of a similar construction on a smaller scale, in the shape of a surrounding wall and central vaults. With the exception of one small piece of pottery, and numerous flints, mullers, and whetstones (which were common to both cairns), it contained nothing of importance. In the corner of a field adjoining the cliff the tenant farmer, some years since, discovered a trench about twenty yards in length, and in some places not more than a foot wide, filled with decayed limpet shells. It was uniformly 4 ft. deep, and no less than twenty cartloads are said to have been removed from it as dressing for the land. Near it the soil was unusually deep, and amongst this, when turned over, stone handmills were found, with large pebbles from the beach for mullers, which often fitted exactly into the holes in the stones. A small cist was also found, which, however, proved to be empty.

“On another neighbouring promontory, near the cliff-castle of Kenidjack, an important discovery of celts has also recently been made. They are of bronze, and the two finest are of the same type as those figured by Dr. Borlase in the *Antiquities of Cornwall*, found at Karn Brea, near Redruth. They are “socketed”, and the largest is $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in length. A second one of similar type is a little smaller. A third, which is broken, is of a different shape from the others, that known as the “Paalstab”. Each of the three is provided with a single handle, and the two former are ornamented with three lines drawn down the sides. With them was another bronze object, which might either have been a fibula or the knob of a sword hilt, and also a quantity of smelted copper, one piece of which shows the form of the stone bowl in which the metal was run. They were found in a pile of stones, which might have been a sepulchral cairn or (what seems to me more probable, the ruins of the building in which the smelting took place. Though a careful search was made no stone moulds could be found. Subsequent researches on the same cliffs have brought to light seventeen more urns or the portions of them, the beads of a necklace, flints, and other objects.

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NOTES ON WELSH ARCHÆOLOGY.

BY PROFESSOR J. RHYS OF OXFORD.

OTHERS may be trusted to point out to the members of this learned Association the material remains of archæological interest in this charming district of Llangollen; but there is a sense in which tumuli, earthworks, and cromlechs, are no more facts than are words, and especially names. It is by directing attention to the tales which two or three of those supplied by this part of the country have to tell, that I would attempt to do my part in welcoming this Association on its first visit to North Wales.

One might begin by dwelling on the history of some of the neighbouring churches, more than one of which commemorate the names of St. Germanus and St. Bride or Bridget, such as Llanarmon and Llansantffraid. One of the lessons to be learned from those names seems to be that there has been a fashion in the case of saints as in everything else. Whether any of those mentioned are the oldest names of the churches now so called may be doubted: at any rate there are reasons for doubting that the churches called Llanarmon received that name during the period in which St. Germanus lived. But in the case of the church after which this parish is called, this is not so; and the Welsh have never allowed oblivion to cover the memory of the man who seems to have been the first missionary who laboured on the banks of the Dee to turn our pagan ancestors to Christianity, and the name of Collen will be remembered as long as this place continues to be called Llangollen.

This is not the time for a lesson on Welsh phonology, but I always feel glad of an opportunity of learning a new sound, and perhaps some of those attending the meeting of the Association here would be glad to acquire the sound of our Welsh *ll* before returning to England. The directions need not be long. Discard the grotesque accounts of that sound in English books, place your tongue in position for pronouncing *l*, and blow a good deal harder than need be for that consonant, then you have our *ll*. So long, however, as you hear *thl* or *chl*, you may be sure you have not hit it, as it is a single consonant, and not a combination.

To return to St. Collen, it would be needless to trouble you with the legends usually attached to his name, but I would call your attention to one which I have never seen published in English, and I am indebted for it to one of our best Welsh archæologists, the Rev. Owen Jones of Llandudno. The following is the substance of a Welsh letter with which he favoured me about a fortnight ago:—

“I have long been of opinion that our early Welsh legends are to be regarded as allegorical descriptions of historical facts, and on one occasion, several years ago, I happened to be lodging at a farmhouse near Pentref-y-Dwfr, at the foot of Bwlch-y-Rhiwfelen. In the morning the farmer, Mr. John Tudor, accompanied me over the Bwlch, on my way to Llandegla, and, in answer to my enquiries, he related to me the following legend, which he had heard as a boy, engaged as a shepherd on the mountains there:—‘In some very early period there used to live on the top of this Bwlch a giantess, who used to mutilate and kill all who came that way. At last, some man from the neighbouring vale of Llangollen made up his mind to rid the country of her; he sharpened his sword, in order to go to fight with her. After he had climbed to her court, she came out to converse with him, and the result was that they engaged in a severe combat. By and by the man succeeded in cutting off the right arm of the giantess, but she continued to fight as strenuously as ever. This went on until he managed to cut off her left arm also, whereupon the giantess began to call aloud to Arthur, in the rock of Eglwyseg, entreating him to come to her rescue, as the knave was murdering her. The end, however, was that she was killed, and that the man hurried away to wash himself

clean from her blood in a spring on the mountain, which is to this day known as Collen's Well.' The explanation", continues Mr. Jones, "which I ventured to give Mr. Tudor was the following :—By the giantess was meant a cruel and oppressive system of religion, which prevailed here before the introduction of Christianity. It was the missionary who first brought the Gospel into those parts, and to whose memory Llangollen was consecrated, that was represented by the man who came to fight the giantess. It was with the sword of truth that he broke the force of her influence, partially at first and more completely afterwards, and in spite of her appeal to the secular power, here represented by Arthur, she was killed, so as to rid the country of her violence and cruelty." "Perhaps", adds Mr. Jones, "the legend was invented by one of the monks of Valle Crucis Abbey, in that neighbourhood."

So far his explanation, which is highly ingenious, as applied to the legend in its present form. However, I am inclined to think that it dates long before the time of Valle Crucis Abbey, and that most of the materials out of which it was constructed are even older than Christianity. Perhaps one might characterise it as a Pagan legend fertilised by Christianity. I doubt whether we might venture to compare the giantess with the sphinx, but if we substitute for her a dragon, we can connect it with a well known class of legends, and at the same time discover a motive for the victorious slayer of the giantess hurrying away to a well to wash himself clean from her blood, for that may, as in some of the dragon legends, have been poisonous. It is hard to say whether the reference to the well partakes more of the nature of a solar myth or of Christianity, but certain it is that St. Collen, who, by implication, is the hero, represents Christianity. Consequently Arthur appears as one who might be appealed to on the Pagan side. This is, I am inclined to think, the original character of Arthur as the early hero of Kynry and Bretons, and it is easy to understand how, when they became Christians, he had to follow suit, so as to become the good knight we find him in the *Mabinogion*. As such, one cannot without some difficulty think of him as paying no heed to the cries of a female in distress. On the whole, it would seem that an Arthur who was neither Christian nor chivalrous is an older and more

original character than the one pictured in mediæval romance.

The foregoing legend probably did not stand alone. Within the last few days I have succeeded in collecting a few shreds of a nearly parallel one at Llanberis. Between Llanberis church and the pass, nearly opposite the house called Cwmglas, under a large stone called Y Gromlech, on the left hand side as you ascend, was the abode of a giantess called Canrig (or Cantrig) Bwt, which seems to have meant Canrig the Stumpy, and to have indicated that her stoutness was out of all proportion to her stature. Now Canrig Bwt was a cannibal, and especially fond of feasting on children, so when the man came who was destined to put an end to her, and challenged her to come out to fight, she coolly replied, "Wait till I have scraped this young skull clean." In the meantime, he placed himself on the stone under which she was to come out, and chopped off her head with his sword when she made her appearance in quest of him. He is said to have been a criminal sentenced to death, who had the alternative of trying his luck in conflict with the giantess, and the name of Canrig Bwt has come down to our time only as a means of frightening naughty children, but I am not sure that this is a sufficient proof that her ravages were confined to infants.

I would call your attention next to the name of the river you have lately crossed and re-crossed so frequently, the Dee. In Welsh it is called *Dyfrdwy*—a word which analyses itself into *Dyfr-dwy*, whereof the first syllable is a weakening of *dufr*, water; but what is the other syllable? Two answers are given. It is sometimes crudely guessed to be the same as the Welsh *du*, black, which is phonetically impossible, and deserving of no further mention. The more popular etymology identifies it with Welsh *dwy*, the feminine of *dau*, two, and treats the entire name as meaning the water of two, that is, of two rivers; and the two rivers supposed to form the Dee are pointed out in the neighbourhood of Bala. It would perhaps be no serious objection to this etymology that *Dyfrdwy* would accordingly be a name which could be literally applied to almost all the rivers in the world, but a little fact suffices to dissolve a great deal of conjecture. The former offers itself in one of the ways in which Giraldus Cambrensis spells the

name of the river, namely, as *Deverdoeu*, where *doeu* is the same as the old Welsh *doin* or *duin*, the genitive of old Welsh *diu*, a god. It is not altogether unknown in its full form in later Welsh, as for instance in *duyw-ol* (divine), now written and pronounced *duyffol*, but more commonly *duin* or *duyw* is shortened into *duy*, as in *meuduy* (a hermit), literally *servus dei*; similarly, an old name, *Gwas-duin*, which also means *servus dei*, appears later as *Gwas-duy*. So the phonology of *Dyfrduy* is perfectly plain and simple, and the word would have to be regarded as meaning *aqua dei*, but for other evidence, which makes me prefer treating *duy* as here meaning goddess, whence *Dyfrduy* would be *aqua deæ*. Who was the goddess I do not know, but most probably she was a personification of the river. In later Welsh poetry the latter is personified under the name of *Aerfen*, which would seem to mean a war divinity, or simply war; and I have heard a tradition mentioned which indicates that in times when our ancestors and the English were at war, the Dee had still some traces of its divinity preserved, as it seems to have been treated as the arbiter of victory and defeat. If the Dee ate away its eastern bank, it betokened defeat to the English, and *vice versâ*, but what authority there is for such a tradition I cannot say, and I should be glad to learn whether there is any.

Now, according to the rules of Welsh phonology, old Welsh *duin*, and later *duyw*, stand for an early Welsh stem, *dēw* or *dēu*, which is the same whence the Romans had their *Dēva* and the English their *Dee*. It is not my intention to dwell on river worship among the Celts, and I would merely refer you to a valuable paper by M. Pietet in the *Revue Celtique*, entitled "De quelques noms celtiques de rivières qui se lient au culte des eaux", in which the learned Celtist, who is now no more, not only calls attention to Gallo-Roman votive tablets to such water divinities as *Dea Sequana*, *Dea Icaune*, *Dea Bormonia*, *Deus Borvo* and the like, but finds traces in Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Ireland of rivers bearing the same names as the Dee, in the forms of *Dēva*, *Diva*, and *Divona*, and nearly related ones. (*Rev. Celtique*, ii, pp. 1-9).

In the same paper he notices the rivers known in Gaul as *Matra* and *Matrona*, that is, names intimately connected

with the Gaulish form of the word for mother, and recalling the numberless Gaulish divinities entitled *Matres* in Gallo-Roman inscriptions. This leads me to suggest a possible explanation of the name of the principal point in the Clwydian range of hills, namely, *Moel Famau*. Now *moel* means bald, without hair or without horns, and as applied to a hill, it signifies one with a round top, such, in fact, as *Moel Famau* is, but for the unfortunate jubilee tower on it. *Famau* is a regular mutation of *Mamau*, apparently the plural of *Mam*, a mother, thus *Moel Famau* would mean the moel of mothers, which sounds, however, somewhat more indefinite than the majority of Welsh names of the kind, and suggests that the definite article here, as in so many other instances, has been dropped; the name would then in full be *Moel-y-Famau*, but that could only be a relic of the use of dual numbers in Welsh, and should be rendered into English the moel of the two mothers. But who were these mothers, whether two or more in number? I am inclined to think that they were no human mothers, but imaginary beings, possibly associated with or personifications of springs of water rising in the Moel; but whether further acquaintance with the ground would tend to confirm this somewhat vague conjecture, I am unable to say, as I have never had an opportunity of examining it. On the other hand, it would be evidently unwise to neglect any traces in this country of cults which, it may be presumed, were once common among the Celts, both in the British Isles and on the Continent.

P.S.—Since the above paper was read at Llangollen, I find that the tradition respecting the Dee as arbiter of victory and defeat is duly recorded by Giraldus, *Itinerarium Cambriæ*, c. 11. Lastly, as to Canrig Bwt, I find that apparently the same person is referred to as Cynric Rwth at p. 97 of a book entitled *Observations on the Snowdon Mountains*, etc., by William Williams of Llandegai: London, 1802.

THE ROMAN STATION AT CAERGWRLE.

BY W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

THAT the castle at Caergwrle was originally a Roman walled *castrum*, which in mediæval times was repaired, added to, and otherwise adapted to the necessities of the period, that it also was designed to afford protection to a Roman town built in its immediate neighbourhood, is, I think, a now established fact. From personal inspection and comparison with other Roman remains, I can verify the account which appears of the Castle in vol. v, Fourth Series, p. 355, of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, which thus condenses the description of the Castle: "The most important portion of the present ruins is Roman work of excellent character. The exterior face of the wall is lined with well cut ashlar. In the inside of the work, where there is no ashlar, the boundary courses of thin stone in the place of bricks are very conspicuous. Part of an arch of the same date still remains. The other portions of the ruins are probably of the Edwardian period, but are too fragmentary to enable any satisfactory plan of the original arrangement being made out."

Here, as in the case of all other Roman stations, excavations are needed, not only to define the exact dimensions of the *castrum*, but to throw, by means of inscriptions, etc., some light upon its name and the nature of its garrison, whether the latter was part of the twentieth legion detached from Chester, or an auxiliary cohort. That the twentieth legion originally erected it, we know from the first account we possess of any discoveries having been made in the neighbourhood. Camden, in his *Britannia*,¹ tells us that in 1607 there was discovered, near Hope (Caergwrle is in this parish), a Roman hypocaust, some of the tiles of which were stamped LEGIO. XX.; though I take this expanded form of the stamp of the legion to have originated with Camden, the exact inscription on the tiles being probably, as in all other cases, LEG. XX. V. V. Camden says that the hypocaust was found by a gardener digging rather deeper than usual; that it was 5 ells long, 4 broad, and about half

¹ Gibson's *Camden*, p. 828.

an ell high, encompassed with walls hewn out of the rock. "The floor was of brick set in mortar. The roof was supported with brick pillars, and consisted of polished tiles which at several places were perforated. On these were laid certain brick tubes" (*i.e.*, flue-tiles) "which carried off the force of the heat."

The next recorded discovery in the neighbourhood was in the last century, when Pennant tells us that large beds of iron cinders or scoriæ were found at *Caer Estyn*, which he supposed were of Roman origin, as undoubtedly they were. He also tells us that Roman bricks were found in the ruins of the old house of Hope. Nothing else seems recorded until 1828. Lewis, in his *Topographical Dictionary of Wales* (edit. 1850), article "Hope", thus describes some discoveries which took place in that year. "In the township of *Uwehymynydd Isa*, in a little valley on the southern side of *Bryn Yorkyn Mountain*, are some remains of *Offa's Dyke*, near the spot where this ancient line of demarcation enters the county of Flint from *Denbighshire*. In levelling the Dyke in 1828, twenty-two Roman coins of copper were discovered, among which were some of the Emperors Nero, Vespasian, Trajan, Julius Agricola (*sic*), and Maximilian (*sic*). Here were also found a silver coin of Agrippa; several *fibulæ* highly ornamented; rings of gold, silver, and copper; pins of ivory and silver; beads of glass and amber; part of a lamp with the word *NINVS* impressed on it; a votive altar with a mutilated inscription; and several urns containing calcined bones and ashes,—all of which are in the possession of the proprietor of the land."

Being highly desirous of obtaining a copy of the inscription upon this altar, in 1870 I inserted a letter of inquiry as to its whereabouts in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, which elicited in the No. of that Journal for January 1871, a letter from Mr. R. V. Kyrke of *Nant-y-Ffrith* (in the neighbourhood), in which he says: "The altar, with other Roman relics, was found on land belonging to my uncle, the late Mr. James Kyrke, who had a drawing made of it, showing the inscription, which, with the *fibulæ*, coins, etc., found therewith, came into my possession, but has unfortunately been lost or mislaid."

Mr. Kyrke at the same time announced further discoveries: "Adjoining to the spot where these Roman remains

were found has lately been discovered a hypocaust with perforated tiles, flue-tiles, etc. A small piece of smelted lead and some slags were also found."

Mr. Kyrke, in March 1875, announced still further discoveries, in a private letter to me. He says: "During the last summer there were some excavations near the spot, for the foundations of a house, and some old Roman walls, tiles, etc., found: indeed, the place was full of them, and there are plenty of fragments of pottery, etc., now to be seen." A smelting hearth of concrete, with fragments of smelted lead, Samian ware, and coins, appear also to have been found on the same occasion.

We have thus evidence of an important Roman town having existed, to which the *castrum* at Caergwrle, situated as it is in a commanding position on the summit of a conical hill, would give efficient protection. What was its name? We *may* probably have a clue from the inscription on a pig of lead found at Chester in 1849. The inscription on this has generally been read as CAESARI....VADON (of the first *v* in VADON only the upper parts of the strokes were visible, and the *N* was reversed, thus, *N*); but having closely examined it, I read it as CAESARI....SANDON; the last word being either SANDON or SNADON, the *N*'s being reversed in both cases. Now as the site of the Roman station of *Lutudæ*, named in the chorography of Ravennas, has been determined, by the finding of several pigs of lead bearing the abbreviations *LVT.* and *LVTVD.* as the termination of the inscriptions upon them, to have been in the neighbourhood of Wirksworth in Derbyshire, other collateral evidence having also been found; so I think that in the termination of the imperfect inscription found at Chester we have the abbreviation of the town called SANDONIVM by Ravennas. In the first place, where does this author place *Sandonium*? Between *Conorivm* (Caerhun) and *Dera* (Chester), and immediately preceding the latter station, as if in its immediate neighbourhood. In the second place, from its name occurring on a pig of lead, *Sandonium*, like *Lutudæ*, must have been a place where lead was produced. What sites between Caerhun and Chester would answer this requirement? There are two,—this one at Caergwrle, and *Croes Atti* near Flint, where there are immense heaps of scoriæ, in which Roman coins, *fibulae*, *styli*, and pottery of all sorts,

have been found, with foundations of Roman buildings. One of these seems certainly to have been *Sandonium* (or as one MS. has it, *SAVDONIVM*). Which is it? Caergwrle with a large *castrum* to protect it, or the station at *Croes Atti*, which, so far as we know, had nothing of the sort, though the evidences of lead-smelting are greater there than have hitherto been found at Caergwrle.

There would appear to have been several Roman roads leading from Caergwrle. One of these distinctly pointed, according to Pennant's account, towards Mold, being "visible more than once in the fields on this side Plas Teg". There is another visible, leading towards Hawarden and *Croes Atti*. A third, as Mr. Kyrke says, ran up the Nant-y-Ffrith Valley, passing through the "lead-bearing districts of Bwlch-gwyn". A correspondent, who signs "B. L.", confirms this statement of Mr. Kyrke's in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for April 1871, p. 203, saying, "A Roman road is known to exist some feet below the surface, running from Glascoed to Pant-Derwydd, following the old road, which rejoins the present turnpike-road at Pen-Dinas after passing Aber-Derfyn.....From this point there is every probability that the line followed the present road by Tafarn Dywyeh, making straight for Caergai or the Tomen at Bala. That the Minera Mines were known to the Romans has been proved by the discovery of several mining tools of decided Roman character."

Having thus discussed the evidence as to Caergwrle, there are two other facts which, whilst the British Archæological Association are in this neighbourhood, I would like to bring before them. The first is a statement of Lewis in his *Topographical Dictionary*, that "the remains of two Roman baths were discovered at Wrexham in the year 1806". I can learn nothing as to this discovery. The Rev. Canon Cunliffe (resident in Wrexham from about 1822) assured me in the year 1873 that he had never heard of them, nor could any of the older inhabitants give him any information concerning them. Perhaps some of the members of the Association can give information on the point.

The second fact is the existence of what in all probability is a Roman pharos, or lighthouse, on one of the hills above Abergele, and which is now known as the "Old Windmill". Having never personally examined it, but only seen it from

a distance, I cannot speak with certainty. From the description given by a friend it would appear that the doorway arch in the tower is turned with Roman tiles ; and some of the mortar, of which I had a specimen sent to me, had most unmistakably pounded tile in it. It is also described as having bonding courses of thin stone. Its position would render it a well defined object from the sea. Great Roman mining works are in the neighbouring hills.

THE ANCIENT LAWS AND STATUTES OF WALES.

BY C. H. COMPTON.

IN endeavouring to fix some period from which to commence an investigation into the history of the early laws of Wales, it must be borne in mind that the inhabitants of that country are the remains of the ancient inhabitants of Britain, who, driven from time to time by the invasions of the Romans, Picts, Saxons, and Danes, from the other portions of the island, found, in the tenth century, refuge in that part of Britain which now bears the name of Wales. Previously to this period that part of Britain comprised all the land westward of the Severn, including the present counties of Monmouth, Hereford, and parts of Worcestershire and Shropshire; but at the latter part of the tenth century the growth of the kingdom of Mercia had driven the Welsh from these territories, and confined them to very much the same limits as are now comprised within the Principality of Wales. We must, therefore, seek in the early history of Britain for an account of the ancient jurisprudence of the Welsh.

The earliest trace of a definite code of laws among the ancient Britons is found in the triads of Dyvnwal Moel Mud, son of Clydno, who was king over this island about four hundred years before the Christian era. Clydno was son to the Earl of Cernyw by a daughter of the King of Lloegyr; and after the male line of succession to the kingdom became extinct, Dyvnwal Moel Mud obtained it by the distaff (*i.e.*, through the female line), on account of his being grandson to the King. These triads remained in force until the time of Howel the Good, son of Cadell. The form and phraseology in which we now have them is taken from the *Myvyrian Archæology*, printed in the sixteenth century. Mention is also made of the laws of Marsia, and of the concession of privileges,—one to the men of Arvan, by Run, in the sixth century; another to the inhabitants of Powys, by Cadwallon, in the seventh. These privileges consisted of exemptions from the operations of particular laws then in force. These were first collected in a poem

composed by Cynddelw about A.D. 1160, also included in the *Mycyrian Archæology*.

According to Camden, Wales formerly comprehended all beyond the Severn, and was inhabited by three people, the Silures, the Dimetæ, and the Ordovices, to whom belonged not only the twelve counties of Wales, but Hereford and Monmouth. The Silures inhabited those counties which the Welsh call Deheubarth, *i.e.*, the right hand part, comprising the present counties of Hereford, Radnor, Brecknock, Monmouth, and Glamorgan. The Dimetæ inhabited Dimetia or Dyved, comprising the counties of Caermarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan. The Ordovices inhabited two principalities which they called Gwynedh and Powys, and we, North Wales and Powisland, united subsequently under the name of Venedotia, which comprised the counties of Montgomery, Merioneth, Caernarvon, Denbigh, and Flint.

Sir Edward Coke, in his *Fourth Institute*, gives the following account of the division of Wales: "Rodry Maure, or Rodry the Great, King of Wales, son of Mervyn Fryth, had issue three sons, Mervyn, Anarawd, and Cadelh. In the year wherein he died, A.D. 877 (King Alfred then reigning in England), Rodry divided Wales into three principalities. The first he called Gwyneth, *Anglicè* North Wales (Latin, Venedotia); the second, Powisland (Latin, Powisia), of some West Wales, bordering upon England; the third he called Deheubarth, the English South Wales (in Latin, Demetia). The first principality, some say, he gave to Mervyn; after others, to Anarawd; the second to Anarawd,—some say to Cadelh; the third to Cadelh,—some say to Mervyn."

It was not until about the commencement of the tenth century that Howel Dha, or Howel the Good, King of South Wales (to the government of which country he succeeded his father Cadelh), collected and revised the laws of Wales, and embodied them into those codes which are known by his name, and which remained in force, with modifications from time to time, until the final assimilation of the laws of Wales with those of England in the reign of Henry VIII. Howel Dha inherited from his mother Elen possessions in Powys, and his influence appears to have been powerful throughout North Wales. In the prefaces to two of the codes of law which bear his name, he is called Prince of all Cymru; but no details have been given of the supremacy

ascribed to him over Wales. William of Malmesbury says : “Æthelstanus Ludwalum regem omnium Wallensium et Constantium regem Scottorum cedere regnis compulit.” As Æthelstan subdued the Welsh in 933, Howel would be the king here referred to as having supreme rule over the whole country.

The materials for investigation of the laws of Howel Dha are contained in the edition of *The Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* by Aneurin Owen, undertaken by direction of the Commissioners of Public Records in consequence of an address to King George IV by the House of Commons in 1822. This volume was completed, and ordered to be printed by King William IV, but was not published until the year 1841, four years after his death. In a masterly preface to this volume Mr. Owen has given a very interesting sketch of the earliest laws, and the circumstances under which they were collected under Howel Dda. In explaining the method he adopted in this compilation, he says :—“A question arose whether a new edition of the *Leges Wallicæ*, edited by Dr. Wotton, would not suffice ?” But after a careful examination of that work, all intention of reprinting it was abandoned, on the ground that the plan upon which Dr. Wotton proceeded was the adoption of one form of laws as the foundation of the text, interspersed with which were various readings which differed widely from the text, and sometimes were contradictory of it. The cause of this anomaly was unexplained; and upon its being investigated it appeared that there were three distinct forms of laws existing, the parts of which had been dislocated by the editor, and so arranged as to suit the order of the MS. which he had adopted as his text from the conviction of its being the most ancient and uniform of the whole.

Upon further research these three independent codes were found to belong respectively to Venedotia, or North Wales; Dimetia, or South Wales; and Gwent, or South-East Wales. A remodelling of the materials, therefore, became necessary, and this Mr. Owen has done by giving each code in the original Welsh, with an English translation in parallel columns.

The course adopted by Howel Dha in the collection and revision of the laws of Wales is set out in the prefaces to the three separate codes. These prefaces are interesting as illustrating the habits and manners of the times; we will,

therefore, give an epitome of those to the Venedotian and Dimetian codes, which are very similar, though they vary in some particulars. They state that Howel the Good, the son of Cadell, Prince of all Cymru, seeing the Cymry perverting the laws, summoned to him six men from each *cymwd*¹ in the Principality, the wisest in his dominions, four of them laics, and two clerks,—so says the Venedotian preface, the Dimetian says six men, and all the clergy of the kingdom possessed of the dignity of the crozier, as the Archbishop of Menevia² and abbots and bishops and priors,—to the White House on the Tav in Dyved. That house he ordered to be constructed of white rods, as a lodge for him in hunting, and so called the White House. The clerks, says the Venedotian code, were summoned lest the laics should ordain anything contrary to the Holy Scripture. The time they assembled together was Lent, the reason given by the Venedotian preface being, “because every one should be pure at that holy time, and should do no wrong at a time of purity”. The Dimetian preface says “they remained there during the whole of Lent, to pray to God through perfect abstinence, and to implore grace and discernment for the King to amend the laws and customs of Cymru”; and at the termination of Lent the King selected out of that assembly twelve of the wisest laics and the most learned scholar, the Master Blegywryd, Archdeacon of Llandav, to form and systemise the laws and usages for him and his kingdom perfectly, and the nearest possible to truth and to justice. And he began to write them in three parts: the first, the daily law of the palace; the second, the law of the country; the third, the perfect administration of each of them. In the next place the King ordered three law books to be prepared: one for the use of the daily court, to remain continually with himself, another for the court of Dinevwr, the third for the court of Aberfraw; so that the three divisions of Cymru, namely, Gwynedd, Powys, and South Wales, might have continually amongst them the authority of the law ready for their reference at all times. And then Howel sanctioned the laws with his authority, and denounced their malediction, and that of all the Cymri, upon him who should

¹ *Cymwd*, a territorial division, of which two generally formed a cantrev, though it sometimes contained more.

² St. David's.

not obey the laws, and upon the judge who might undertake a judicial function, and upon the lord who might confer it upon him, without knowing the three columns of law, and the worth of wild and tame animals, and everything pertaining to them necessary and customary to a community.

After the laws had been all made and completely written, Howel, accompanied by the Princes of Cymru and Lambert, Bishop of Menevia, and Mordav, Bishop of Bangor, and Cebun, Bishop of St. Asaph, and Blegewryd, Archdeacon of Llandav, went to Rome to Pope Anastatius, to read the law and to see if there were anything contrary to the laws of God in it; and as there was nothing militating against it, it was confirmed, and was called the law of Howel the Good from that time forward. The year when these laws were made was, according to the old chronicles, A.D. 914, in which year Howel went to Rome. The year of Howel's death is given variously as 940 and 948. Mr. Owen says the discrepancy is occasioned by the first mentioned date being taken from a chronicle in which the events of a decade were not particularised.¹

The preface to the Gwentian code is a short summary of the events narrated in the other two prefaces, but it sets out the bounds of Howel's dominion thus: "Threescore and four cantrevs² in South Wales, eighteen cantrevs of Gwynedd, threescore trevs beyond the Cyrehell,³ and threescore trevs of Buallt. The three codes of Howel Dha's laws, as they are now collected in Mr. Owen's volume, contain allusions to alterations since his time. The Venodotian code, which is said to be the compilation of Iorwerth (Edward), son of Madog, son of Raawd, refers to alterations by Bleddyn, Prince of North Wales about 1080. He altered the quantities of land assigned to each of the various divisions among heirs. He remodelled the ordinances as to theft, by instituting full satisfaction instead of fines. So considerable were these alterations, that litigants were allowed to choose by which institution they would be judged. Gruffudd ab

¹ See the *Chronicles of the Princes of Wales*, p. 847.

² Mr. Owen says this appears to be an error, as there were never so many cantrevs in all Wales. If cymwds be substituted, the account would be nearer the truth.

³ Now Crychell, a brook in Radnorshire, which runs by Abbey Cwmhir, and falls into the Leirithron.

Cynan reformed the canons, which regulated the bards and minstrels, but did not interfere with the law courts. Owen Gwynnedd, his son, who succeeded about 1137, admitted the consecration of the bishops of St. Asaph by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

In South Wales, Rhys, about the same period, with the consent of the country, increased the prices imposed upon cattle in the laws, and extended the valuations to animals upon which hitherto no legal price had been assessed. He also accepted the office of justiciary of South Wales from Henry II.

A careful perusal of these three codes discloses a state of society analogous to that which existed in England prior to the Norman conquest and the introduction of Norman feudalism. The supreme lord was the king, from whom all land was held, as the Venedotian code expresses it, "No land is to be without the king." There was the lord who held direct from the king, the Boneddig, bon-edd-ig, the free *Welshman* of indigenous descent, the Breyr, bre-yr (mote-man, or freeman) in South Wales, denominated Uchelwyn in North Wales, the Caeth (bondman or villein). The freeman held his land by free or socage tenure, although seizin was delivered by the rod, and the tenant paid a fee on investiture, called a gobr ystyn. Heriots (ebediw) were paid to the lord on the death of a tenant, except in cases where the payment of cywhasedd on investiture exonerated the tenant's successors from the payment of a heriot. The form of conveyance was surrender. All these incidents of tenure are preserved to this day in England, as incidents of copyhold tenure, but there is this difference, that copyhold was a base tenure, having its origin in villeinage, whilst the early British tenure was free. The villein was subject to various services and dues of an inferior grade, such as providing food and shelter on a lord's or lady's progress through the country, and payments in kind for his lord's necessities.

The Venedotian and Dimetian codes are each divided into three books. The first consists of the law of the court, and contains precise regulations for the duties of the various officers of the court, from the chief of the household, who was to be a son of the king, or his nephew, or one of rank, competent to become a chief of the household, to the laun-

dress in the Venedotian, and the groom in the Dimetian code, not forgetting the cook and his perquisites, among which are specially mentioned the fat and grease ; and the candle-bearer, who was to light all the wax candles in the palace, and the wax he might bite off the tops of the candles belonged to him. The bard of the household had also a prominent position. He was the eighth officer of the court ; he was to have his land free and his horse in attendance, and his linen clothing from the queen, and his woollen clothing from the king. He was to sit next the chief of the household at the three principal festivals, who was to place the harp in his hand. When a song was desired, the chaired bard was to begin. After the chaired bard the bard of the household was to sing three songs on various subjects. If the queen desired a song, the bard of the household was to sing to her without limitation in a low voice, so that the hall might not be disturbed by him.

The second book of these codes consists of the laws of the country, and is divided under several heads, among which are the laws of the women, which contain very minute and curious details ; the claims of surety and debtor ; and of contracts, under which head we find that the right to have the benefit of or the liability under a contract did not, as with us, survive to the personal representatives of the contracting parties, but died with them, as in our law personal injuries do. Under the head of church protection the supremacy of the civil over the ecclesiastical authority is maintained. The Venedotian code provides that all possessors of church lands are to come to every new king who succeeds, to declare to him their privilege and obligation, lest the king be deceived ; and if the king see their privilege to be right, let the king continue to them their sanctuary and their privilege.

The Dimetian code thus defines the judicial functions. There are three kinds of judges—a judge of the supreme court, by virtue of office continually with the kings of Dinevwr and Aberfraw ; one judge of a cymwd or cantrev, by virtue of office in every court of pleas in Gwynedd and Powys ; and a judge by privilege of land in every court of a cymwd or cantrev in South Wales, that is to say, every owner of land. Every official judge is to have four legal pence for every judgment of that amount in value from the party in whose favour he decides. A judge by privilege of

his land, however, is not to have worth for his judgments, because it is a service attached to the land. In the Venedotian code the laws concerning landed property and the forms of pleading in suits for the recovery thereof, are set forth with great minuteness, and remind us of those real actions which existed in England so late as the early part of the reign of William IV, but were then abolished. The Dimetian code summarises the procedure in the following words. The claimant in the first place is to exhibit his claim, and after that the defendant his defence; and in respect thereto the elders of the country are to consult together amicably which of the parties allows the truth and which does not; and after the elders shall have considered their opinion, and supported their proceedings by oath, the judges are to withdraw aside, to deliberate according to the proceeding of the elders, and inform the king what they shall have adjudged, and that is a verdict of the country after replication. There were two principal suits for recovery of an inheritance, one called the law of Dadenhudd, Dad-an-hudd (literally re-uncover). This was a suit at law for the recovery of patrimony formerly in the possession of any ancestor of the claimant, founded on the custom of covering the fire previous to retiring to rest (generally in modern times with a large turf, by which a smouldering fire is kept up), and uncovering it in the morning. Metaphorically the suitor claimed to rekindle or re-uncover the fire of his ancestor's hearth. A chapter in each code is devoted to the recapitulation of these modes of action. The other is a suit for recovery of land by kin and descent, and was the mode of procedure when any person, either flying from justice or other cause, had continued to reside in foreign parts, in which case his property remained inviolate, and upon his return he was entitled to repossess it. Nor could even attainder operate to the prejudice of his heirs by the institution of this suit, called Ach ae Evryd. *Stemma et hæreditas* (lineage or pedigree and inheritance), wherein the plaintiff was required to make good his title by indisputable proof of family descent. A recovery of patrimony was extended to eight complete generations, every intermediate descendant being entitled to claim, and upon due proof to be reinstated in the inheritance, and in certain cases the claim was extended to the ninth generation.

The law of inheritance was gavelkind, that is, all the sons or collateral male descendants in the same degree, as far as second cousins, inherited equally. This mode of descent was the ancient law in all countries not subject to the feudal system, and it prevails as the common law of Kent to this day, and also by custom in some of our English manors. But Welsh gavelkind differs from English in this, that the illegitimate sons shared with the legitimate, at least so say some writers on this subject, but this requires modification. In the Venedotian code this was so, but the Dimetian code provides that if an owner of land have a legitimate and illegitimate heir, the legitimate is to inherit the whole and the illegitimate without a share. So an heir without bodily blemish was to inherit, whether legitimate or illegitimate, in lieu of one blemished—*i.e.*, blind, deaf, or crippled, for he cannot fully accomplish the service of the land due to the king in the courts and in the armies; and if the blemished heir have unblemished issue, such one is to be heir to his patrimony.

Another curious addition to the list of heirs is mentioned in the Dimetian code, that if the *taeog* (bondman) of the king take the son of a *breyr* (freeman) to foster with the king's permission, such a foster son is to participate in the inheritance of the *taeog*, like one of his own sons. The mode of dividing the inheritance between brothers differs in all three codes. The Venedotian states that if there be no buildings on the land, the youngest son is to divide all the patrimony and the eldest is to choose, and each in seniority choose, unto the youngest. If there be buildings, the youngest brother but one is to divide the *tyddyns* (tenements), and after that he is to divide all the patrimony, and by seniority they are to choose, unto the youngest, and that division is to continue during the lives of the brothers. The Dimetian code provides that the youngest brother is to have the principal *tyddyn*, and all the buildings of his father, and eight ewrs of land, his boiler, his fuel hatchet, and his coulter, because a father cannot give these three to any one but to the youngest son; and though they shall be pledged they shall never be forfeited. Then let every brother take a homestead with eight ewrs of land, and the youngest son is to share, and they are to choose in succession, from the eldest to the youngest. Three times shall

the same patrimony be shared between three grades of a kindred—1st, between brothers ; 2nd, cousins ; 3rd, second cousins, after which there is no propariate share of land.

The Gwentian code is similar to the Dimetian, with the exception of omitting “all the buildings of his father”, and providing that the eight ewrs of the youngest son are to be the nearest. The ewr was a measure of land of about 4,320 yards, 500 square yards less than our present statute acre. With regard to the inheritance of females, the Venedotian code states that, according to the men of Gwynedd, a woman is not to have patrimony, because two rights are not to centre in the same person. Those are the patrimony of the husband and her own. The Dimetian code provides that if the owner of land have no other heir than a daughter, the daughter is to be heiress of the whole land. The times for pleading in a demand for the recovery of land are given in the Venedotian and Dimetian codes. The Venedotian code says “twice the law shall be open for landed property and twice closed”. Open from the ninth calends of winter until 9th February. Closed from 9th February to 9th May. Open from 9th May to 9th August. Closed from 9th August to ninth calends of winter ; thus giving a long vacation, commencing on the same day as at present, although it continued more than a month longer. The reason for the vacations in autumn and spring is thus given, “because the land is cultivated during these two periods, lest ploughing in the spring and reaping in the autumn be impeded”. The land which descended to the heirs in gavelkind could not by the Venedotian code be sold or mortgaged without the permission of the lord, but the owner might let it annually. By the Dimetian code patrimony or maternity might be given for life, but not so as to bar heirs. This land consisted of two-thirds of a cymwd, the remaining third was usually register or geldable land, as it is called in the Venedotian code, Tir Cyvrw. This was land of base tenure, and was divided by the maer (bailiff of the cymwd) and canghellor (literally possessor of a room), an officer in every canghellorship who held pleas to determine disputes among the king's villeins and between all in the trev. One of the incidents of this tenure was that it did not escheat to the lord. It seems to have been analogous to folc land of the Saxons. By the Dimetian code the king was not barred

from claiming his rightful land in a less period than one hundred years. Besides the patrimony or land which descended from the father, there was the right of maternity or heirship through the female line, which happened when a Welsh woman married an *alltud* or alien. When a bishop died all his property belonged to the king, for every property without an owner is waif to the king, except vestments and ornaments of the church, and what shall pertain to it. Whoever possessed land on the margin of the shore, owned as much of the beach as the breadth of his land, and he might make a weir or other things therein if he would; but if the sea throws anything upon the land, or upon that beach, they belong to the king, "for the sea is a pack-horse to the king". A mill, a weir, and an orchard are called the three ornaments of a kindred, and these three things are not to be shared nor removed, but their produce shared between those who have a right to it. Due provision is made for the metes and bounds of land. From the time when a boy was born until he should be fourteen years of age, he was to be at his father's platter, and his father lord over him; and he was to receive no punishment but that of his father, and he was not to possess one penny of his property during that time, only in common with his father, and no *maewdy* (escheat to the lord) accrued by his dying within that period. If the father died in the first year after the boy was born, he succeeded to the privilege of his father. No *ebediw* (heriot) was to be paid for a boy under fourteen years of age, his father being alive. After he succeeded to the privilege of his father he was to pay it. At the end of fourteen years the father was to bring his son to the lord and commend him to his charge, and then the youth was to become his man, and to be on the privilege of his lord, and he was to answer to every claim that might be made on him, and was to possess his own property. Thenceforth his father was not to correct him more than a stranger; and if he should correct him, upon complaint made by the son against him he was subject to *dirwy* (fine), and was to do him right for the *saraad* (disgrace). A youth thus brought to the lord was called a *maewg*. Those who were presented to the king were under the superintendence of the chief of the household. After the time when the lordship marchers were established these youths became very troublesome. They passed their time in per-

ambulating the country and marauding in the Marches. They were also called *gweison bychain*. Giraldus particularly describes their manner of life. Archbishop Peckham, in a letter to Edward I, advises “La maniere de vivre de waison bychan fait oublier de tout”. He found the irregularities committed by these youths required a total abolition of the custom. From the time a girl was baptised until she should attain the age of seven years, she was not to be put to her oath. Until twelve years she was to be at her father’s platter. From her twelfth year onward she was of age to be given to a husband; and if she have not had a husband, she was to possess her own property, and was not to remain at her father’s platter unless he should will it.

The third book of the Venedotian code and the second books of the other two codes treat of the three columns of law. These are the nine accessories of murder (or *galenas*), theft and fire. They contain an enumeration of the nine classes of persons who are accessories to each of these crimes, and fix the penalties for the offences. These penalties are founded on the principle of fine in the first instance, and death if the fine was not paid. The fine for murder is called *galenas*, and was imposed upon the criminal and his relatives. By the Venedotian code, the oaths of three hundred men of a kindred were required to deny murder, blood, and wound, and the killing of a person. For a theft for the value of fourpence the thief was saleable, and for a greater amount forfeited his life. Others say that for every four-footed animal that is stolen, either a lamb, a bird, or a pig, the thief forfeits his life. Nevertheless, it is safer to restrict it to fourpence. Seven pounds is the worth of a thief who is to be sold. He who forfeits his life is not to lose any of his property, because both reparation and punishments are not to be executed. This contrasts favourably with the feudal law of forfeiture in case of felony. Though the *raith*¹ of a criminal fail, whatever the amount of the theft, he was not to be executed if he paid seven pounds, and if he could not pay he was not to be executed, only exiled, for no one was to be put to death upon whom nothing was found. Others say he is to lose his life unless he obtain his worth. Whoever was exiled by sentence of law was to set out on his departure the following morning,

¹ *I.e.*, the oaths of twelve men to free a criminal of his crime.

and from that time forward a day was allowed for passing through each cantrev belonging to the lord who should exile him. Under the head of the nine accessories of fire it is provided, whosoever shall take a thing under his care as a deposit, or promise to keep it secure, let him pay for it, although burned. If a house in a town take fire through carelessness, the owner was to pay for the two nearest houses that should take fire, and thence onward. If a swine enter a house, and scatter the fire about so as to burn the house, and the swine escape, the owner of the swine was to pay for the act. If the swine were burned, it was an equation between them, as being two irrational things; and therefore, where there is an equation by law, there is to be nothing redressed, but one is to be set against another.

The chapters on the worth of wild and tame animals carefully note the value of all animals, clean and unclean. A horse was to be warranted against three disorders—the staggers for three dewfalls, the black strangles¹ for three moons, and the farcy² for one year. Also as to restiveness, until he should be ridden three times amidst a concourse of men and horses. One of the most curious differences between these laws and those of England was the value given to cats, and the penalties for stealing or killing them. The law of England does not allow any property in cats, though domesticated, the rule being that property by domestication can only be obtained in clean animals, or such as are fit for food, with the exception of dogs, who are specially provided for, but in Wales the cat held a very important place in the laws, and is the subject of very curious enactments. Thus in the Venedotian code, the *teithi*, *i.e.*, qualities of a cat, are stated thus. To see, to hear, to kill mice, to have her claws entire, to rear and not to devour her kittens, and if she be bought and be deficient in any one of those *teithi*, let one-third of the *teithi* be returned. The *teithi* of an unclean animal was one-third of its worth, because its milk is useless; of a clean animal one-half. By the Dimetian code, the worth of a cat which is killed or stolen is thus ascertained. Its head is to be put downwards upon a clean, even floor, with its tail lifted upwards, and thus suspended, whilst wheat is poured about

¹ May mean the glanders.

² "Glynmeirch" signifies some disorders accompanied by scrous humours.

it until the tip of its tail be covered. If corn cannot be had, a milch sheep with her lamb and her wool is its value if it be a cat which guards the king's barn. The Gwentian code confines this value to the cat that guards the king's house and barn, another cat is four legal pence in value. The following curious warranty on the sale of a cat would puzzle our special pleaders of the present day if they had to frame a statement of claim for its breach: "Whoever shall sell a cat is to answer for her not going a eaterwauling every moon, and that she devour not her kittens, etc., as stated above."

The Gwentian code contains some curious clauses as to dogs, thus: If a rambling dog be killed further than nine paces from the house, it shall not be paid for. If killed within the nine paces, twenty-four pence are paid for it. If a dog bite a person so that the blood come, let its lord pay the blood of the person; but if the lacerated person kill the dog before moving from thence, he shall have nothing except sixteenpence for his blood. An habituated dog that shall tear a person three times, if its lord do not kill it, by law it is to be tied to the leg of its lord, at the distance of two spans from him, and thus killed, and then three kine (*cam-lurw*) from its lord to the king. No reparation was to be made for mischief done by a mad dog, since there was no command over it. If stolen, a dog was not the subject of theft. The spaniel of a king or queen was valued at one pound; of a breyr, six score pence; of an aillt, fourpence.

There were no forest laws in ancient Wales as we find them in England, that is, the country was not parcelled out by the arbitrary will of the king into hunting grounds, protected by special laws and special courts of justice; but in all the codes hunting regulations exist, which show that sporting was a royal pastime, and that the king had that privilege over all the land in the country, but due regard was had to the rights of the subject land owners.

The Gwentian code contains only two books, and omits all matter peculiar to Dimetia. It is asserted to be the compilation of Cynverth and his father Morgenau, both of whom are enumerated in some later matter in book vii, among the judges summoned by Howel to attend his congress. It contains an account of territorial divisions peculiar to Gwent, and the arrangement of the materials is also

different. The only points of special interest we will call attention to are,—the preface to the law of bees, which says, “The origin of bees is from Paradise, and on account of the sin of man they came from thence, and God conferred his blessing upon them, and therefore the mass cannot be sung without the wax”;—and the requirements of military service. “Once in the year everybody is to go into a border country, in the army, along with the king, if he will it. Always, however, when the king shall will it, he is to be accompanied in his army within his own country.”

The Gwentian code finishes with a chapter on the ninth days, that number being used for various important transactions, as we have seen it was in suits concerning land; and it concludes in these words, “Listen thou judge who givest judgments, let not the worth of a penny weigh more with thee than thy God. Judge not wrongly for worth, but judge righteously for the sake of God.” Little is the wonder there should be doubting in a temporal court, since they change their intention, like the elemental gale. Whoever, notwithstanding, shall love security, shall be safe from stumbling in the righteous service of the Lord Jesus Christ, which is to the glory of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen.” A fit ending to codes commenced in the spirit of justice and piety set forth in their prefaces. It is worthy of notice how free these ancient people and their king were from all those bitter controversies on the relation of Church and State, which in a later age caused so much trouble in England, and have left their discord a legacy to modern times. Howel summoned his bishops and clergy, not for the purpose of settling the bounds of royal or priestly supremacy, but lest the laics should ordain anything contrary to the Holy Scripture; and he and his wise men, clerics, and laics, went to Rome, not to lay their crown at the foot of the Pope in feudal homage, but to read the law, and to see if there were anything contrary to the laws of God in it. And Pope Anastatius met them in the same spirit. There was no assertion of Papal usurpation on the one hand, or statutes of *præmunire* on the other. The Pope found there was nothing militating against the law, and he confirmed it with the seal of excommunication on those who should disobey its precepts.

Such were the laws of Wales down to the time of the

settlement of the Normans in England. From the time of William the Conqueror to Edward I, Wales was subject to continuous invasion not only by the Kings of England, but by Norman lords, who, under the authority of their monarchs, obtained territorial possessions in Wales under the term of Marchers. These Lords Marchers held the freehold of their possessions of the King of England *in capite*, i.e., direct, subject only to homage to him as supreme head of the fee. They obtained title by prescription, no grant by deed of a lordship marcher having ever been found. Each Lord Marcher had palatinate jurisdiction within his own territory; his own mint and courts, as the King had at Westminster; and out of their own chancery issued all writs, original and judicial. The Welsh, however, retained their own laws, subject to such modifications as the Norman lords introduced, and particularly retained their ancient mode of transfer of land by surrender, and admittance without deed; thus producing a tenure analogous, except in its origin, to English copyholds, divided into freeholders and copyhold or customary tenants; the former being the grantees of the English lands, and known as the Englishry, and the latter as Welshrie. So great were the encroachments of the Lords Marchers during the reigns of the first eight Norman Kings of England, that at the time of the final subjection of Wales by Edward I, the only part of Wales not included in the Marches was the tract of country extending from the river Teivi in South Wales to the river Conway in North Wales. During this period also the influence of the Norman institutions was felt even among the remaining independent Welsh princes.

After the death of Owen Gwynedd his son David, who succeeded him, studied to introduce the Norman laws, to which his connexion with the English court by his marriage with Emma, sister of Henry II, may have contributed; and under his successors the assimilation of the jurisprudence of the two countries continued; and some causes in the reigns of John and Henry III, in which persons connected with the Principality were parties, were tried according to the Norman laws.

Then came the conquest of Wales by Edward I, and the settlement of the laws of Wales by the Statute of Rothelan, or Rhudlan, passed at the Castle of Rhudlan on the Sunday

in Mid-lent, 12 Edward I (1284). There is some confusion among the old writers on this Statute, it being confounded with a Statute of Rutland, or Rothland, consisting of provisions made relating to the Exchequer, which is applicable to England, and not to Wales. This Statute is given in most printed copies as of the tenth year of Edward I, with the title of "*Statutum Novum de Scaccario, aliter dictum Statutum de Rotelanda*" (a New Statute of the Exchequer, called the Statute of Rutland). From the copy of this Statute in the volume of the *Statutes of the Realm*, printed 1810 by command of George III, in pursuance of an address of the House of Lords, one reading gives, "Geven at Rutland the four and twentieth day of the month of May, in the tenth year of our reign." Another reading has "23rd day of March in the twelfth year of our reign."

Prynne, in his animadversions on Coke's *Fourth Institute*, has fallen into this error, and taken great pains to prove that Edward I could not have been at Rudland in the tenth and eleventh years of his reign. This is all disproved if, as is the fact, the Statute of Wales is altogether distinct from the Statute of Rotland relating to the Exchequer, and was passed in the twelfth of Edward I; but strangely enough Mr. Owen, in his edition of the *Welsh Laws*, gives a reprint of this Statute in Latin, from the carefully collated edition of Sir Henry Carey, which concludes as follows, "Dat' apud Rothelan die D'nica in medio quadragesime anno regni n'ri vndecimo"; and he gives the date of the annexation of Wales to England as 1282. Edward I succeeded to the English throne A.D. 1272, consequently the twelfth year of his reign was 1284, the date generally given to the Statute of Wales. In the edition of *Statutes of the Realm* (1810), referred to *ante*, this Statute is given in Latin and English. It is headed, "Statute of Wales, from the Rolls in the Tower of London." In a note it is said, "The various readings are from two rolls written in the time of Edward I, preserved among the records in the Treasury of the Court of the Receipt of Exchequer in the Chapter House at Westminster."

In order to make the new regulations upon the best consideration of the different laws of the two countries, Edward, the year before, directed inquiries upon oath before certain commissioners, with the Bishop of St. David's for their

President, whose certificate and retainers are printed in the Appendix to Howel Dha's laws.¹ Upon the report of these commissioners the Statute of Wales (*Statutum de Wallia*, 12 Edward I (1284) was framed. The preamble recites that Wales was, before the conquest of Edward, *jure feudali subjecta* to the crown of England, "which expression", says Barrington in his observations on the Statutes, "is very remarkable, as it is believed no instance can be found in any record or ancient historian of a *jus feudale* prevailing in this island." We hear, indeed, of the word *feudum*, and the distinction between the *feudum novum* and the *feudum antiquum*; but a regular system of feudal law, which this expression seems to import, there are but very slight traces of. Edward, however, Barrington naively remarks, "was emperor, and had a right to make use of his own words in the preamble to his own law."

The enacting part of the Statutes provides that "the Justice of Snowdon shall have the custody and peace of us the King in Snowdon, and our lands of Wales adjoining, and shall administer justice to all persons whatsoever, according to the original rites of us the King, and also the laws and customs underwritten." It then appoints sheriffs, coroners, and bailiffs of commots in Snowdon and "our" lands of those parts, viz., sheriffs of Anglesey, Caernarvon, Merioneth, Flint, Carmarthen, and Cardigan, and defines their duties. The reason why Edward did not appoint sheriffs in the other parts of Wales was, no doubt, because they were under the jurisdiction of the Lords Marchers. Barrington comments on the appointments of sheriffs being so limited, but does not seem to have apprehended the cause of its being so. It gives the forms of the King's original writs to be pleaded in Wales. It recites (sec. 12) that heretofore women have not been endowed in Wales. The King granteth that they shall be endowed. Dower was of two kinds. One is an assignment of the third part of the whole land that belonged to her husband during coverture; and the other is when the son endowed his wife with the assent of his father ("*ad ostium ecclesie*").

The old Welsh law of inheritance was confirmed, with this exception, that bastards should not inherit, and also

¹ Not those edited by Mr. Owen for the Record Commissioners.

should not have portion with the lawful heirs, nor without the lawful heirs ; and if an inheritance should hereafter, in default of heirs male, descend unto females, the lawful heirs of their ancestor last seized thereof, the same women should have their portions thereof, to be assigned them in our court, although this be contrary to the custom of Wales before used.

By sec. 14, trials of actions concerning realty (lands) were to be by jury, and personal actions by the Welsh law, and in crimes were to be dealt with by the law of England.

Thenceforward we must seek the history of Welsh laws in the English statute book. There are many enactments illustrative of the state of Wales, affording a clue to their history, and gradual assimilation to English law. Thus the Statute of the Staple, 27 Edward III, permits merchants, strangers, to bring their merchandise from Wales and Ireland to any of the staples in England which them shall please.

In the reign of Henry IV the rebellion of Owen Glendower is marked by several repressive laws, and they were also occasioned by Richard II having been well received in Wales on his last return from Ireland. By statute 2 Hen. IV, c. 12, no Welshman whole born in Wales, and having father and mother born in Wales, should purchase lands and tenements in the town of Chester, Salop, Bridgenorth, Ludlow, Leominster, Hereford, Gloucester, Worcester, nor other merchant towns joining to the Marches of Wales, nor the suburbs thereof ; and no Welshman should be elected a citizen or burgess, or hold any corporate office, in any city, borough, or merchant town. C. 16 provided against cattle lifting and border raids by Welshmen. C. 18 directs Lords of the Marches to set sufficient stuffing and ward in their castles and seignories, that no loss, riot, nor damage, might come to the King or his realm, or his liege people. C. 19 enacts that no whole Englishman, by three years next following, should be convict at the suit of any Welshman within Wales. C. 20, no Welshman should purchase lands nor tenements within England, nor within the boroughs and English towns of Wales, upon pain of forfeiture to the lord of whom such lands were holden ; and no Welshman should be accepted burgess, nor have any other liberty within the realm, nor within the boroughs and towns aforeaid.

By statute 4 Henry IV still more repressive enactments were made. Minstrels were not to be sustained in Wales, to make commothies or gathering upon the common people. No congregations of Welsh people were permitted. Welshmen were not to wear armour, and no armour or victuals were to be sent into Wales as merchandise or otherwise. No Welshman was to have any castle, fortress, or house of defence, otherwise than was used in the time of King Edward, conqueror of Wales, upon pain of forfeiture, except bishops and other temporal lords for their own bodies. Welshmen were debarred from holding offices under the Crown. The castles and walled towns were to be garrisoned by Englishmen, and no Englishman married to any Welshwoman of "the amitie or aliance of Owen ap Gleindour, traitor to our sovereign lorde, or to any other Welshwoman, after the rebellion of the saiet Owen, or in that time to come marieth himself to any Welshwoman, be put in any office in Wales or in the Marches of the same."

The effects of Owen Glendower's rebellion had not subsided in the following reign. By statute 1 Henry V, c. 6, it is enacted that no persons or the relatives of persons who had been in rebellion should prosecute any action for damage caused by the rebellion against his majesty's faithful liege people under pain of treble damages, to be imprisoned for two years, and to make fine and ransom, and that they should not imprison the English till they had proved by one assache after the custom of Wales, that is to say, by the oath of three hundred men, that they were not guilty of killing or wounding the relations or friends of a Welshman. Barrington says, "The term assach is rendered by Richard's-oath." I cannot, however, find it, either in Dr. Davis' *Dictionary* or *The Glossary to the Laws of Howel Dha*. And in a note he says, "Mr. Tate proposes it as a query to the Society of Antiquaries, which used to meet in the time of James I. What was the meaning of the term assach in this statute?" To this Mr. Jones, who appears to be much versed in the Welsh language and customs, answers that he cannot pretend to interpret this word.¹

In the second year of Henry V an enactment was made, c. 5, which calls to mind the brigandage of Sicily and

¹ See Hearne's *Antiquarian Discourses*, pp. 211 and 228.

Greece, for it appears that many of the Welsh, with force and arms, in the manner of war, sometimes by day and sometimes by night, have come into the counties of Salop, Hereford, and Gloucester, and taken many of the king's faithful liege people out of their county into divers parts of Wales, and kept them in the mountains for half a year, until they were ransomed, to remedy which, power is given to the justices of the peace within the counties of England to hear and determine all such treasons and felonies, and do execution on the persons convicted.

In the twentieth year of Henry VI grievous complaints were made by the commons of the counties of Hereford, Gloucester, Shropshire, Somerset, Chester, and Bristowe, that the provisions of the statute of 2 Henry IV, as to seizing cattle and goods, under pretence of distresses, were disregarded ; in consequence whereof, by chapter 3 of the statute, 30 Henry VI, the penalty of high treason is attached to all such offences. By the statute made at St. Edmundsbury, 25 Henry VI, all manner of statutes made in any parliament against Welshmen were confirmed, and all grants of franchises, market fairs, and other liberties to buy or sell, bake or brew, and to sell within the towns of North Wales, made to any Welshman, were made void. And all the king's villeins within North Wales were bound to such labours and services as they of right used to do of old time, notwithstanding any grant or usage of a later time to the contrary.

I have not been able to trace any reason for this very strong measure against the Welsh. The only event of importance connected with the parliament of St. Edmundsbury was the summons to Henry, Duke of Gloucester, and his suspicious death while the parliament was sitting. By the 28 Henry VI, c. 4, unlawful distress made in the counties and seignories royal of Wales and duchy of Lancaster were punished as felonies, to be tried in the county duchy or seigniorie where the offence is committed.

We find from Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *Memoirs* that in the reign of King Henry VIII the Welsh Marches had fallen into a great state of disorder, to remedy which the statute 26 Henry VIII, c. 6, was passed. This statute provides for the attendance of all persons at the courts of Wales and the Marches, inflicts penalties for false imprisonment by the steward lieutenant or other officer of any lordship

marcher. No Welshman was to carry with him to a court of justice or place of public resort any kind of offensive weapon. Murderers, coiners, and other felons were to be tried at the sessions, holden within the shire grounds in England, next adjoining the lordship marcher or place in Wales where the offence was committed, and divers regulations were made for the trial of persons charged with offences. And it enacts that all murders and felonies committed within the shire of Merioneth shall be heard and determined in the counties of Carnarvon or Anglesey before the king's justices of North Wales.

In the following year, 27 Henry VIII, an Act was passed (ch. 5) for making justices of peace in Chester and Wales, and, the time having arrived when the two rival houses of York and Lancaster were united in the house of Tudor, which also, through its Welsh lineage, brought the Principality into closer union with England, a final union between the two countries was effected by the statutes 27 Henry VIII, c. 26, and 34 and 35 Henry VIII, c. 26.

The former of these statutes assumes in its preamble the original subjection of Wales to England in these words: "Albeit the dominium principality and countie of Wales justlie and righteously is, and ever hath been incorporated, annexed, united, and subject to and under the temporal crowne of this realm as a very member and joint of the same." It incorporates the country or dominion of Wales from thenceforth with the realm of England. It then annexes part of the lordship marchers (many of which were then in the possession of the king, and the rest, of other lords) to the counties of Salop, Hereford, and Gloucester, in England, and part to the counties of Glamorgan, Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Merioneth, in Wales, and the residue of the lordship marchers were formed into the counties of Monmouth, Brecknock, Radnor, Montgomery, and Denbigh. It constitutes a court of chancery and exchequer at the castle of Brecknock, and the town and castle of Denbigh. It provides that all legal proceedings be conducted in the English tongue. Every¹ lay lord marcher was to retain half of all forfeitures of recognizances of the peace or appearances by their tenants. A commission under the great seal was to issue for dividing

¹ Extended to bishops and ecclesiastical persons, being lords marchers, by Stat. 1 and 2, Philip and Mary, c. 15.

the new counties into hundreds, and a like commission to inquire and search out all laws, usages, and customs used within the said dominion and countrie of Wales, and all such as the king and his council should think expedient should stand. Provision is made for the election of knights of the shire, to serve in parliament for the counties, and burgesses for the boroughs. It saves to the lords marchers all their courts and profits of their tenants and forfeitures. The laws, usages, and customs of the three counties of North Wales, and the liberties of the Duchie of Lancaster are preserved. Power is given to the king within three years from the end of that session of Parliament, by proclamation, to suspend or repeal the whole or any part of this Act, and within five years from the same date the king might ordain any other courts or justices, or officers of the law as he might think fit. Copies of the proceedings of the commissioners appointed by this Act were deposited both in the chamberlain and auditor's office in North Wales, and Sir William Gryffydd of Penrhyn caused them to be transcribed by one Jenkyn Gwyn, and they are entitled *The Extent of North Wales*.

The statute 34 and 35 Henry VIII, c. 26, is founded on the return of these commissions. It divides Wales into twelve shires—*i.e.*, Glamorgan, Caermarthen, Pembroke, Cardigan, Flint, Caernarvon, Anglesey, Merioneth, Radnor, Brecknock, Montgomery, and Denbigh, over and besides the shire of Monmouth, and divers other dominions, lordships and manors in the Marches of Wales, annexed to the shires of Salop, Hereford, and Gloucester by the act of 27 Henry VIII. It confirms the limitations of the hundreds made by the commissioners. Enacts that there shall be and remain a president and council in the Principality of Wales and the Marches of the same, with all officers, clerks, and incidents as theretofore used and accustomed. Sessions, to be called the king's great sessions in Wales, were to be holden twice in every year in every county. The justice of Chester was to hold the sessions for Denbigh, Flint, and Montgomery, and have nothing but his old fee of £100 yearly for the same. The justice of North Wales was to hold the sessions for Caernarvon, Merioneth, and Anglesey, and have £50 yearly. One justice was to be appointed for the counties of Radnor, Brecknock, and Glamorgan, and another for Caermarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan, at a

similar salary of £50 yearly. Provision is then made for the administration of justice, according to the English law. Power was given to the king under his great seal to add to, alter, and repeal any part of this statute, and to make laws and ordinances for the commonwealth and good quiet of his dominion of Wales. Lands were to descend to heirs, according to the common law of England, and not to be used as gavelkind. The Act contains a saving clause in favour of George Blunt, Esq., son and heir of Sir John Blunt, Knight, concerning the offices of stewardships of the king's lordships or manors of Bewdley and Clebury, and a saving of all liberties, franchises, and privileges of the Duchy of Lancaster.

The Courts of Grand Sessions were abolished in the first year of King William IV (1830), and their jurisdiction transferred to the English tribunals, and the counties of Wales formed part of the English circuits. This Act finally consolidated, not only the political, but the juridical system of England and Wales into one; and as such they are now jointly interested in working out the new system of judicature, introduced by the Acts of 1873 and 1875.

NOTES ON AN ANCIENT ROMAN FORT FOUND NEAR THE PASS OF ABERGLASLYN.

BY J. W. GROVER, ESQ., F.S.A.

SOME few years ago I gave a short description, in the pages of our *Journal*, of the ancient Roman station of Heriri Mons, or the Castell Tomen-y-Mur, which is situate in the county of Merioneth, and near the head of the pretty Vale of Festiniog. It is my pleasant task on the present occasion to record the discovery of another Roman work only about eight miles from the before named station, in a north-westerly direction, which, although it does not claim any really important consideration, yet is interesting as demonstrating the care which our ancient conquerors bestowed on the facilities of intercommunication even in so remote and inaccessible a region as that of Snowdonia.

Any one who examines the direction of the great Roman roads in North Wales will perceive that Heriri Mons is the point of intersection of two great and well ascertained thoroughfares. One runs from south to north, and is the main military road connecting South Wales, or Maridunum (Caermarthen), with North Wales, or Conovium (Conway). Another great road starts from Uriconium (Wroxeter), and running in a north-westerly direction crosses the last named way at Heriri Mons, and thence proceeds to Segontium, near Caernarvon. It is with this road that we have to deal. If we imagine ourselves to be starting upon it, leaving Heriri Mons behind us, and going towards Segontium, we shall find that from the elevated position of the station (nearly 800 feet above the sea) we have to descend to the village of Maentwrog, on the banks of the Dwryd river, in the Valley of Festiniog. At this village there is the famous Stone of Twrog, which tradition says was hurled by a giant of that name across the Valley; but as explained in my former paper, this stone is without doubt a Roman milestone occupying nearly, if not entirely, its original position. Crossing the Dwryd stream, the Roman road pursues its way along the western foot of the Moelwyn Mountain; and although it has been superseded by a modern road which

takes a somewhat different course, yet it is well defined, and in many places shows distinct evidence of having been paved, or at least pitched, in a rude fashion. The traveller who pursues it will find himself very soon entering the famous pass of Aberglaslyn, too well known to every traveller to need any description here; but it is about a mile short of the entrance to that enchanting gorge where the fort stands which is the subject of this monograph.

The fort consists of a small enclosure nearly rectangular in shape, on the longest side measuring only about 110 feet, and on the shortest about 80 feet. The ramparts seem to have been made up of earth excavated from the inside of the work, and to have been faced with dry stones. They extend round three sides; but the rear curiously seems to have possessed no rampart, but at the south-east corner there is a very curious small stone structure which gives the idea of the foundation of a guardhouse. Close to this there is an entrance; but the principal admission was obtained evidently on the western face, or side adjoining the main road. This entrance is wide enough to admit a waggon, and was probably made for that purpose, as it is constructed with a ramp or sloping way which might be ascended easily. On the northern face there are the remains of a small footway-entrance. The inside of the fort has been levelled,—an arrangement rendered necessary in consequence of the sloping nature of the ground. The most curious feature is the open back of the work. Here, instead of a rampart, there is only a sloping ramp or inclined plane; and taking this in conjunction with the one in front, there seems to me but little doubt that the place was constructed originally as a protection to waggons probably halting there for the night, which were admitted at the front, and drawn out at the back. In all probability the ramparts were surmounted in the usual Roman way, with a strong timber palisade, loop-holed, and spiked at the top. Perhaps the rear was protected by some sort of movable timber fence which would be comparatively easily defended by arrows and spears thrown from the little flanking guard-house on the south-east corner.

What gives further interest to this fort is that there are traditions of another minor Roman way, probably only a bridle-path, which led out of the main road, and passing

along the eastern side of the fort took the direction of Conway, coming into the Beddgelert Valley after crossing the ridge. The object of this bridle-way, no doubt, was for the purpose of avoiding the Pass of Aberglaslyn, should that ever be in the hands of the barbarians.

To understand fully the value of this minor station, it must be remembered that in ancient times, before the great embankment was erected at Portmadoc, the sea flowed very nearly up to it, so that small vessels could have discharged their cargoes in its proximity. Its position is remarkably well chosen, as from it a view can be obtained of the distant sea ; and I believe that at night a fire at Heriri Mons, on the mountain, could be seen also,—an important feature where signalling was a necessity.

I should mention that this curious relic was discovered by my excellent friend Mr. Edward Breese of Portmadoc, to whom the estate on which it stands now belongs. I am happy also in being able to state that he has recently purchased the property which includes the Heriri Mons itself ; so that both these interesting relics of Roman times have fallen into the hands of one who knows so well how to appreciate them.

THE CISTERCIAN ABBEYS OF CYMMER AND BASINGWERK, WITH NOTES ON THE HOLY WELLS OF WALES.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A., HON. SECRETARY.

CYMMER ABBEY.

THE long, beautiful valley hemmed in with lofty hills more or less distant, indicates plainly that these ruins low down on its side are those of a Cistercian abbey. Lovely in the extreme is the view from the road or from the high hills above us, overlooking the wide valley, and out in the direction of the Irish Channel, far beyond the spot where the river Mawddach meets the Wynion, the two rivers which water the whole of the valley and the adjacent one in the direction of Dolgelly. The wooded ground and village across the valley, reached by a many-arched bridge of some antiquity, has a quaint little church dedicated to St. Iltyd,—a name which reminds us of the remote period when the Gospel was first proclaimed in these valleys,—and we can just catch a glimpse of its simple bell-turret, all but buried in the charming foliage which adds so much beauty to the scene. Every spot around us has its tale of old days to tell us, breathing of the stirring events which form as it were a halo of romance and poetry around them, and add an interest which we may seek for in vain in a new country. On the rough hills to the left of us are traces of some of those earthworks of remote antiquity which abound on the hill-tops of Wales. Beside the white cottages is a swelling mound,—one of those mysterious burying-places of an almost unknown people. On the hill-side further from us, but still to the left, is the site of an ancient chieftain's house, and where a meeting was arranged by the peace-making Abbot of Cymmer between Owen Glyndwr and the kinsman with whom he was at variance. They met on the hill-side before us, angry words ensued, and Owen killed his adversary, and hid the body within a huge old oak which was pointed out for many a year. The very ruins of the mansion have disappeared; but Miss Lloyd, the owner of

Cymmer, has brought for our inspection some large bronze vessels which were recently found on its site when a modern house was erected there.

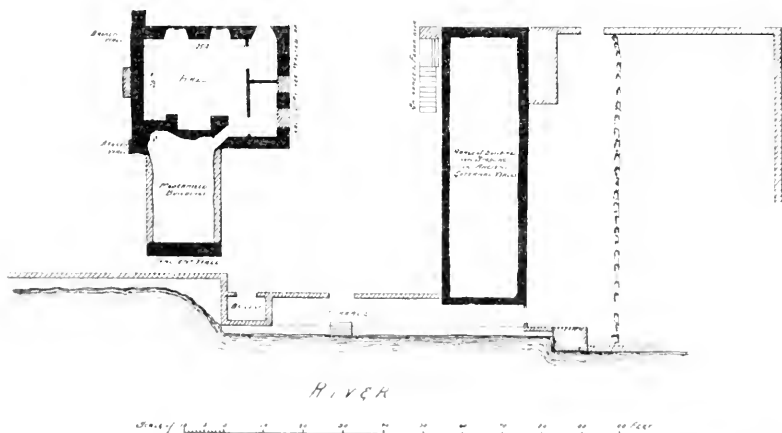
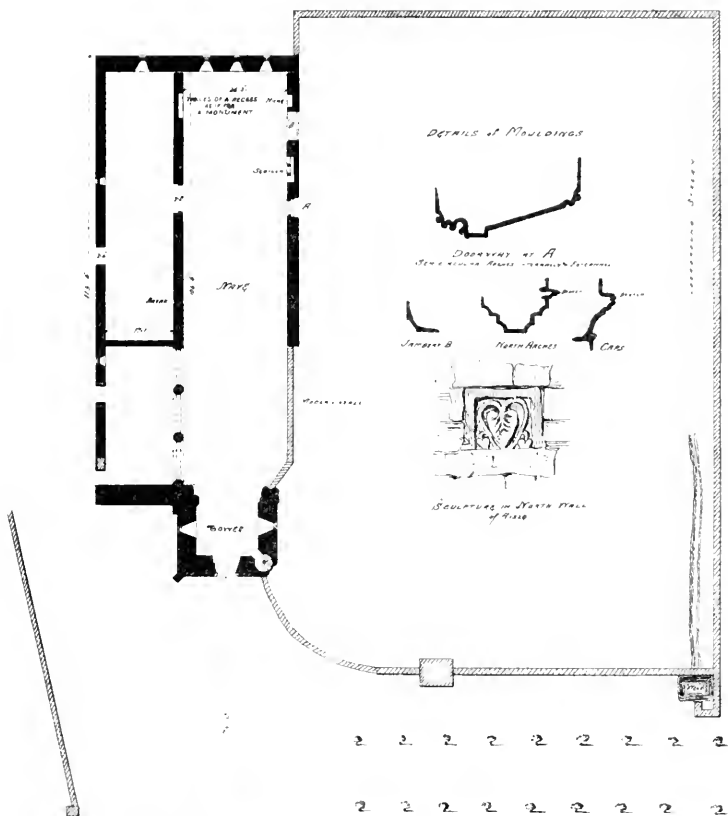
Beautiful as is the valley, we may notice how little of its grand vista is visible from where we stand among the ruins. The site is low ; so, however, often were those selected in old days for dwelling-houses. But the site here is capacious, and a few feet higher up would have given one equally sheltered, less damp, and with all the glories of the panorama constantly before the eyes of the dwellers here. Not so, however, was the site chosen : this was preferred. "Our fathers", St. Bernard said, "searched out the damp and low lying valleys wherein to build their monasteries, so that the monks being often in ill health, and having death before their eyes, should not lead a careless life."¹ We have here another of those strange practices which seem to have been attendant upon the monastic system, and which we can but think were hindrances, and not helps, to men sincere in quest of a higher life. St. Bernard's extraordinary statement demands our entire confidence. His knowledge of monastic rules was exceeded by no man of his century, and the piety of the author of the grand old hymn, "Jerusalem the golden", would forbid his making a statement which he did not fully believe. Nevertheless we can but hope that a principle which was but one of slow suicide did not always originate the low-lying position occupied by Cistercian abbeys.

The embanking of the marshy river here, in front of the house, and the patient labour of several generations of inmates, have rendered this spot far different now ; but eight hundred years ago it must have been one of extreme loneliness and waste. Even in the seventeenth century the Vaughans considered the spot unhealthy.

Much difficulty exists with respect to the founder. Speed ascribed the foundation to Llewelyn, Prince of North Wales, in about 1200. Bishop Tanner believed that he was a benefactor only ; and certain it is that it was an offshoot of the Abbey Cwm Hir in Radnorshire. Mr. W. de Gray Birch's second roll of Cistercian abbeys enables us to clear up once and for all the date of the foundation. This is duly entered

¹ *Op. S. Bernardi*, quoted by the Rev. M. C. E. Walcott, "Old Cleeve Abbey." He gives examples of the removal of several Cistercian abbeys to "less pleasant" sites.

CYMMER ABBEY.



under its proper year, and is as follows, "1199. De Kemer in Cambria."¹ The founder or founders, however, cannot be so conclusively determined. I am of opinion, however, that Llewelyn (ap Iorwerth) was only a benefactor, and not the founder, since in that Prince's charter mention is made of previous gifts, and a charter from Meredith and Griffith, sons of Conan, and Ap Howel the son of Griffith. What is at present known of the documents relating to the Abbey is set forth in the *Monasticon*, and in a capital article in the first volume of *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

The known documents, the entry I have quoted from the roll of the Cistercian houses, and the site, all alike agree that this was a foundation of that order. Strange to say, the buildings alone, where we should expect clear evidence, do not agree in this respect. We cannot trace here any of the usual arrangements of a Cistercian abbey. The ground-plan of the church is all but perfect, and can quite be made out. Instead of the cruciform minster with its transeptal chapels and its central tower, we find a continuous nave unbroken from east to west; the anomaly of a western tower opening into the nave; distinct traces of a continuous north aisle, but which opened into the church by arches only at the western extremity of the nave, and which was elsewhere entered only by irregular openings into the eastern part walled off from the western. The south side of the church, now much ruined, so far as the nave is concerned, has some irregular openings which led to apartments of which there are no remains outside the church. A roughly walled area (now an orchard) affords us space where we should seek for the conventual buildings constructed, as usual, around the central cloister space; but although the area is filled with coarse grass and vegetation, there are no traces of buildings or foundations visible whatever. A small spring, open above and below, is carried partly underground along the south side of this square, and reappears in a plentiful fountain at the south-west angle.

This must always have been a small house. At the Dissolution the revenues were but £58 : 15 : 4; and therefore

¹ The date of foundation of the parent house is in like manner entered as follows, "1176. De Cumhir." (Brit. Mus., MS. Cotton., Vesp. A, in f. 54b), printed in *Journal* for 1870, p. 362. This is another example of the great value and interest of these lists, which have been printed for the first time in our pages.

an unusual plan was followed. But the quadrangular space south of the church, its usual position, appears to indicate that the intention at least was to construct the buildings according to general rule, and which could be adapted as well to a small as to a large establishment. The anomaly of the western tower is so great that it may be of interest to state that this is probably the only example of such an arrangement in Great Britain. I exclude the western tower of Furness Abbey, since this was a late erection in place of, and upon, an earlier towerless west front.

The style of the erection is of interest, for it leads us on in the history of the buildings. After a careful survey of the architectural features I have come to the conclusion that none of the work now standing belongs to the original building, or at least of the date of the foundation.¹ Also that the whole is of one period, or nearly so, and I can detect no signs of reconstruction. The whole agrees in style, and cannot be ascribed to an earlier period than, say, the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth. The three lancets at the east end, with their chamfers and deep splays, appear at first sight like Early English work. They may be the oldest portion, and the more so since the north and south walls are not bonded into them. Nevertheless, the three lancets of the tower are similar, with similar trefoiled heads; and the tower has late looking diagonal buttresses. They are no older than may have arisen from the usual course of commencing at the east end, and completing at the west.

The charming but dilapidated sedile² has good mouldings, but they cannot be assigned to an earlier period; and a very slight examination will be sufficient to convince any observer that it is part and parcel of the wall in which it is built. This wall also has a door opening into the exterior space, evidencing probably that there was no south aisle, and appearing very much like the processional door for the monks' day entrance from the cloisters. This arch has an early appearance, having a circular head on the south side,

¹ It is possible that the original buildings were temporary, and of wood; but if so, a hundred years is a long period for their continuance prior to the erection of the permanent ones.

² The missing shaft, I hear, was removed, as a specimen of the old work, not many years ago. Its removal sadly injures not only the effect, but the stability of the remainder. It should be recovered and replaced.


and a pointed one within the church. The mouldings, however, agree with those of the sedile.

The north aisle arches spring from octagonal columns with plainly moulded caps and bases, while the arches themselves have two plainly chamfered orders. There has been a moulded label on the nave side. Sufficient traces of four clerestory windows remain on the south side to show that they were of two lights each. Above the three eastern lancets are three smaller ones, but they are quite hidden beneath the luxuriant ivy which now covers so much of the ruins. The three lancets have the peculiarity here, as at Valle Crucis, of commencing at a level remarkably close to the paving, in proportion to the size of the church. The present earthen level represents pretty nearly the original flooring, and I do not believe that there is any considerable accumulation of earth within the building. Excavations were made a few years ago. No paving was found.

The north aisle has considerable remains of its external wall; but only one small loop is original, and that at the east end. There are no windows. A small fragment of old foliage-sculpture is built up in the external wall; and within the aisle there are the remains of some massive timber framing, a relic of the old roof.

The accompanying ground-plan represents the whole of the remains, which have been surveyed expressly for its preparation. It is to be hoped that its appearance in our *Journal* will be of interest, not only on account of the anomalous arrangement, but since it has never yet been published in its entirety.

The dimensions are as follow: total length from west to east, inside the walls, 118 feet 3 inches; width of nave, 26 ft. 2 ins.; width of north aisle, 17 ft. 1 in. The material is the slaty stone of the district, not too well built, with dressings of freestone. The large quantity of small square holes quite through the walls has often called for remark. They are certainly more numerous here than in any other building known to me; and from their going quite through the walls, they were arranged for some other purpose than for mere "putlog" holes. They are also too numerous and too close to one another to have answered this purpose. In explanation, if we may suppose that all the windows of the church were fixtures, then we may assign at once a use for them, for the ventilation of the building.



BASINGWERK ABBEY.

The site of these ruins testifies to the truth of what we are able to glean from the history, at present obscure, of this building, that it was not founded for Cistercian monks. There is here no secluded dell shut in from the surrounding world by high hills, and lying on low ground close to a stream. There are several such in this immediate neighbourhood, but they were set aside, and the site selected for this house is higher ground than other positions near it. It overlooks the country on almost every side, while on the north and west is a broad and extensive panorama of the estuary of the Dee, with the long lines of the Cheshire hills beyond. The site has probably been an inhabited one from long prior to its use by a colony of monks, since to the south-west stretches the line of Wat's Dyke, which, after its lengthy course, terminates close to here, and apparently in connection with the old fortification, Basingwerk Castle, the traces of the foundations of which are at no great distance. The presence of a fortification in close proximity to a Cistercian house is a great anomaly, since these monks, as a general rule, sought for the most secluded spots, far away from the traffic of men. We may accept it as confirmation enough of the meagre history that the Cistercians came late to this site, which was formerly occupied by other monks, and is additional evidence, beyond what we have from the elevated rather than the secluded position. The only example known to me of a Cistercian establishment on high ground is at Scarborough, close to the approaches of the castle, and the same arrangement may have occurred here.¹ The history and the site, however, confirm one another, and we may consider it is determined that the Cistercians were not the first monks to settle here, but we have no record of their arrival. The entry of the foundation does not occur in either of Mr. de Gray Birch's two lists; and the *Brut y Tywysogion* does not aid us, although mention is made of the adjacent castle.

The charter of King Henry makes no mention of the order

¹ It may be noted, however, that Scarborough was but a cell attached to a foreign house, and has nothing whatever of the usual Cistercian plan.

of monks, and the fact of the dedication to St. Mary, universal in Cistercian abbeys, does not help us, for it is shared by other and older bodies. We have certain evidence, which has often been referred to, of the existence of a religious settlement here in early times, prior to the year 1119, since in that year Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, being on his way to the Well of St. Winifred, was attacked by the Welsh, and sought refuge in an abbey in the neighbourhood, which was undoubtedly on the site of the present building. We may safely conclude that the original foundation was by one of the early princes of Wales, since the charters of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth and David his son speak of donations having been given by their predecessors. This evidence is conclusive, that the original monks must have been an older body than the Cistercians; but there is no record when, and under what circumstances, the latter became the possessors.¹

It is not my intention to go closer into the present meagre documents, from which all that is known at present of the history is derived. These have frequently been passed under review, and it may be better to leave them, until they can be better traced by the light of some probable future discoveries. I will not, also, attempt to solve the discussion as to whether the charter already referred to was granted by Henry II or Henry III. Two points may, however, be glanced at—one is that the building, whose ruins we now see, could not have existed (except some small part) in 1188, since Giraldus Cambrensis in that year stayed here for one night, and he speaks of the monastery simply as a “small cell”, “Cellula de Basingwerk”. We shall presently see that the architectural evidence indicates a later date for the bulk of the building, and this is so far opposed to the foundation in the time of Henry II, since some few, it may be, of the buildings generally bear some relation to the period of the charter. Another is

¹ These charters are of later date than the time of Henry II, but no mention is made of any charter of this king. This absence of usual custom rather favours my belief that it was Henry III, and not Henry II. King Henry's confirmation is but a grant of gifts to the Monastery, and therefore no preceding charters (if any) had occasion to be referred to. The Chapel of Basingwerk is given by the King, and described as being that in which the monks first dwelt, and we may therefore infer that some new buildings were either erected or in progress. The bulk of the ruins cannot be ascribed to Henry II, but the time of Henry III would do very well.

with respect to the foundation by Henry II, here, or at least somewhere in the locality, of a house for Knights Templars. Because no remains of this are known to exist the very foundation has been denied. Argument like this is always dangerous, but it cannot be admitted in this case, since it is referred to more than once in almost contemporary chronicles. A notice of this event in the *Waverley Chronicle*, under date 1157, may, however, be accepted as conclusive, since it speaks of King Henry having concluded works at Rhudlan Castle and Basingwerk Castle, and between the two a house for Knights Templars.¹ This gives us alike the date, the founder, and the position, and it also indicates that we may at once dismiss the title of "Templar's Chapel", actually given by some writers, including even Pennant, to the existing refectory here, for "inter hæc duo Castra" must have been miles away. The above extract is valuable also for its negative evidence that King Henry II, while he had his masons at work on the adjacent castles and elsewhere, did nothing to the buildings here, since it would have been recorded.

The works to the castle were but repairs, probably after the battle fought here in 1156 between King Henry and the Welsh, but we learn from the *Brut y Tywysogion* that in 1165 Basingwerk Castle was destroyed by Owen Gwynedd. It is called "Dinas Basing", and this title may be noted as another Saxon name, occurring along the line of Offa's and Wat's Dykes. Let us turn to the ruins of the Abbey, and endeavour to glean what they have to reveal of their own history. Notwithstanding the different aspect of the site, we find here a perfect arrangement of a Cistercian house, remarkable not only for its completeness, so far as traces remain, but for the purity of its design and the harmony among all the parts.

The abbey church has a slype or sacristy adjoining its south transept, next in order, going south, the chapter house, then probably the parlour, and lastly the day room or calefactory. These form one side (the eastern) of the cloister space. The south side of the latter has, in the south-eastern angle the kitchen, and next to it the refectory, which is

¹ "Castrum Rowelent firmavit, et dedit illud Hugoni de Bello Campo et aliud castrum, scilicet Basingwerch, fecit, et inter hæc duo castra una domum militibus Templi."

built, as is so frequently the case, north and south. The buildings on the west side are gone. The dormitory extended over the whole of the eastern buildings. A large long range of buildings of brick and stone, with a superstructure of heavy oak timbers, filled in with wattle and plaster, extends eastward from the kitchen, and were formerly cellars and storehouses. Let us examine these in detail. The church had its east end close to the bold cliff-like bank, which comes more or less close to the whole northern side as well ; and below the cliff, dividing it from the public road, is an extensive fishpond, now divided into two by a high modern bank, which formerly carried a tramway from the high ground on which the abbey stands across the public road by a bridge, and with a slope to the low level of the land below, and so on to the edge of the river. The church was cruciform, but at present all that is visible are the south gable of the south transept, with a triplet of lancets above the line of the roof of the abutting dormitory ; the west wall of this transept, with the arch into the south aisle of the nave, and one of the responds to the south-west of the usual central tower, with one attached column of the nave arcade in it ; the cloister door ; a small height of the south aisle wall ; and just enough of the west wall to enable us to make out the ground plan. The church is built of the brown sandstone of the district—not a very durable material, and the surface has succumbed considerably to the action of the elements. The mouldings and other ornamental works have therefore suffered severely, but they can readily be made out. The aisle arch is of plainly chamfered orders, springing from an abacus, and the same is observable above the engaged half-round column of the nave arcade, but we may observe that the face west of the nave had a third chamfered order, carrying the thickness of the wall, which is greater than the width of the pier. The capital is all but gone. The tower pier has a bold corbel to carry the additional thickness next to the nave columns, and space was thus obtained beneath it for the choir stalls. The bearing arches of the tower spring from very handsome corbels, close under the springing, and not from shafts. The arches were of plainly chamfered orders only. The corbels and traces of the arches over are only visible from the south and west arches in the one solid pier—the only relic of the central

tower. There is a trace of a clerestory window of the nave, and its internal string course, and we may conclude that they were single lancets. There was no triforium. The cloister door, which is circular-headed, has been carefully moulded with clustered beads, hollows, and bowtells in several recessed orders, and the west (central) doorway into the nave probably had a door somewhat similar, but only traces are visible of a recessed order or two to the south jamb.¹ In the south wall of the transept is a pointed doorway, to afford access to the night stairs from the monks' dormitory. The stairs were of wood, and have therefore quite disappeared. There are two lines of roof of the south aisle of the nave visible over the arch leading into the transept, showing a reconstruction at a different slope. The style of the church is Early English of a good type, early thirteenth century, and, when perfect, of excellent effect. The base of the south wall of the south transept seems somewhat earlier, and may be a portion of the "small cell" which existed in the time of Giraldus Cambrensis. It has a small round-headed opening into the sacristy—a chamber, however, now quite destroyed, but we may trace a round-headed and chamfered doorway, which afforded entrance to it from the cloisters, and also a portion of a square-headed Perpendicular window eastward.

The Chapter House.—The main body of this building, entering from the cloisters, has quite disappeared, and the two conspicuous round-headed arches, which are often taken for the entrance, in reality do but lead into an eastern projection of the chapter house, and were formerly within the building. The clever way may be noted in which the builders have carried the thick wall above upon a thinner wall beneath. The projection is of the same Early English date, and has been vaulted with quadripartite vaulting, but with additional ribs, to meet the piers of the three eastern lancets. These windows and the two lateral ones are moulded, and of much beauty. They have been glazed, but

¹ The rough bank of earth touching the north-west angle of the nave is part of the disused tramway. The masses of old walling and concrete in the hedge skirting the fishpond, next the public road, have most probably been brought from the ruins above, or from Basingwerk Castle; but their position appears odd. From there being no mark of the rood-loft against the tower-pier, as at Valle Crucis, it is probable that it was more to the west in the nave here, as it was there formerly.

not into rebates—a sinking as if for a frame is visible. The projection was probably covered originally by a lean-to roof, but in fifteenth century times a chamber was constructed over it, probably the muniment room, and opening from the dormitory. The chapter house proper has had a flat ceiling, and the dormitory a boarded floor, since the holes for the beams remain.

The Day Room.—This must have been a spacious apartment, lighted by an eastern range of broadly splayed lancets, which, from the fact that they have no rebates for glass, appear to afford evidence that the poor monks in this their most social working room had no shelter from the elements. The Rev. Mackenzie Walcot states that this was so at Old Cleeve, and from similar evidence ; but the windows here, and there also, may have been glazed with movable frames only, secured to the iron stanchion bars, and let us hope that they were. The ceiling has been formed at the same level as that of the chapter house. A door opens externally direct to the east. No trace is apparent of a chimney amongst the existing ruins, probably owing to their overgrown state, but it may have been in the south wall, where there are signs of reconstruction, or in the west wall, now demolished. The parlour was probably next the chapter house, but there are no traces. The east wall has external buttresses, and one of these at the south-east corner has been retained, although the wall it abuts against is fifteenth century work.

The Dormitory over has also a range of eastern unglazed windows. The walls are too much broken by gaps to determine the position of any fireplace, but a shaft is shown in Buck's view. The entrance to the monks' night stairs is perfect on this side, and next it is evidence of the reconstruction of the angle wall of the transept when the dormitory was built, showing that the base of this wall is older. The roof has been of a sharp pitch, as is shown by the water table beneath the three lancets of the transept ; and to prevent obstruction to these, it has been hipped back in its upper portion. A small doorway has opened from the south-east angle, now much dilapidated, and it was probably for the passage of the sacristan to watch the sanctuary light, as at Valle Crucis. The slope of the transept gable is still

preserved by a few of its coping stones, which totter above the lancet windows.

The Kitchen adjoined the day-room, from which there is a door in the south wall, and another in the splayed south-west corner. A large part of the east wall is down, but enough remains to indicate that this apartment is late fifteenth century work. It is built against the older buttress, and there are traces of cross walls. The fireplace opening is to the south, and between two good Perpendicular windows, now blocked.

The Refectory is a remarkable building, which has been of much beauty. Buck's view shows it with a perfect roof, a gable cross, and with four lancet windows. It is now roofless, and the gable is broken down to the ground level, leaving thus but the three external walls and two jambs only of the gable windows. The internal appearance is of great beauty, so far as the west wall is concerned, for it is filled with a series of varying splayed niches, some of which have been pierced with windows, now blocked. These are adorned with beautifully moulded shafts, banded, and with caps and bases, and arched heads above them with labels, etc., all very elaborately moulded, and having small nail-headed bands. Some are round-headed, with quatrefoils, and there is a small low round-headed doorway in the west wall. There is a locker close to the north wall, and opposite to it is a serving door from the adjacent kitchen. The whole of the eastern wall has a perfectly plain surface, in curious contrast to the opposite one, and is most probably of later date. The north wall is comparatively modern, and built of older materials since the dissolution. A few of the old stone corbels remain, and indicate that the roof had principal rafters, while from Buck's view we know that it was of a high pitch. The work generally agrees with current work, such as we find in England, but it is somewhat later in date than other Early English work here.

The Cloister space has been occupied by an ambulatory around its four sides, of wood, covered with a sloping roof. We may notice one of the corbels against the wall of the south transept. The long range of offices to the east of the kitchen, already alluded to, are of interest, on account of their almost unaltered condition, but they are in a terrible state of neglect, the eastern part, where there is an L shaped

prolongation southwards, being partially unroofed; the massive timbers and the solid construction are deserving of admiration. The upper floor, approached by probably the original rough stone steps, is used in part for a storage of tanned hides, while in others various unsavoury stages of a tanner's business are being pursued.

The history, as told by the ruins, agrees in the main with recorded history. We have traces of an early building, and we have a later and perfect Cistercian plan. Although, as we have seen, history is doubtful of the date of the latter, the architecture tells us that this must have been carried out very early in the thirteenth century, and by English rather than by Welsh hands.¹ The usual traditions with respect to the removal of portions of the building to other places are as numerous here as elsewhere in Wales. A part of the roof is at Cilcain Church. This is perhaps as true as that of the glass of Llanrhaider Church, so far away, being also from here. The whole area of the church and most of the other buildings is overgrown with nettles, long grass, and weeds, while several large trees have taken firm root, and with their foliage cover the weather-worn ruins with a grateful shade; filth appears everywhere. The roofless refectory is used as a horse litter. Rough mounds of accumulated earth cover to a great extent the foundations of the transepts and choir. The noise of the neighbouring manufactories reaches us, with the odour of alkali and copper. The lofty chimney of the opposite Greenfield works, the noise of the passing trains, and the moaning wind through the outstretched wires of the electric telegraph, all alike tell us of altered life and society, and of the change that has fallen upon this spot—a change with advantages let us hope, but which should not make us forgetful of the past. Something is due at the hands of the men of this century to these remains, and it is to be hoped that our meeting may be the means of directing the attention of the owner of these ruins to their neglected condition. Since the foundations of the entire ground plan are most probably perfect beneath all

¹ The distinctive features of ancient Welsh buildings are sufficiently marked to indicate a different school from English work. This applies, however, more to earlier than to later works, and least of all to sixteenth century ecclesiastical buildings. Indeed, the English fashion of apses, which revived then, as we see at Henry VII's Chapel and at Coventry, appears also at Gresford Church and Holywell.

the signs of neglect which surround us, it is greatly to be desired that a little care and attention should be bestowed, not only for the preservation of what is left, which is very necessary, but also for the uncovering of what is buried. A small outlay and a little loving care only are needed to render these remains as interesting, in proportion to their extent, as those of Valle Crucis ; and the earth accumulated over the site might cheaply be formed into a raised bank, to act as a barrier to guard them from further havoc. I hope that some remonstrance may be recorded by this meeting in favour of these remains, which shall not only result in what we see being carefully guarded for the future, but that all the portions buried beneath us may be revealed and cared for. A small cost would transform this neglected spot into one of beauty, valuable not only for research, but for the recreation of the busy population around it.

WELSH HOLY WELLS.

Probably the class of antiquities the most overlooked are the holy wells of almost all countries, and in almost all cases their examination will amply reward the investigator, for they afford evidences of remote antiquity and traces of folklore not to be met with elsewhere. No country is destitute of them, and in the United Kingdom those of Scotland, Cornwall, and, above all, Ireland, possess a series which appears common to all these localities the more they are investigated. Wales has also a remarkable series, abounding with traces of the same old customs and superstitions. Time will allow me but briefly to indicate a few of these.

At Llancynhaval in Denbighshire, a well dedicated to St. Cynhavel flows out of a hill side. Its water is still believed to be a cure for warts. St. Dwynwen is the patron saint of Welsh lovers, and there is still a celebrated well at Llanddwynwen, Anglesey, where the painful affliction of love sickness may be cured. The well of St. George still remains at Cegidog. It used to be in high repute for the cure of distempered horses, which were brought here often from afar and sprinkled with its water. Indeed, Pennant records that offerings of horses were made here. The well of St. Peris, almost under the shadow of Snowdon, was re-

sorted to for divination. Fortunes were told by the attendant, who watched for the appearance of a little fish—the tutelary deity of the place, and which lurked within the holes of the rocky sides.

The neighbourhood of Wrexham had a well, St. Tegla's, which was much resorted to for the cure of epilepsy. Indeed, it is more than probable that the belief in its powers may still exist in a lesser degree. A singular ritual was observed, which is so strange that it may be briefly glanced at. The patient was to arrive at the well after sunset. He then washed, made an offering of fourpence, and walked three times around it. This done, he said the Lord's Prayer, and, if a man, he made a second offering, that of a cock. If a female the offering was a hen. The bird was next carried in a basket round the well, and round the neighbouring church, and the Lord's Prayer again said, then the church was entered, and the patient would creep beneath the altar, with a bible for a pillow, the communion cloth for a covering, and would stay all night. At St. Rhedri's well, at Llanllyfni, the mark of the thumb of the saint was shown. Wells dedicated to St. Mary are common in Wales, as in most countries, and, from their number, it is more than probable that older names have been forgotten for many of them, and the later one substituted. There is evidence of the water from these being carried into the neighbouring churches for their use.

The worship of and resort to wells for their supposed healing powers is probably a superstition as old as that of the worship of the sun and moon; and in the United Kingdom, as well as in classic countries, we have abundance of evidence of its antiquity, notwithstanding the little attention that has hitherto been directed to these interesting objects. We know that the practice was common in Roman times, as is evidenced by the constant finding of Roman coins and other offerings. Dr. Wake Smart's paper in our *Journal* for 1875 elicited some interesting facts, and the more recent discovery of so many hundreds of Roman offerings at the well of Chollerford is additional testimony. It is also evidence of the interesting results that may be looked for whenever it may be possible to explore one or another of these ancient sites.

Shortly before the time of Gildas even, we know from his

testimony that rivers were not unfrequently held in reverence;¹ and Canute passed a law expressly prohibiting worship of wells. The practices at these wells, thus rapidly passed in review, indicate superstitious practices, doubtless of older date than mediæval times; but there is another, where such dreadful practices prevailed that they at once indicate their origin in the old heathen period, before the dawn of Christianity.

St. Elian's Well, at Llanelian, Denbigh, has rightly been styled a "well of hate". It was resorted to by persons who bore malice, and desired to inflict injury and evil on their enemies. An offering in money was paid to the minister of the Well; but this was only preliminary to the "offering" of the ill-fated object of hate. This was done by writing the name of the devoted one in a register, and a pin firmly fixed through it. The initials were then marked on a pebble and thrown into the Well. The enemy, after this, wherever he may have been, felt himself the victim of a gradual and wasting sickness. It is but right to add that there was power for this spell to be reversed. The connection of the name of one of the early Welsh saints with such a terrible belief indicates the greater antiquity of the latter, and the firm root it held in the minds of the people is shown by its having come down to our own days.

The Well of St. Winifred is the most famous of all those of Wales, not only for the beauty of the building and its accompanying chapel, but for the repute it possesses. This repute is by no means a thing of the past, as it appears to have been in Pennant's days. The beautiful blue swelling waters are still resorted to by a crowd of votaries from all parts, many from afar; and these are not only the poor and illiterate, to whom the use of a cold water bath is not a matter of ordinary occurrence. I can testify to the belief in the power of the water, through the name of St. Winifred, to cure the anxious applicants; but the little recess in front of the Chapel affords sufficient evidence. It contained, at my visit, thirty-nine crutches left behind by those who had been cured, six hand-sticks, a hand-hearse, and a pair

¹ "Nor will I call out upon the mountains, fountains, or hills, or upon the rivers, which now are subservient to the use of men, but once were an abomination and destruction to them, and to which the blind people paid divine honour", etc. (Gildas, ed. Bohn, p. 300.)

of boots. The earliest historical evidence I have met with of the existence of the water, is the intended visit of the Earl of Chester in 1119. The geological *contour* of the narrow valley attests, however, by the deep cutting which the water has made in it, for what a lengthened period before the Saxon times ascribed by the tradition for their rise, the waters must have been welling up in at least similar abundance. The existence of a Roman villa on the banks of the stream, at no great distance, is well attested, while on the heights above are some traces of one of the ancient hill-castles so common in Wales.

The beautiful fountain and its attendant chapel agree well in their style to the late date ascribed for their rebuilding. It may be pointed out that the design of the fountain has apparently been copied in the smaller holy well of Ffynnon Vair, Wygfair, Denbigh. These two buildings, however, do not afford good examples of what were generally on such sites. They were, for the most part, of much humbler character, as in Cornwall and Ireland,—a simple lining of masonry to the well, and a very small building for the chapel, the latter being almost always found. Sometimes, however, the well is contained in the chapel, as at Capel Trillo, where a small curious chamber, but 11 ft. by 7 ft., stone roofed, is built over the tank containing the spring.

MISTLETOE.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

CURIOUS is it to observe how, in every quarter of the globe, the vegetable kingdom has been pressed into the service of religion, and made to hold a conspicuous place therein. Whether the religion be pure and holy, or deeply leavened with falsehood and licentiousness, trees and plants, flowers, fruit, and roots, figure more or less abundantly in it. The grove was frequently the chosen spot for the performance of sacred rites and ceremonies : witness that of Astarte or Ashtaroth, whose votaries bore on their persons the representation of a tree, and hence received the title of *Dendrophoræ*. Some have contended that the arches and vaulted roof of Gothic churches were suggested by the intertwining boughs of the forest. The Hebrews included fruit and corn in the class of pious offerings called *Mincha* ; and marked prominence was given to the branches of the palm and the willow at the Feast of Tabernacles as early as the days of Moses. The ancient Egyptians offered to their deities garlic, onions, and radishes ; the sycamore, figs, gourds, grapes, and lentils ; the lotus and other flowers, which were at times wrought into wreaths and chaplets. The sacred lotus, or, as it is called in India, *kamala*, and in China *lien-hwa*, occupies as proud a position in the mythology of these respective countries as it did in the region of the Nile, for from the navel of Narayana sprang the holy flower, and from the flower, Brahma. Of almost equal rank with the lotus is the world-renowned banyan ("the immortal tree"), consecrated to Budda or Fuh. Chief among the offerings made to Coatlantona, the Flora of the early Mexicans, were herbs, plants, and flowers, of various kinds ; and closely connected with their religion was the cactus they found growing on an islet in Lake Tezeuco, and on whose branches was perched an eagle ; and where, to commemorate its site, they raised a *teocalli*, or temple, to their gods. Dear was this cactus to the hearts of the Mexicans, as was the *figus ruminalis* to the old Romans.¹

¹ The eagle and cactus appear on the copper money of Mexico issued in 1830.

With what boundless luxuriance does vegetation flourish in the mythology of Greece and Rome! A whole host of recollections crowd on the memory at the bare mention of the subject. Associated with the name of Venus are the apple, myrtle, persea or peach, pomegranate, poppy, and the rose; with that of Bacchus, the bindweed, fig, fir or pine, ivy, laurel, and vine. Cybele claims the box and the pine; Ceres, corn and wheat; Jupiter, the cypress, oak, and olive; Pluto, the cypress, white daffodil, narcissus, and ebony for a crown. Apollo has among his attributes the laurel and olive; Mercury and Victory, the palm; Hercules, the white poplar; Triton, the reeds. And among the fabled transformations we find Atys changed into a pine tree, Clytie into a heliotrope, Cyparissus into a cypress, Daphne into a laurel, Leucothoe into a frankincense tree, Mintha into mint, Myrrha into a balsam tree, the three sisters of Phaeton (Lampetia, Phœbe, and Phaethusa) into poplars, and naughty Miss Oppis into a fennel-stalk. From the blood of Hyacinthus sprang the hyacinth; and who can ever forget that pretty story about the white lilies, the *Rosæ Junoniæ*, and baby Hercules? A story with as much poetic fancy in it as there is in that relating to the *Carduus marianus* with its lacteal-clouded leaves.

Flowers are as intimately blended with the rights and ceremonies of the Romish Church as they were with those of classic heathendom. A complete *floral calendar* has been concocted for her saints, the emblems of the crucifixion discovered in the passion-flower, and the golden rose is as significant in the hands of the Pope on Mid-Lent Sunday as ever was the living blossom on the altar of Venus.

As if nature was not sufficiently bountiful with her gifts on earth, man's inventive genius has furnished the Munden egg of the Scandinavians with a stupendous ash tree, called in the *Edda*, *Yggdrasill*; and the heaven and hell of the Mahommedans with trees respectively denominated *Tuba* and *Al Zakkum*.

But the subject here briefly touched on is so vast that if properly carried out it would fill almost as many tomes as we have occupied lines; and without further dalliance we must press on to the motive of this paper, the sacred mistletoe, the *Viscum album* of botanists; and to fully appreciate the importance of this remarkable parasite, a few

words are demanded respecting the tree on which it was anciently sought,—the brave old oak. The labours of the geologist have clearly demonstrated that the oak flourished in the British forest when the elephant and rhinoceros, tiger and hyæna, were members of the British Fauna. Our Keltic ancestors called the oak *Dar* and *Derwen*, and its acorn *Mesen*.¹ The Druids regarded the tree as sacred to, and symbolic of, Taronwy or Pan Daran, the god of thunder; and the light in which it was viewed is fairly shown by Pliny² in his notice of the mistletoe.³ He says the Druids “held nothing more sacred than the mistletoe and the tree that bears it, supposing always that tree to be the *Robur*. Of itself the *Robur* is selected by them to form whole groves, and they perform none of their religious rites without employing branches of it: in fact, it is the notion with them that everything that grows on it has been sent immediately from heaven, and that the mistletoe upon it is a proof that the tree has been selected by God himself as an object of his especial favour. The mistletoe, however, is but rarely found upon the *Robur*,⁴ and when found is gathered with rites replete with religious awe. This is done more particularly on the fifth day of the moon, the day which is the beginning of their months and years, as also of their ages, which with them are but thirty years. This day they select because the moon, though not yet in the middle of her course, has already considerable power and influence; and they call her by a name which signifies in their language the ‘all-healing’. Having made all due preparation for the

¹ I have a fine large calix of an acorn which was exhumed from a great depth in St. Martin’s le Grand in 1870, and which is probably a relic of the vast forest which in ancient times girdled London.

² *Hist. Nat.*, xvi, 95.

³ The orthography of mistletoe is very various, for we find it written miseltoe, misseltoe, misselden, missendine, mistle, mistell, misle, and mislin.

⁴ Mr. R. E. Way kindly furnishes the following note on this circumstance: “The following is a list of mistletoe oaks which up to 1875 are known to exist in this country, being fourteen in number, and found in the following counties: 1, the oak at Eastnor, Herefordshire; 2, Tedstone Delemare, ditto; 3, Haven, in the ancient forest of Deerfold, ditto; 4, Bedham’s Court, Sunbury Park, near Chipstow; 5, Hackwood Park, near Basingstoke, Hants; 6, near Plymouth, by the side of South Devon Railway, Devon; 7, Frampton on Severn, Gloucestershire; 8, overhanging a double cromlech at Plas Newydd, Anglesey; 9, Hendre, Llangattoch Lingoed, Monmouthshire; 10, Bredwardine, Herefordshire,—discovered in 1871,—the mistletoe grows upon it in fifteen different places; 11, near Knightwich Church, Worcestershire; 12, Buringfordham, Dunsford, Surrey; 13, Lord Sondes’ Park, Lee Court, Kent; 14, Lingridge, Worcestershire.”

sacrifice and a banquet beneath the trees, they bring thither two white bulls, the horns of which are bound then for the first time. Clad in a white robe the priest ascends the tree and cuts the mistletoe with a golden sickle (*falce aureâ*), which is received by others in a white cloak. They then immolate the victims, offering up their prayer that God will render this gift of his propitious to those to whom he has so granted it. It is the belief with them that the mistletoe taken in drink will impart fecundity to all animals that are barren, and that it is an antidote for all poisons."

To this ancient and most valuable narrative of Pliny may be added the following from Borlase's *Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 91: "When the end of the year approached, the old Druids marched with great solemnity to gather the mistletoe of the oak, in order to present it to Jupiter, inviting all the world to assist at this ceremony with these words, 'The new year is at hand; gather the mistletoe.'"

Vallancey states, in his *Grammar of the Irish Language*, that the mistletoe was held sacred by the Druids "because not only its berries, but its leaves also, grow in clusters of three united to one stock"; the Britannie tribes, like many other races, having regarded the Trinity in Unity with deep awe and reverence. Father Prout (Francis Mahoney), in his beautiful and truly extraordinary poem entitled *The Mistletoe*, endeavours to show how different productions venerated by the Hebrews, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and Druids, were all typical of the wished-for Redeemer. The portion of the poem which most concerns us is the following verse:

"A Druid stood in the dark oak wood
Of a distant northern land,
And he seem'd to hold a sickle of gold
In the grasp of his withered hand:
And he moved him slowly round the girth
Of an aged oak, to see
If an orphan plant of wondrous birth
Had clung to the old oak tree;
And anon he knelt, and from his belt
Unloosened his golden blade,
Then rose and culled the mistletoe
Under the woodland shade."

Virgil¹ speaks of a tree in Hades upon which is a golden branch which must be plucked and presented to Proserpine

¹ *Æneid*, vi.

by those who would gain her favour; and further, that when Æneas was seeking this precious parasite, he was directed in his path by the flight of two pigeons; and he goes on to liken the *ramus aureus* to the mistletoe.¹ Now it is most curious to compare the story in the *Æneid* with the subjoined statement made by Sir H. Platte in his *Garden of Eden*, 1675, p. 56. He says: "By sitting upon a hill late in the evening, near a wood, in a few nights a fine duck will appear. Mark where it lighteth, and then you shall find an oak with a misseltoe thereon, at the root whereof there is a misle-childe, whereof many strange things are conceived." The two pigeons of the infernal regions are represented on earth by a single "fine duck".

Virgil calls his parasite *ramus aureus*; and it is important to note that one of the British names for the mistletoe was *pren puraur*, the tree of pure gold. But the Keltæ had other names for the mistletoe beside the one just mentioned, as, for example, *pren awyr*, the ethereal tree; *pren uchelvar*, the tree of the high summit; *uchelfar*, *uchelfel*, and *uchelwydd*, all titles derived from the word *uchel*, lofty.

There are indications that this sacred plant was employed in the rites of sepulchre, for when the ancient barrow at Gristhorpe, North Riding of York, was opened in 1834, there was discovered a huge wooden coffin, covered with a quantity of oaken boughs, and within the kist lay the leaves and berries of the mistletoe. According to the *Kadeir Taliesin*, the mistletoe was one of the plants selected to be boiled in the mystic *pair* or cauldron of the goddess Ked or Keridwen, in the preparation of the *awen a gwybodeu*, or water of inspiration, science, and immortality. And a firm belief in the magical and medical powers of the plant has descended from ancient to modern times. The peasants of Holstein and some other countries call the mistletoe the *Spectre's wand*, from a supposition that a branch of it held in the hand will not only enable a man to see ghosts, but force them to speak to him. Coles, in his *Art of Simpling*, 1656, p. 67, says that "if one hang mistletoe about their neck, the witches can have no power of him". And Sir John

¹ It is a common belief that to dream of mistletoe is a presage that you will be wealthy. Has the *golden branch* of Hades anything to do with this idea? In one work, on the *Language of Flowers*, mistletoe is set down as implying "I surmount all difficulties"; in another, "obstacles to be overcome". Perhaps the origin of this signification is to be found in the achievement of Æneas.

Colbach, in his *Dissertation on the Mistletoe*, 1720, p. 3, speaks of its being "hung up superstitiously in houses to drive away evil spirits".¹

On account of the supposed medical virtues of the mistletoe it received the proud title of *all-heal*, and Pliny² mentions it as a remedy in several maladies, as does also Gerarde in his *Herball*, London, 1633, p. 1351 ; Blancard in his *Physical Dictionary*, London, 1702, p. 323 ; Sir John Colbach in his *Dissertation* just referred to ; and Quincy in his *English Dispensatory*, London, 1730, p. 134. Polydore Vergil³ rightly says that the "trimmyng of the temples with hangynges, floures, boughes, and garlandes was taken of the heathen people, whiche decked their idols and houses with suche array". And the brightest evergreens which the Christians could command were employed at Christmas as "trimmyng of the temples", including the mistletoe. This latter fact has been questioned by some writers, but it is attested by that close observer of old customs, John Gay, who in his *Trivia* (ii, 436) says—

"When rosemary and bays, the poet's crown,
Are bawl'd in frequent cries through all the town,
Then judge the festival of Christmass near ;
Christmass, the joyous period of the year !
How with bright holly all the temples strow,
With laurel green and *sacred mistletoe*."

Stukeley, in his *Medallie History of Carausius* (ii, 163, 164), records an ancient custom then lately observed at York on the eve of Christmas Day. He says, "They carry mistletoe to the high altar of the cathedral, and proclaim a public and universal liberty, pardon, and freedom to all sorts of inferior and even wicked people at the gates of the city towards the four quarters of heaven". Stow, in his *Survey of London*, 1603, p. 37, tells us that "against the feast of Christmas every man's house, as also their *parish churches* were decked with holme, ivy, bayes, and *whatso-*

¹ Whilst the Keltic nations revered the mistletoe, the Teutons regarded it with aversion, the reason for which is shown in the *Edda*, where we read that Baldur, son of Odin, was killed with a slip of the plant, through the treachery of the demon Loki. Can Shakspeare have had this myth in his mind when, in *Titus Andronicus* (ii, 3), he makes Tamora say, when describing the forest,

"The trees, though summer, yet forlorn and lean,
O'ercome with moss and baleful mistletoe"?

² *Hist. Nat.*, xxiv, 6.

³ Langley's translation, f. 100.

ever the season of the year afforded to be green". Anti-quariolus, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of May 1792, p. 432, states that he has seen a large bough of mistletoe suspended under the chancel arch of a church "within the bills of mortality". Gray, in his *Supplement to the Pharmacopœia*, London, 1836, p. 76, notes that the mistletoe is still used to deck our churches and preserve our houses from evil spirits. And I can affirm from my own observations that mistletoe has frequently been mingled with box, fir, holly, arbor vitæ, laurel, viburnum, and ivy, in the Christmas decorations of London churches, and no one has regarded it as a novelty.

In connection with church matters, it may here be mentioned that the sacred mistletoe, as no doubt a symbol of the blessed Trinity, is graven on the upper surface of an ancient oaken font, found in Merionethshire, and of which a representation is given in the *European Magazine* of January 1793, p. 47. The Rev. Thomas Boyles Murray, in his sweet *Lays of Christmas*, says—

"Come, too, in this festal hour,
Pearly-berried mistletoe;
Welcome as the fairest flower
In the summer's richest glow."

Sir Walter Scott tells us in his *Marmion*, when speaking of Christmas Eve—

"Forth to the wood did merry men go,
To gather in the mistletoe."

Coles, in his *Art of Simpling*, 1656, p. 41, says of mistletoe that "it is carryed many miles to set up in houses about Christmas time, when it is adorned with a white glistening berry."¹ In a rare tract, entitled *Round about our Coal Fire; or Christmas Entertainments*, 1734, we read, "The rooms were embowered with holly, ivy, cyprus, bays, laurel, and misletoe, and a bouncing Christmas log in the chimney." And here another verse from Father Prout's poem of *The Mistletoe* forms a happy illustration to this part of our subject—

¹ In our day London is chiefly supplied with mistletoe from the apple-trees of Gloucester and Worcestershire. In *Notes and Queries* of February 12, 1876, p. 126, there is mention of the free growth of mistletoe on the hawthorns and other trees in Grimsthorpe Park, Lincolnshire; and also of an enormous bough of the parasite obtained by Dr. Phené in the wood of Broceliande in Bretagne.

"O blessed bough! meet emblem thou,
 Of all dark Egypt knew;
 Of all foretold to the wise of old,
 To Roman, Greek, and Jew.
 And long, God grant, time honour'd plant,
 Live we to see thee hung
 In cottage small, as in baron's hall,
 Banner and shield among!
 Thus fitly rule the mirth of yule,
 Aloft in thy place of pride;
 Still usher forth in each land of the north
 The solemn Christmas tide."

Of a livelier strain, but partaking somewhat of the same spirit with the foregoing, is the following little song entitled

"THE MISTLETOE BOUGH.

- "The mistletoe bough now waves bravely aloft;
 At Christmas it comes as an emblem of joy,
 Its berries so pearly, and its leaves so green,
 Ah! well may it serve as the maiden's decoy.
- "This famous old branch is a bower of love;
 'Tis sacred to Venus and all her gay train,
 'Tis best of all branches the season affords,
 And long may its charm and its *prestige* remain.
- "From days of the Druids to days of our own,
 A mystery 's been, and mystery will be;
 It comes when it listeth, and chooseth its home;
 Unbidden it seeketh the old forest tree.
- "This bough it is cull'd for the church and the hall,
 The chamber without it would barren appear;
 'Tis the lover's delight; it sanctions the kiss,—
 A kiss which is thought of through all the long year.
- "Then welcome and hail to the mistletoe bough,
 Upon it we gaze with rare pleasure and pride.
 The stoic may sneer, and the prudish may frown:
 O! let love and mirth its true merits decide."

Before we have quite done with the mistletoe a brief reference must be made to the most delectable and enticing ceremony with which it is connected. Brand, in his *Popular Antiquities* (ed. 1849, i, 524), says, when speaking of the mistletoe, "whatever female chanced to stand under it, the young man present either had a right or claimed one of saluting her, and of plucking off a berry at each kiss". Whence arose this amorous privilege is as profound a mystery to us as were the most secret rites of the Druids

to the uninitiated natives of ancient Gaul and Britain. This much we know, that the sacred plant was one of the chief ingredients in the magic cauldron of Keridwen, and that this lady, under the name of Olwen, was the Keltic Venus, the goddess of love, so that love and mistletoe are close akin.

“Eyes may interchange soft glances,
Speaking volumes to the heart ;
Tongues may utter merest trifles,
Yet the fondest love impart.
Lips may meet in seeming frolic
'Neath the hallow'd mistletoe.
The first touch reveals the secret
Of affection's warmest glow.”

Popular as the mistletoe has ever been, we can feel no surprise that it has so frequently found its way into verse both gay and grave. Examples belonging to the first class may be met with in two pretty ditties given in *The Universal Songster, or Museum of Mirth*, i, 420 ; ii, 284 ; to the second belong Darwin's *Botanic Garden*, Part II, can. i, 260 ; and Haynes Bayly's once fashionable ballad of *The Mistletoe Bough*. Among the graver productions of Eliza Cook must be numbered the poem here selected as a fitting final to these somewhat desultory notes :

“Under the mistletoe pearly and green
Meet the kind lips of the young and the old ;
Under the mistletoe hearts may be seen
Glowing as though they had never been cold.
Under the mistletoe peace and good will
Mingle the spirits that long have been twain,
Leaves of the olive-branch twine with it still,
While breathings of hope fill the loud carol-strain.
Yet why should this holy and festival mirth
In the reign of old Christmastide only be found ?
Hang up love's mistletoe over the earth,
And let us kiss under it all the year round.”

THE PALMYRENE MONUMENT DISCOVERED AT SOUTH SHIELDS.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L., HON. SECRETARY.

So much interest has been awakened not only among British archæologists, but foreign orientalists, by the discovery of a Roman Sepulchral Monument containing an inscription in the Palmyrene character, that a short description of the monument and the reading of the inscription will not be unacceptable to the world of archæology at the present moment.

The British Archæological Association is indebted to the indefatigable researches of Mr. Robert Blair of South Shields for the notices which he has contributed to the Secretary concerning the find of the Sepulchral Tablet, and for the illustration which accompanies this paper. In his letter, dated 21st October 1878, Mr. Blair says: "In connection with the station here, and Dr. Hooppell's papers, I may inform your Association that on my return from visiting the Roman station of *Bremenium*, on the line of the Watling Street, and about thirteen or fourteen miles from the Scottish border, I heard of the discovery here, on what we presume to have been the site of the Roman cemetery, of a very fine tombstone. It was casually discovered by some workmen who were making excavations rather deeper than are usually made here for the purpose, for foundations for a garden-wall. It is highly ornate, representing a female figure, unfortunately with her face knocked off, under an arched recess, and with a fine pediment supported by Corinthian columns. The inscription relates to a native of Palmyra; and what is most interesting is, that in addition to the Latin inscription there is one underneath in the Palmyrene language."

It was seen at once, on inspection of the drawing which accompanied Mr. Blair's letter, that the tablet was a very fine one, and that the Oriental inscription along the base was quite unique. The correct dimensions of it are: height, to top of arch, 4 feet 5 inches; height, to top of sides, 3 ft.

7 ins.; breadth, 2 ft. 3½ ins.; length of letters, 1½ inch. The material is a close, warm-tinted sandstone, a small piece of which Mr. Blair submitted to the Association. The monument is at present in several pieces; but it is hoped that it will be carefully restored.

The drawing, reproduced in the accompanying Plate, is, perhaps, the best representation that can at present be obtained of this tablet; for its present position, lying flat on a floor, under a table, precludes the possibility of having a photograph taken. We observe a broad and massive plinth surmounted by two square pillars which stand on somewhat thin bases. The upper part of the column appears to be adorned with a flat-banded moulding which finishes off half way in a semicircle, with the cusps pointing downwards. The Corinthian capitals of the columns are of compound but elegant design, and upon them rests the pediment, which is embellished with small wing-like crockets at the terminal angles. The effigy, that of a female loosely draped in the flowing garments of the Roman classical style, is seated within the niche thus formed, upon a chair or seat of basket-work, which has a cabled border running up the back and round the top. The face is gone, but indications of the head remain, surrounded by a large circle, a veritable nimbus, the panel of the pediment having a larger semicircular depression to admit this nimbus in proper relief. On the left side of the lady is a cylindrical basket filled with flowers or fruit, prominent among which appears an object which may be a pomegranate, artichoke, or ear of maize. In her left hand, which rests upon her left knee, there is a similar object. The right arm is extended downwards, and rests upon what is evidently an altar, which is signalised by a crescent moon carved upon its front, between four small squares at the corners of the panel.

The annexed woodcut is a correct copy of the inscription upon the plinth:—

D M . REGINA . LIBERTA . ET . CONIVGE .
BARATES . PALMYRENSIS . NATIONE .
CATVALLAVNA . AN . XXX .

Various but erroneous suggestions have been made with respect to the reading of this inscription. It is not necessary here to repeat them. No doubt is felt now among the



DM·REGINA·LIBERTA·ET·CONIVGE
BARATES·PALMYRENYS·NATIONE·
CATVALLAVNA·AN·XXX·

27/08.44.45.46.47.48.49.50.51.52.53.54.55.56.57.58.59.60.61.62.63.64.65.66.67.68.69.70.71.72.73.74.75.76.77.78.79.80.81.82.83.84.85.86.87.88.89.90.91.92.93.94.95.96.97.98.99.100.101.102.103.104.105.106.107.108.109.110.111.112.113.114.115.116.117.118.119.120.121.122.123.124.125.126.127.128.129.130.131.132.133.134.135.136.137.138.139.140.141.142.143.144.145.146.147.148.149.150.151.152.153.154.155.156.157.158.159.160.161.162.163.164.165.166.167.168.169.170.171.172.173.174.175.176.177.178.179.180.181.182.183.184.185.186.187.188.189.190.191.192.193.194.195.196.197.198.199.200.201.202.203.204.205.206.207.208.209.210.211.212.213.214.215.216.217.218.219.220.221.222.223.224.225.226.227.228.229.230.231.232.233.234.235.236.237.238.239.240.241.242.243.244.245.246.247.248.249.250.251.252.253.254.255.256.257.258.259.260.261.262.263.264.265.266.267.268.269.270.271.272.273.274.275.276.277.278.279.280.281.282.283.284.285.286.287.288.289.290.291.292.293.294.295.296.297.298.299.300.301.302.303.304.305.306.307.308.309.310.311.312.313.314.315.316.317.318.319.320.321.322.323.324.325.326.327.328.329.330.331.332.333.334.335.336.337.338.339.340.341.342.343.344.345.346.347.348.349.350.351.352.353.354.355.356.357.358.359.360.361.362.363.364.365.366.367.368.369.370.371.372.373.374.375.376.377.378.379.380.381.382.383.384.385.386.387.388.389.390.391.392.393.394.395.396.397.398.399.400.401.402.403.404.405.406.407.408.409.410.411.412.413.414.415.416.417.418.419.420.421.422.423.424.425.426.427.428.429.430.431.432.433.434.435.436.437.438.439.440.441.442.443.444.445.446.447.448.449.450.451.452.453.454.455.456.457.458.459.460.461.462.463.464.465.466.467.468.469.470.471.472.473.474.475.476.477.478.479.480.481.482.483.484.485.486.487.488.489.490.491.492.493.494.495.496.497.498.499.500.501.502.503.504.505.506.507.508.509.510.511.512.513.514.515.516.517.518.519.520.521.522.523.524.525.526.527.528.529.530.531.532.533.534.535.536.537.538.539.540.541.542.543.544.545.546.547.548.549.550.551.552.553.554.555.556.557.558.559.560.561.562.563.564.565.566.567.568.569.570.571.572.573.574.575.576.577.578.579.580.581.582.583.584.585.586.587.588.589.590.591.592.593.594.595.596.597.598.599.600.601.602.603.604.605.606.607.608.609.610.611.612.613.614.615.616.617.618.619.620.621.622.623.624.625.626.627.628.629.630.631.632.633.634.635.636.637.638.639.640.641.642.643.644.645.646.647.648.649.650.651.652.653.654.655.656.657.658.659.660.661.662.663.664.665.666.667.668.669.670.671.672.673.674.675.676.677.678.679.680.681.682.683.684.685.686.687.688.689.690.691.692.693.694.695.696.697.698.699.700.701.702.703.704.705.706.707.708.709.710.711.712.713.714.715.716.717.718.719.720.721.722.723.724.725.726.727.728.729.730.731.732.733.734.735.736.737.738.739.740.741.742.743.744.745.746.747.748.749.750.751.752.753.754.755.756.757.758.759.760.761.762.763.764.765.766.767.768.769.770.771.772.773.774.775.776.777.778.779.780.781.782.783.784.785.786.787.788.789.790.791.792.793.794.795.796.797.798.799.800.801.802.803.804.805.806.807.808.809.810.811.812.813.814.815.816.817.818.819.820.821.822.823.824.825.826.827.828.829.830.831.832.833.834.835.836.837.838.839.840.841.842.843.844.845.846.847.848.849.850.851.852.853.854.855.856.857.858.859.860.861.862.863.864.865.866.867.868.869.870.871.872.873.874.875.876.877.878.879.880.881.882.883.884.885.886.887.888.889.890.891.892.893.894.895.896.897.898.899.900.901.902.903.904.905.906.907.908.909.910.911.912.913.914.915.916.917.918.919.920.921.922.923.924.925.926.927.928.929.930.931.932.933.934.935.936.937.938.939.940.941.942.943.944.945.946.947.948.949.950.951.952.953.954.955.956.957.958.959.960.961.962.963.964.965.966.967.968.969.970.971.972.973.974.975.976.977.978.979.980.981.982.983.984.985.986.987.988.989.990.991.992.993.994.995.996.997.998.999.1000.1001.1002.1003.1004.1005.1006.1007.1008.1009.1010.1011.1012.1013.1014.1015.1016.1017.1018.1019.1020.1021.1022.1023.1024.1025.1026.1027.1028.1029.1030.1031.1032.1033.1034.1035.1036.1037.1038.1039.1040.1041.1042.1043.1044.1045.1046.1047.1048.1049.1050.1051.1052.1053.1054.1055.1056.1057.1058.1059.1060.1061.1062.1063.

body of antiquaries who have seen it, that the ablative has been used by inadvertence, in the first line, for a genitive or dative. The accepted translation is to the following effect :—

To the Gods, the Manes. To Regina [*his*] freedwoman and wife,
Barates the Palmyrene [*erected this monument. She was*] by nation
a Catuallaunian, [*aged at her death*] 30 years.

D.M. of the first line in the inscription may also be rendered “Dedit monumentum”, or “Dedit mœrens”. The first of these would dispense with the supplied words, “*erected this monument*”, in the English translation above. Between the *v* and *a* in *Catuallauna* there are decided traces of an *o* not cut quite so deeply as the rest.

There are a great many points of interest about the monument, as far as we have now progressed. The altar “to the unknown God”; the palæography of the inscription, which has forms of divergence¹ from the classical capitals of Roman epigraphy, that seem to point to the third century of the Christian era; the nimbus-like adornment of the head; and the offering of fruit. But what gives the greatest interest, and elevates the relic far beyond all evidences that have hitherto been found in England in connexion with the Roman occupation, is the fact that the Latin inscription is supplemented by a line in the *Palmyrene* character, along the base, below the parallelogram which bounds the plinth properly so called. This inscription, which may be compared with the forms of letters found in the Comte Melchior de Vogüé’s *Inscriptions Sémitiques* (a subdivision of his great work on *Syrie Centrale*),² is interpreted thus by Dr. Wright, whose transliteration into Hebrew and Latin rendering, though varying at first from other somewhat hastily proposed decipherments, may be provisionally admitted :—

רגינא בת חרי ברעתא חבל

Reginâ bath-hêrê Bar-‘Atê habêl (*or* habâl).

Regina liberta 700 Barate. Eheu.

With regard to the concluding word of the Palmyrene inscription, it is worthy of notice that the Comte de Vogüé reproduces no less than five inscriptions from Palmyrene

¹ Note especially the forms of the G, L, and M, in the woodcut.

² Paris, large 4to, 1868.

sites with the same word at the end. This he translates by *défunt* or *mort*. They are—

1. A portrait in stone of Kinora, now at the Louvre, with inscription—

צלם כנרָא חבל

“Portrait de Kinora, *défunt*.” (No. 18, p. 21.)

2, 3. A stone sarcophagus with five busts, each accompanied by an inscription. The second and third are of two persons, each named Pekha, the inscription in each case ends with the word which finishes the South Shields inscription. It is here rendered *mort* by the Comte de Vogüé (No. 61, p. 46) from Wadi-el-Qebour.

4. A portrait in stone of “Malkou.....*défunt*” (No. 72, p. 52) from Wadi-el-Kebour.

5. A small circular *tessera* of terra cotta, with the full-face bust, “coiffé d’un modius à bandelettes flottantes,” of “Qasbel, *mort*” (?) (No. 131, p. 80.)

But it is unnecessary to pursue this part of the subject further, as Dr. Wright will contribute a paper upon the linguistic element of this inscription to an early number of the *Transactions* of the Society of Biblical Archæology.

In the name of Barates we have what may be the clue to the divinity whose altar is represented in the monument. If the name of Barates is to be translated as “the son of the god Atê,” that is, the worshipper, devotee, or person named after Atê, much in the same way as our true Christian names were originally derived from those of tutelary saints, we need not go far to look for the deity to whom the altar is dedicated, and to whom the offerings are being made by the deceased Regina.

There is perhaps an additional charm thrown over this inscription if we may be allowed to read a little between the lines. It is not difficult to imagine the Palmyrene merchant Barates—a devoted worshipper of the protecting deity whose name he had adopted, finding his way to the north of Britain, purchasing the young female Regina, a native of the well known Catuvellaunian tribe, endowing her with her liberty (thus she becomes *liberta*), and marrying her (thus she becomes his *conjux*). The cause of her death at the early age of thirty years is not given, nor are we at liberty to consider that she left any issue behind her,

DA REGINA ALBERTA ET CONIUGE
BARONIS PALMYRENSIS NATIONE
CATVALLAVINA AN XXX

יחמדיה יצחק יצחק יצחק יצחק

for it is probable that in this case their names would have been recorded on the stone, in accordance with the usual forms of sepulchral inscriptions. Perhaps the surviving husband cut with his own hands the Oriental inscription at the base of what is undoubtedly a very fine effigy, quite apart from its connection with the Palmyrene.

Professor Hübner of Berlin, to whom a rubbing of the inscription was sent, writes an account of it to Mr. Blair, from which the following may be extracted, in elucidation of some of the points of interest. The "Palmyrene uses the Latin tongue in a somewhat rustic way. He uses ablatives for datives, and at last gives up the construction, and says simply 'she was a native of the tribe of Catuvellauni.' Thus this well known people used to spell their name as in the text of ancient authors, and there is a similar instance in the inscription of Howgill, near Birdoswald.¹ What a curious illustration of that most colossal of all political creation—the Roman empire, that this man of Tadmor marries a British maiden in the extreme north of the Roman province of Britain. We know of no Syriac soldiers in the British army of yore. The only cohort, perhaps Oriental, that I am aware of is that of the Hamian archers, stationed once at Magnæ (Carvoran) on the Roman Wall. Regina is a not very uncommon proper name. Reginus, a potter, occurs for instance² in *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vii, 1336, 917, 914. It may be originally the Latin version of an ancient Catuvellaunian name. She was the man's slave, bought by him perhaps from her tribe, and then set at liberty, and at last his wife."

It has been suggested by some Orientalists that the word *Regina* is the Romanised form of an Oriental name for the wife of Barates, the Palmyrene, and that *natione Catuvellauna* may refer to the political condition of the man himself. But I find in the *Altdeutsches Namenbuch* of

¹ *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vii, 863. The inscription to which reference is made here is in Professor Hübner's work, p. 149, No. 863, with a conspectus of the statements of its locality, and places where it has been published or figured. The reading is CIVITATE CATVVELLANORVM TOSODIO. The last word has been variously read, but the first two are undisputed. The stone was found in the forewall of a farmhouse at Howgill, two miles west of Lanercost Abbey, on the Wall. It is 1 foot 6 inches long, 10 inches broad, the letters of rude form.

² References here given are wrongly numbered. See farther on, where I have tabulated the names.

Dr. Ernest Förstemann (published at Nordhausen in 1856) that the root word *ragan*, rendered by *consilium*, enters largely into Teutonic names, REGINA itself, as a derivative occurring in the following texts:—*Einh. Vit. Kar.*, ii, 453; *Sigeb. Auctar. Hasnon.*, viii, 442; *Annalista Saxo*, 564; *Hugonis Chronicon*, x, 286; and *Cassiodorus*, v, 33. Cognate forms like Regena, Reginhad, Raganhar, Raganhelm, etc., fill several pages of Dr. Förstemann's work, and the first part of the ordinary name Reginald may be referred to the same root. The name *Regina* may be compared with the following names found on fictile vessels (*patellæ*) from vol. vii of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* of the Berlin Academy, being the *Inscriptiones Britannicæ Latinae*, edited by Æmilius Hubner:—

- 1336, 904. *Regenus*, at Camulodunum, p. 283.
- „ 906. *Regina*, at Lancaster, p. 283.
- „ 907. *Reginus*, at Shefford, co. Bedf., p. 284. (Published by Th. Inskipp in our *Journal*, vol. iv, 1849, p. 143.)
- „ 908. *Riignus* (*Regnus*), at London, *ib.*
- „ 909. *Regini*, at Exeter, Lancaster, and York, *ib.*
- „ 910. *Reginus* and *Regnus*, at London, *ib.*
- „ 911. *Regni*, at Gloucester, *ib.*
- „ 912. *Regini*, at London, *ib.*
- „ 913. *Regini*, at York, *ib.*

In a subsequent letter Mr. Blair says: “I find that Dr. Bruce in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, p. 202, records the finding of the stone mentioned by Professor Hübner, and gives the inscription thus (E) CIVITATE CATUVELLAVNORVM. . . . and then in a quotation from another writer (Dr. Jurin) thus describes the people commemorated:—‘We cannot doubt this (Catuvellauni) to have been the true name of that people, which Dion Cassius, lib. ix, calls Κατουελλανοί, and Ptolemy in his geography, lib. ii, cap. 3, more falsely Κατευχλανοί, the first λ, by producing the transverse stroke, having been mistaken for χ. This nation appears by Dion to have been more potent than their neighbours the Dobuni, and had, according to Ptolemy, Verolamium for their capital, which most probably was the *Cassivellauni oppidum* of Cæsar, so that it would seem Cassivellaunus, King of the Catuvillauni, when Cæsar invaded Britain, either gave his name to his people or took theirs.” Dr. Bruce then adds, “As the Cassivellauni were subdued thus early, it is nothing

wonderful that they joined the Romans of a later era in subjugating the people of the north." Camden, however, places the Catyuchlani of Antoninus in Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Hertfordshire.

It should be added that the monument is now deposited in the museum attached to the Free Library at South Shields, where it will be carefully preserved. If the conjecture that the site where it was found is a cemetery prove correct, it is most likely that other similar reliquary treasures will be discovered not far from the same spot; and we shall then be in possession of a series of facts which will throw a light upon one of the most important of recorded British tribes, of whom Regina the freedwoman is by no means the least interesting member.

¹ *De Bello Gallico*, v, 11, 18-22.

Biographical Memoirs.

IN addition to the notice of Mr. THOMAS WRIGHT, F.S.A., which we gave in our June number, the following extracts from a notice in *The Athenæum* will be found to contain additional facts relating to our late distinguished Associate :—

“This well-known antiquary and diligent student of general history, whose name must be always associated with the literature of the present century, especially that dedicated to inquiry into the Roman, Saxon, and Norman periods of our country, died, after a long and wasting illness, at his house in Chelsea on Monday the 23rd of December 1877, in his sixty-seventh year. Belonging to a highly respectable and once well-to-do Quaker family of Bradford in Yorkshire (where, as a pleasant biography of his father, written by the son, tells us, the manufacture of broad cloth formed the means of their subsistence, and helped to forward a trade now become one of the staple industries of the place), Thomas Wright first saw the light at Ludlow, his father having settled in that picturesque and historic town of Shropshire on leaving Bradford; and there, at the old Grammar School, a foundation of Edward VI, he was educated and brought up until he went to college. At Trinity College, Cambridge, he successively took the degrees of B.A. and M.A., and became a regular contributor to several then well-known periodicals, such as *Fraser's Magazine*, *The Foreign Quarterly Review*, etc., on subjects of historical and antiquarian interest. Here he made many friendships with those of kindred pursuits in literature; and in one, Mr. James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps, F.R.S., the celebrated Shakespearean commentator, he found not only a joint labourer in many of his early works, but a warm admirer and constant sympathiser, as well as something more. Thomas Wright was a member of many learned bodies in England and on the Continent, and was one of the founders, with the late Mr. Pettigrew, Mr. T. Crofton Croker, and the still living Roman antiquary Mr. C. Roach Smith, of the British Archæological Association, of which he was a Vice-President. He was a frequent contributor of important papers, from the commencement of its career, to the *Journal* of that Society. He

was also one of the founders of the Camden, Percy, and Shakespeare Societies. In the two last he was materially assisted by Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps.

"In the year 1842 he achieved the great distinction of being elected, by a large majority, Corresponding Member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres of Paris, two then well-known Ministers of State of France, M. Guizot (who remained his attached friend and correspondent till his death) and M. Villemain, voting for him. He was said to be one of the youngest who had been elected to this illustrious body; and as an English member, into the bargain, he was justly proud of the honour that had been conferred upon him.

"He was the author of various able works on political and literary history as well as the antiquities of his country, and he was the editor of a still greater number of mediæval writings in Anglo-Norman French and Latin, amongst which may be quoted the best edition existing of *The Canterbury Tales*, and *Early Mysteries and other Latin Poems*, from original MSS. in the British Museum and Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge. Of his many important works, however, he will probably be best remembered by *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, one of the most popular and readable books we have on the early races of those peoples, through whose influence our present mixed race of English has achieved so much in the world's history. *The History of the Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England during the Middle Ages*, profusely illustrated from ancient documents and MSS., by his friend the late F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A., and since republished, a few years back, under the title of *The Homes of other Days*, and a *History of Womankind in Western Europe, from the Earliest Time to the Seventeenth Century*, also well illustrated from original and authentic sources, are likely to have a popular and lasting interest, and keep the name of their author in the grateful memory of all who read such useful and elaborate compilations.

"To Thomas Wright's perseverance and knowledge were owing the very interesting discoveries on the site of the ancient Roman city of Uriconium, near Shrewsbury, an account of which he published in 1859, under the title of *A Guide to the Ruins of the Roman City of Uriconium at Wroxeter*, and a subsequent edition of the same book in 1860. It is a matter for deep regret, and much pained the subject of this notice during the last few years of his life, that this interesting field of research should have so completely been abandoned, and that no one had followed him in the paths he took such pleasure in laying bare, or had since set to work to further explore the treasures of antiquity yet buried, as he believed, beneath the soil of this Pompeii of England.

"Amongst other literary works of his life were a contribution to the Master of the Rolls' volumes of Records, etc., and a *History of Carica-*

ture and Grotesque in Literature and Art, and *The Caricature History of the Georges; or, Annals of the House of Hanover*, compiled from the squibs of that time. He also wrote several histories of Scotland, Ireland, and France, as well as contributed an article on the Anglo-Saxon period, and afterwards on the Anglo-Norman period, to the *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, at the request of the Royal Society of Literature, of which he was an Honorary Fellow. To this journal he was a constant contributor. Many other works remain to testify to the industry, research, and scholarly acquirements of Thomas Wright.

"In concluding this brief notice of the literary career of one so lately in our midst, and whose place will not be easily filled in his especial walk in literature, we can but feel that, although he has achieved a fame which will keep his memory green for years to come, we could have heartily wished that he had lived longer in sound health and mental strength, to have himself enjoyed the fruits of the oftentimes hard and sustained labour he underwent during his unassuming, albeit useful, career."

Many will hear with regret of the death of our Associate Mr. JOHN WIMBLE, the architect, which took place on the 29th of August 1877, at his residence, Surbiton Hill, at the early age of thirty-nine. In consequence of declining health, Mr. Wimble had been obliged, for several months past, to withdraw from his labours; but the attack which proved fatal came on within forty-eight hours of his death.

The deceased gentleman was born at Maidstone, and after receiving his education at Tunbridge School, was articled to Messrs. Whichcord and Son of the former town. Coming to London shortly after the expiration of his articles, he commenced independent work, which soon developed itself into an extensive practice. The more important portion of his practice was carried on in the metropolis, and especially in the City. Indeed, it was the thorough knowledge of the requirements of City properties, and the careful calculation and accurate foresight necessary for their profitable development, that, together with his ingenuous and straightforward character, secured to the deceased architect that confidence which was given to him. In the more recent years of his practice he was much engaged upon compensation cases for the Metropolitan Board of Works, particularly in those arising from the formation of the Northumberland Avenue, for the City Commission of Sewers, and the School Board for London.

Of Mr. Wimble's architectural works, the following may be mentioned: the head station of the London Salvage Corps, Watling Street and Queen Street, and their branch station in Commercial Road; the extensive buildings covering the site of the Old Four Swans Tavern, Bishopsgate Street; the Albert Wing of, and other additions to, the

Royal Asylum of St. Anne's Society, Streatham Hill; Nos. 59, 60, and 61, Haymarket; Messrs. Boosey's premises, Regent Street; new building at the corner of Ludgate Hill and the Old Bailey; the south-west quadrant of Ludgate Circus; Messrs. Mather's premises, Farringdon Road; the entire block of warehouses at the junction of Leadenhall Street and Fenchurch Street; the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Company's Offices, Cockspur Street; North Street Church, Brighton; warehouses and other buildings occupying altogether about one-third of the entire frontage of the lower portion of Queen Victoria Street; and about one-third of Southwark Street.

His death is a great loss as well to his family as to a large circle of friends.

MR. RICHARD NATHANIEL PHILIPPS, D.C.L., F.S.A., Recorder of Pontefract, who died 5th September 1877, aged sixty-nine years, was a son of the late Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Philipps, Minister of Upper Chapel, Sheffield, from 1805 to 1837, by Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Harmer, Esq., of Whyting House, Suffolk. He was educated at the Sheffield Grammar School and at Christ's College, Cambridge. In the University of Cambridge he held the degree of LL.D. He was originally intended for the ministry among the Nonconformists; but abandoning that profession, he was called to the bar on the 11th June 1841. Mr. Philipps resided mostly in London, where he took an active part in the affairs of the Corporation of that city, being until recently one of the Deputies for the Temple Ward. He was a member of the Libraries', Markets', and other important Committees, and his services were several times acknowledged by presentations of plate. He was especially interested in the fine new City Library built near the Guildhall a few years ago, and his name is honourably commemorated, along with others, on an inscription within that building. He was elected, on the 22nd February 1855, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and he was also a Fellow of several other of the learned societies of London, and a Vice-President of the British Archaeological Association. He was a magistrate for the West Riding of Yorkshire, also for the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, and a Commissioner of Lieutenancy for the City of London. He was appointed Recorder of Pontefract in August 1871. Mr. Philipps contested Stafford unsuccessfully, in the Liberal interest, in 1852. He was a man of very active and persevering disposition, and devoted a large part of his time to the discharge of magisterial and other public duties; and of late years he had given himself up almost wholly to public work, chiefly in the City of London.

Mr. Philipps was well known in the town of Sheffield. He had been connected with the administration of justice in the town generally,

and with the West Riding bench for upwards of twenty-three years ; and during the whole of that time he had devoted himself to the duties of a magistrate with well-known impartiality, and with a considerable amount of legal intelligence. He had acted frequently as Chairman of the Quarter Sessions, and his ability in that capacity was well known to the legal profession of this town. The legal abilities of Mr. Philipps were well known, and no one was better able to deal with a point of law than he was.

His remains were interred in the family vault in the Sheffield General Cemetery, where repose those of his father, the Rev. Dr. Philipps, who was for thirty-two years minister of Upper Chapel, the oldest Nonconformist place of worship in Sheffield. This Chapel owed its origin to the ejected ministers of 1662, among whom was the then Vicar of Sheffield. Dr. Philipps was the son and the grandson of eminent Presbyterian ministers ; and there is reason for believing that his grandfather was a scion of the house of Philipps of Picton Castle, Pembrokeshire, an ancient and honourable family, raised to a baronetcy in 1621, and to the peerage, as Baron Milford, in 1766.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1878.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., F.S.A., V.P., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

THE following were duly elected members of the Association :

- L. His Grace the Duke of Westminster, K.G.
Rev. James Walker, 10 King Square, E.C.
- L. The Earl of Hardwicke, *President*, Wimpole Hall, Royston
E. Strickland, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Bristol
Professor Charles C. Babington, Cambridge
Rev. Edwin Moore, M.A., Canon of Lincoln, Spalding
- L. The Lord Bishop of Rochester, Selstead Park, Croydon
Charles Gane, Esq., Mayor of Wisbech
Frederic N. Sharp, Esq., Wisbech
Captain Catling, J.P., B.L., Needham Hall, Wisbech
W. Wareing Faulder, Esq., Downing College, Cambridge
R. Blair, Esq., South Shields
Mrs. Silver, Beechcroft, near Weybridge.

The following Local Members of Council were appointed :

C. H. Talbot, Esq., *for Wiltshire*
John Leach, Esq., *for Cambridge.*

Thanks were ordered to be conveyed to the several donors for the following contributions to the library of the Association :

- To Dr. S. Connos*, for "Über Nummerirungs-Systeme für Wissenschaftlich Geordnete Bibliotheken." Athens, 1874. 8vo.
- To the Society*, for "Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire", vol. xi, Parts II and III. Oct., Nov., 1878.
- " " for "Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society", 1877, xxiii; New Series, vol. iii.
- " " for "Archæological Journal", vol. xxxiv, No. 136, 1877; No. 137, 1878; No. 138, 1878.
- " " for "Archæologia Cambrensis", Fourth Series, No. 35. July 1878.

- To the Society*, for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries", Second Series, vol. vii, No. IV. Nov. to Feb. 1878.
- " " for "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology", vol. vi, Part I. 1878.
- " " for "Archæologia Cantiana: Transactions of the Kent Archæological Society", vol. xii. 1878.
- To C. Roach Smith*, for "Collectanea Antiqua", vol. vii, Part I. By C. R. Smith.
- To E. B. Ferrey, Esq.*, for "South Wingfield Manor." Large folio. 1870.
- To the Society*, for "Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society for 1877-78." Part I.
- " " for "Canadian Journal", New Series, No. xcvi; vol. xv, No. viii. January 1878.
- To Rev. T. Mozley, Rector of Plymtree*, for "Henry VII, Prince Arthur, and Cardinal Morton." Large 8vo. 1878. With large folio of Plates.
- To the Imperial Academy, St. Petersburg*, for "Compte Rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique pour l'Année 1875." Folio. With Atlas, large folio.
- To the Society*, for "Bulletins of the Essex Institute", vol. ix, Nos. 1-12.
- " " for "Transactions, Excursions, and Reports" of the Archæological section of the Birmingham and Midland Institute, 1874, 1875." 4to. Birmingham, 1877.
- " " for "Bulletins de la Société Polymathique du Morbihan. Année 1876. 8vo. Premier Semestre, Deuxième Semestre."
- " " for "Journal of the East India Association", vol. xi, No 3.
- " " for "Yorkshire Philosophical Society's Annual Report" for 1877." 8vo. York, 1878.
- " " for "Journal of the Royal Historical Association of Ireland", vol. iv, Fourth Series. January and April 1878. Nos. 33, 34, 8vo; Dublin 1878; and vol. i, Fourth Series, 1870-1.
- To M. H. Bloxam, M.A., F.S.A.*, for "On certain Sepulchral Effigies in Hereford Cathedral"; and also for "The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Warwickshire."
- To J. H. Blake, Esq.*, for "Notes on a Collection from the Ancient Cemetery at the Bay of Chacota, Peru." 8vo.
- To the Archæological Society of Athens*, for a collection of eleven publications relating to the Society, and to the progress of archæological research generally in the Kingdom of Greece.

Mr. E. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, announced the results of the memorial sent by the Council to the Town Council of South Shields. It will be remembered that the contemplated destruction of the newly

discovered Roman station at the Lawes was reported at one of the closing meetings of the last session, and much regret expressed. In view of the importance of the discoveries the Council deemed it advisable to make some effort for their preservation before the intended building works had taken effect. A memorial was accordingly prepared, suggesting that a portion at least of the site should be acquired by the town, either by purchase or otherwise, to ensure the preservation of the remains. Many inhabitants contributed local influence, which increased as the matter passed through discussion. There being no funds available for the purchase, application was made locally for a free grant from the Ecclesiastical Commission. This body has responded in a most praiseworthy manner. Two acres of freehold land, containing the most important of the remains, have been granted to the town gratuitously. The gift has been accepted, and the Town Council has recently voted £400 for enclosing the site, etc. It is proposed to lay it out, and place it under a care-taker. There will thus be preserved for study objects of much interest, while South Shields will have the benefit, in the midst of its works of industry, of an open area of good size for promenade.

The announcement of this result was received with cheering.

Mr. R. Blair exhibited impressions of three well cut cameos of Roman workmanship, found at the Lawes, which has produced a considerable number of small objects of great interest. Two of these are cut in red jasper. The largest represents a hunter who holds a bird above his dog, while his right hand grasps a bow. The second has two small faces regarding each other; and the third represents probably Apollo, who grasps a bunch of grapes. The two latter have been sketched on the Plate, p. 378.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., exhibited two perfect Roman Samian ware bowls found at the Pan Rock, Whitstable. They bear potters' marks, one of which reads CRISPINI, and the other PAVLLVS.¹ The locality was described, and the theories with respect to it passed in review. The popular belief is that a Roman vessel laden with pottery was wrecked here in remote times. The articles bear indication of lengthy immersion, and have traces of oyster and other shells. It is probable, however, that the spot, now quite out to sea, was once dry land. It may not be improbable that its site was then a manufactory for these articles, none such having been met with elsewhere in England, although the spot is within a certain distance of the Upchurch potteries. It was very probably a depôt for them on their arrival from

¹ These names occur in the list of potters' names from the Allier, given by C. Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A., V.P., in vol. vi, *Collectanea Antiqua*. They have frequently been found in London and elsewhere. On the Allier was a large establishment of potters.

the Continent; and the regularity of their appearance in layers, spoken of by some divers, would justify this belief. They can be recovered only by dredging, or when washed ashore after heavy gales.

Mr. Brock also spoke of the Roman sepulchral memorial found at South Shields, and stated that the site was probably that of the cemetery of the recently discovered station at the Lawes. It was found by some workmen who were digging at a greater depth than usual for the foundations of some cottages at the back of Bath Street. The sculpture is extremely well executed, carved in the compact red sandstone of the district, and in tolerable preservation except where the figure has been mutilated.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Secretary*, exhibited a rubbing from the inscription of "Regina", found lately at South Shields, and read some notes upon it, which have been embodied into the form of a paper printed above at pp. 489-495.

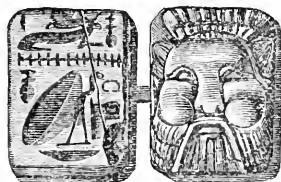
The Rev. C. Collier, of Winchester, forwarded drawings of another pavement recently discovered at Itchen Abbas. This is the third which has rewarded the excavators. It is in perfect condition, and of very elegant design, being made up of tesserae of black, white, red, etc., as on the former occasions. It occupied the centre of the apartment only, the borders being formed of larger tesserae of red brick. The design is represented on the accompanying Plate, and a more detailed description is reserved for Mr. Collier's paper on the villa, which will be accompanied by a general plan.

Mr. Stephen I. Tucker, *Rouge Croix*, exhibited a silver covered cup of Florentine workmanship, of the sixteenth century, from Venice; and an old latten cup in *repoussé* work, dated 1573, with the armorials of Philip II and of William Duke of Cleves.

Mr. Roofe exhibited an amphora found lately in Queen Victoria Street, probably used in the importation of honey and olives from the Levant.

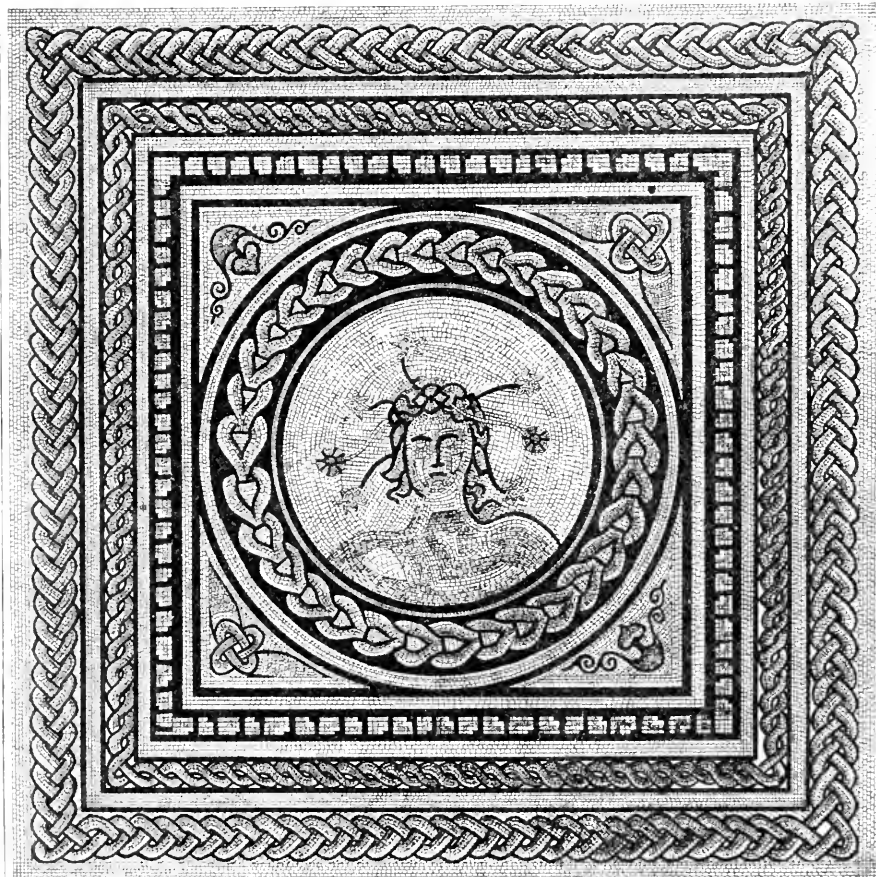
Mr. G. G. Adams, F.S.A., exhibited an Egyptian amulet in four of the engraved scarabs so common among Egyptian collections.

Dr. Birch, of the British Museum, contributed the following notes upon this unusual relic: "The little amulet has on one side a head of



the god BES, or BESSA, in relief, clad in the usual lion's skin, and wearing a cornice surmounted by plumes. On the reverse appear to

ROMAN PAVEMENT. ITCHEN ABBAS.
WINCHESTER.



ABOUT 12 FEET SQUARE.

COLOURS: BLACK, WHITE, RED AND PALE BLUE.
red is lined, blue is dotted.



be the following hieroglyphs, '*U-n nefer pa Asar Mut neb hat*; containing apparently the name of *Un-nefer*, or *Osiris Onnophris*. The remaining expressions refer to the goddess *Mut*, or to the mother of *Osiris*, as *Mut neb hat* (or *abt*), '*Mut, mistress of the heart.*'"

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited a stone club, 9 inches long, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in greatest breadth, 2 inches in thickness, and probably wanting 4 inches of tapering hand-grasp. This curious relic, of mountain limestone, picked up beneath the ancient British *gaer*, or fortification, on Moel Offrym, North Wales, has been probably a weapon of war or the chase. Moel Offrym is a slaty hill; the weapon is stone, apparently split by a sudden blow from its matrix. The upper side has been formed by rude art into a flattened round. The under side is flat.

A very fine Delft jug, silver mounted, smooth white glaze, with the following long inscription in Dutch verse :

"VYVA ORANIE.

"Louys die troek te veld	Danek sy den opperheer
hy wist hoet was gestelt	oranie herstelt weer
met witte en met groote	na geen Louys begeeren
wenst Louys tot haer heer	nog wit of groos geslaght
Oranie gans ter neer	die haddent niet gedaght
men syt hy moet gaen koote.	lof sy den heer der eere."

A poem in praise of the discomfiture of the French King Louis, and the successes of Orange. It has also a central shield of arms, crowned, within a ribbon with garter-motto.

Mr. Tucker interprets the grand quarters as belonging—1st, to Nassau; 2nd, Katzenellenbogen; 3rd, Vianden; 4th, Dietz. In the centre is a shield again quartered,—1 and 4, Châlons; 2 and 3, Orange: and on another, the insignia of Geneva. This beautiful work of the seventeenth century presumably belonged to one of the Princes of Orange, and was bought in Amsterdam by Mr. Emanuel Boucher, owner of the celebrated cutter *Fiona*, whose property now it is.

Mr. Mayhew exhibited also three fine specimens of Samian ware dredged from the Pan Rock.

Mr. Birch exhibited a charter of the time of Edward I, in possession of Mr. J. Bowman of Bristol, by which Cecilia Pollard, widow of William Pollard of Bristol, grants a yearly rent of two shillings for the expenses of the lighting in the church of St. Lawrence, Bristol. The text is as follows :

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Cecilia Pollard, relieta Willelmi Pollard Bristolli, in libera vid[ui]t[at]e mea et legia potestate mea dedi et concessi, et hac presenti carta [m]e[a] confirmavi, deo et sancto marie, et ecclesie Sancti Laurentii Bristolli: pro salute anime mee et

Willelmi Pollard, quondam viri me[i], et puerorum nostrorum, et antecessorum et successorum nostrorum: duos solidatos annui redditus ad luminare e[i]usdem ecclesie, in [l]iberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam, percipiendos annuatim ad festum Sancti Michaelis de illa terra [m]ea quam emi de Ro[ger]o [d]e ...al... et D[ionis]ia uxore sua, que jacet in suburbio Bristolli, scilicet extra portam Sancti Johannis, inter [terr]am que fuit Ricardi Gill . . mb . . l in parte b[or]iali, et terram que fuit R[o]yse Juvenis in parte a[n]strali. Et si forte contingat quod ego vel heredes mei vel [assign]ati tempor[e] futuro predictum redditum predicto termino reddere contradiximus, quod absit: [tunc conce]do p[ro] me et heredibus [et] assignatis meis quod par[och]iani predictę ec[c]lesie, qui electi et co[n]stituti fue[ri]nt, [ad] [tu]telam capiendam de l[um]in[ibus] predictę ec[c]lesie distri[n]gant predicta[m] terram q[ui]buscunque mod[is] voluerint ad dictum redditum inde le[van]dum, et term[i]no prefixo, ut supra[dictum] est. Et ut hec mea donacio et concessio et presentis carte [m]eę confirmatio rata et stabili[s] imperpetuum permaneat huic s[cri]pt[o] s[i]gilum meum apposui. Hiis testibus: Domino Th[oma] Vicario Sanctę Warburge, Michael tunc pers[on]a [San]c[t]i Lau[rentii], Magistro Johanne Aylard, Henrico Langholm, Wi[llelmo] Curteis, Willelmo Cordew[ai]nario, Jordano Kyvili, Johanne Morin, Waltero de Wintonia, Nicholao de Axebrun[g]e, et aliis."

The names of the witnesses include Thomas, vicar of Werburga's Church, Bristol; Michael, the parson of St. Laurence's; Master John Aylard, Henry Langholm, William Curteis, William the Cordwainer, Jordan Kyvili, John Morin, Walter of Winchester, and Nicholas of Axbridge. The deed is finely written in ornamental cursive minuscules, but parts have flaked off. The missing words are supplied between brackets.

Mr. Mayhew then read his paper on "Welborne in Lincolnshire, and its Neighbourhood", which will be printed in a forthcoming part of the *Journal*.

The Chairman then delivered an address embodying the results of the late Congress at Wisbech, as follows:

NOTES ON THE WISEBCH AND CAMERIDGE CONGRESS.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

Within the compass of the Roman curtain-wall of Pevensey Castle in Sussex is an old iron gun, dismounted, the only piece of artillery in the place, which bears the initial letters, in high relief, E. R., of Edward IV, and beneath them the rose surmounted by a crown,—the white rose of York again crowned in the person of the young Duke of that house. The Rose and Crown, the sign of the hotel at Wisbech, lately made the headquarters there of our Association, occurs to me as not an inappropriate symbol for our East Anglian Congress; and a little leisure on the coast of Sussex having been employed in embodying some notes taken down during the agreeable ten days spent in

Cambridgeshire, I will, at the request of some members there present, give them in writing.

The picture of the Fen Country as presented to St. Guthlac under the aspect of an unknown antiquity, and conjured up by himself, may have frightened him as much as he has startled us in those descriptions given us by Mr. W. de Gray Birch and Mr. J. W. Grover. They remind me of the words of Tacitus¹ when relating how some of the Romans in Germany had been carried off prisoners into Britain, and being sent back by the rulers of the island, they related, on their return from this long journey, marvels in terms not unlike St. Guthlac's chroniellers',—the force of the winds, the strange, unheard-of birds, the monsters of the deep, the forms half men and half beasts : all these they had seen, or thought they had seen, through the medium of their fears, in Britain.

We need not go further back into antiquity than the time of the Romans ; and as we know by their works still remaining, that they kept out the sea by their wall, and drained the land-waters into the rivers by the great Cardyke work, so we must conclude that during the historical period the country was pretty well inhabited, and productive both of grain and cattle. Were it otherwise, we should not find the country thoroughly occupied by the towns, the forts, the stations, and outworks of the Romans along their military roads, attested as they are by the very numerous coins, pottery, statuary, and domestic utensils, which have been found, several specimens of which are to be seen in the Wisbech Museum ; and in spite of occasional floods and bursting of dykes, the country must have been prosperous and productive in the times which followed the Roman, otherwise there never could have been reared the magnificent churches and abbeys which we have lately visited, and which must have been supported by a fruitful soil and an industrious population.

We may take, then, a middle course between the descriptions of St. Guthlac and the glowing account of William of Malmesbury. The inundations in mediæval times, and the want of a uniform system of drainage, caused periodically much distress and loss, reducing the country to a state which loudly called for the outlay of capital and the employment of engineering skill, which came at last to be supplied in the manner and at the times particularised by our President in his opening address.

In the Museum at Wisbech is a Roman sword in good preservation, found near the wall or vallum ; its point still sharp for striking, *non cœsim sed punctim*, as the Roman manner was. With such a weapon in hand he would wait for the Briton with his long sword, making a vigorous descent from his lofty fastness. The Roman retreating a

¹ *Ann.* ii, 24.

little, tired out his adversary, and then the barbarian would find himself powerless under the well directed thrusts of his more skilful opponent.

Lofty fastnesses of the Britons were, of course, not to be found in the Fen Country; but we have visited positions at Castle Acre and at Castle Rising which correspond with the descriptions of such fastnesses in Cæsar and Tacitus. I may refer to a notable example we recently visited at Oldbury Camp, near Ightham in Kent, where was only one entrance easily defended, and the rest of the wooded heights impregnable. Agricola showed his military skill in selecting positions whereon to plant his castles for defeating these sudden descents.¹ Mr. Bloxam pointed out the fitness of the position at Castle Acre for a British camp; and yet, without gainsaying this opinion, Mr. Brock went far to prove that the circular mound which formed a portion only of this strong fort, and is contiguous to the Roman camp with its vallum, surrounding the modern village, was a work of post-Roman times. This opinion, advanced by our late Associate Mr. G. V. Irving,² and Mr. G. T. Clark in *The Builder*, is based upon the analogy of the various Saxon and Danish fortifications which are found in immediate proximity to the Roman camps, or formed within them. The mound of Norwich was mentioned; and I may instance several fortifications of similar type to Castle Acre in Ireland, the plans of which are figured in Wright's *Louthiana*,³ and are by him attributed to the Danes.

This week we have seen a similar mound, once crowned by a castle, at Cambridge (Camboritum), near the Roman camp; and the mound on which the Rectory House is built at Castor, near Peterborough, stands in similar position with reference to the Roman *castrum*. The mound close to Ely Cathedral, pointed out by Mr. Brock, and the vicinity of the early monastic foundation at Cratendune, we had not time carefully to examine.

The successive periods of Roman and Saxon occupation are well described by Mr. Irvine,⁴ and were commented on by Mr. Brock, who pointed out how these mounds were afterwards fortified in mediæval times, as shown by the remains of masonry of the different periods on many of them, though not on all. As to the smaller mounds throughout Cambridgeshire, Mr. J. Peckover, in his paper upon the tumuli of the Fen Country, referred to the opinion of Messrs. Miller and Skertchley in *The Fenland*, that the greater part are found within two miles of the Roman bank, and they consider them to be of Roman origin. He mentions that Mr. Sharp's mound is 101 feet in diameter, and 20 feet high; and Mr. Webster's, 110 feet in diameter, and 10 feet high. It has often occurred to me that some of the smaller and flat

¹ Tac., *Agric.*, xxii.

² *Journal*, xv.

³ 4to, London, 1758.

⁴ In his paper on the earthworks of Norfolk, in *Journal*, xv.

tumuli which Stukeley calls the disc-shaped, might have been raised by the Romans for engineering purposes, either to plant thereon engines of war for the play of their projectiles, or for other machines, such as mills. The two mounds just referred to, however, seem of larger area than would have been required for such purposes. We need detailed accounts of the contents of such tumuli, in this district, as were sepulchral, for determining their dates and origin, and it does not appear that they have been systematically explored.

The tumulus which Mr. Peckover attributed to the occupation of St. Guthlac, about A.D. 700, may have been of the kind; and he was not the only one of the early Christians who converted into a chamber for Christian devotion those underground, holy places of the heathens, with domes and lateral recesses, of which we saw a good example at Chapel Euny in Cornwall.

Of the legendary giants we did not hear so much as in that country of the far west, yet Mr. A. Peckover gave us some amusing sketches of one named Hiekafrith, whose scenes of mischief were among the Marshland churches, the towers of which were said to be separated from the main building through his agency; but he played a better part in protecting Smeeth's Common from the invasion of those who would enclose it.

We had a grand architectural study in the Marshland churches; the transition of the successive styles, and the careful descriptions given us of the changes each church underwent, furnish a history of the Fenland more telling than what even written history records; and we are much indebted to Mr. Brock for the care he has bestowed upon the subject, as well as to the other gentlemen who assisted him.

Of Norman work we seldom see so much that is perfect in one district; and we are carried through the troublous times of the Norman conquest to the barons' wars and the death of King John, which occurred soon after he had lost his treasure and baggage in crossing the Wash. King John often had cause to avail himself of the pecuniary services of the Jews, and merchants of this nation carried on a good foreign trade at Lynn. Among the charters from the library of Dr. Cox Macro¹ is a grant by John, Bishop of Norwich, to Ralph Roman of certain houses in Linne, which had belonged to Isaac, a Jew of Norwich, at the request of King John. The charter of King John to the church of Norwich, A.D. 1214, is printed in the volume of the *Rotuli Chartarum*, published by the Commissioners of Public Records, col. 2, p. 166; and neither this, nor the confirmation of it with extended privileges by Henry III, appear to have been known to Blomefield,—a circumstance pointed out by the editor of said volume of the Camden Society.

¹ Printed for the Camden Society, 1840.

The heavy Norman style of the churches gives way, in the reign of the son of John, to the elegant, pointed arcades and piers of slender shafts of the Early English style. At Walton we had a beautiful example of this style, which came upon us immediately after the striking specimen of the Norman at Walsoken. Of this latter style, the front of Castle Acre Priory is another choice example; and the capitals of the columns should be examined in their diversity of design, which in some cases have quite a classical or Roman character. The Cluniac order apparently affected a Roman manner in their buildings; and at the Hôtel Cluny, in Paris, the Abbey and ancient Roman Palace and Baths are contiguous. Some pieces of very early design were also pointed out to us in the walls, still standing, of Crowland Abbey. This Abbey, with Thorney, Peterborough, and Ramsey, made up four whose mitred abbots had seats in the house of peers; and a large proportion was this for East Anglia out of the few abbeys which enjoyed this privilege.

The day before visiting the Marshland churches we had that excursion to Ely which will long be remembered by all our members who were there. Accompanied by our President, we were received with cordiality by the Bishop of Ely, Archdeacon Emery, the Lord Lieutenant of the County, and many other distinguished people of Cambridgeshire; regretting the unavoidable absence of the Dean, the Rev. Dr. Merivale, author of that historical work, *The Romans under the Empire*, which has instructed and delighted all students of history. The day was fine, and Mr. Brock occupied himself in the illustration of the magnificent Cathedral which was minutely described and inspected. Mr. Bloxam also gave us a full account of the monuments, and drew our attention to one of Bishop Heton, who died in 1600, and though a Protestant bishop is represented in rochet, cope, and cassock. He gave us also some interesting comments upon portions of the architecture of the Cathedral, in which he was followed by Mr. Blashill. A large stone, brought from elsewhere, stands in the church, having around it an inscription in ancient characters, reputed to be a dedication to Ovinus. Mr. Birch has promised a paper upon it during the present session.

Not the least interesting, in an antiquarian point of view, were those ancient adjuncts of the monastic building of Ely, seen at the Infirmary, the Deanery, the Chapter House, the Cloisters, the unique Lady Chapel (a separate building), the Prior's Gateway, and two other richly carved Norman gateways; and Mr. J. Reynolds' experience of the plans of monasteries was useful in identifying the sites at different periods.

Our visit to Lynn and Castle Rising, on Thursday, gave us so many archaeological objects to visit and to dwell upon that it was a relief, in the afternoon, to drive along the heaths and by the forests and planta-

tions which lead up to Sandringham. At Lynn we were conducted by our old Associate Sir Lewis Jervis to the principal objects of interest in this grand old town, which once was Lynn Episcopi before its name was changed to Lynn Regis.¹

St. Margaret's Church was our first attraction, and well deserved Mr. Brock's eulogies. Mr. Bloxam described a very fine brass of a Lynn merchant, illustrative of the manners and costume of the day. Among the numerous printed books in the library attached to the church was a fine copy of a Sarum Missal printed by Francis Regnault.²

The valuable MSS. and charters of the Corporation were kindly exhibited by the Mayor, and described by Mr. Birch; and the plate and regalia of the Corporation, including the famous Edwardian cup, caused much discussion as to their dates, or rather the amount of reparation they had undergone at different times. Mr. Lambert maintained his opinion against all comers, and gave us a good account of corporation maces, and of the changes in their shape at the restoration of Charles II.

The church of St. Nicholas has some interesting points, and the architecture has been well taken care of in the restoration which has exposed to view a portion of the Early English transept which had been covered up with earth to some depth, the later church being built at a higher level. Mr. Bloxam pointed out a door in the chancel similar in shape to those seen in churches at Bristol.

The old walls and port, the wide streets, the fine private houses of the Carolian and Jacobean periods, recall the departed glories of Lynn when its merchant ships covered the German Ocean, and its pilgrimships were ready to convey their cargoes of devotees to St. Malo in Brittany, or St. James of Compostella in Galicia, in the later times of pilgrimages; and in the earlier, to the holy places in Palestine. The scallop-shell of the pilgrim in the hat of St. James (one of the figures painted on the lower part of the rood-screen at Walpole) was pointed out to us there, though it will be remembered that the Perpendicular style of the architecture in this as well as in Terrington Church was rather later than when such pilgrimages were most frequent. We had two good specimens of Henry VII's architecture in the octagonal chapel raised on a mound, and approached by a flight of steps on each side, with beautiful fan-tracery in the stone roof; and another of the brick examples was the tower of the Grey Friars. King Henry VII favoured this part of the country by his presence on more than one occasion, and we find him going a pilgrimage to the shrine of our Lady of Walsingham when his government was in difficulties; and

¹ Perhaps from *Ulyn*, a lake; in *Domesday*, *lun* and *lena*.

² Paris, 1529.

the danger over, he sent his banneret, in token of gratitude, to be hung up in the church of his deliverer at Walsingham. He had spent the Christmas before his visit there at Norwich.

The intermediate times of the Edwards and Henries are not so well represented in the buildings we have seen; but John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, was a large landholder, and played an important part in the history of the eastern counties. The commerce with the Flemings was encouraged; Norwich, as the centre of the staple established since Edward II's time, led the way in the progress of manufactures, which had heretofore been monopolised by the foreigner. The little village of Worsted has even left its name upon a certain fabric which in name has outlived the fabrics of greater pretensions.

We had to hurry off to Castle Rising, and the time allowed there was too short to ramble over this very extensive and beautifully wooded natural fortress, which was surmounted by a Norman castle. The keep was of the usual character of such buildings, and an interesting ruin. Outside the fortress, at a short distance from it, stands the Norman church of Castle Rising. The west front was one of the best specimens seen, and well preserved. The font was interesting, and of very early date.

By the gracious permission of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, granted at the request of our President, the afternoon was agreeably spent in visiting Sandringham House. The well arranged suite of rooms gave evidence of the comforts of an English home; trophies of the chase, such as antlers, boars' heads, and skins of wild animals, served to remind us that with all our luxury and modern refinements, the same manly exercises which were practised and applauded by Nimrod and Assur-banipal, are still in favour with the gentlemen of England, and help to form our youth to the models of spirit and manly courage which were as conspicuous at Balaclava as they had been centuries before at Crecy and Poitiers.

For Friday we had in store the memorable Abbeys of Thorney and Crowland, about each of which a history may be written. The chroniclers are as eloquent about their foundation and progress as they were about their destruction by the Danes in 870. The Duke of Bedford entertained us at luncheon in the Abbot's house of Thorney (formerly Ankarig, from the anchorites dwelling there). The nave of the old Abbey church is still used for the service of the parish; and before dismissing this for the full official account, which will be given hereafter, I will refer to an old register-book of the French Protestants, dated 1654 to 1727, one of whose pastors, Ezechieel Danois, for twenty-two years administered to their spiritual wants in this place. A tablet to his memory, on the church wall, describes him as "*ingens litteraturæ thesaurus*", who died on Feb. 24, 1674.

Proceeding homewards to Wisbech, from Crowland and Thorney, many churches could be seen along the route, such as Long Sutton, Holbeach, Geding, Fleet, Wheplow, and Weston; but there was no time to visit them.

A flying tour was then made to Spalding, where the Rev. Canon Moore gave us an excellent account of the Priory church; and his description of the architecture, and of the raising of the capitals of the Early English period, when the clerestory was added at a later date, seemed to meet with the approval of the numerous party assembled. The register went as far back as 1538.

On Saturday an excursion was made to Castor, called by the Britons Doorebriff,¹ then *Caer Dorm*; in Saxon times, *Dormanceaster*. Some notes upon the Roman station of *Durobrivæ* (meaning water-ford or passage), by our veteran Associate Mr. C. R. Smith, were read with much interest upon a field on the south side of the river Nene, towards Water-Newton, the site of a camp with its outline and vallum pretty well defined, and the whole area strewn with broken fragments of Roman pottery which must have been turned up by the plough over and over again. We had driven here through Alwalton Linch, and by a road on a ridge which runs at a considerable elevation, overlooking the river; the village of Chesterton, with its church rising up among the trees, having been seen on a rising ground to the left. To the north of the river Nene is an elevation known as Mill Hill, occupying a space formed by a bend in the river, and where earthworks are visible, and where Roman remains have been found.

A little further north than Mill Hill stands the village of Castor. The old church stands in the centre, and all round were found the numerous Roman remains, in 1821, by the late Mr. Artis, which were figured in the superb plates published by him in folio in 1828. The Rectory, which stands to the north of the church, is built upon a mound of earth of artificial formation, which is shown by a massive portion of masonry still protruding from a section of the mound, which has been cut down; and not far from hence the supposed original wall of the *castrum* was uncovered; but all the old excavations were filled in again, and nothing is now to be seen but a portion of a mosaic pavement *in situ*, in the cellar of a cottage to the south of the church, which, through the kindness of the rector, had been uncovered for us by removing a portion of a cellar-wall which concealed it. One of the pavements discovered by Mr. Artis is now preserved at Milton. The suggestion of Mr. C. R. Smith, that a committee should be formed with the co-operation of the land-owners in the neighbourhood, if this can be obtained, will, I trust, be carried out for the purpose of making excavations which may determine the relative dates of the various

¹ Horsley.

Roman works, and the nature of the material of which the vallum or the walls are composed; for we have four separate sites indicating Roman fortifications, besides indications of villas in the vicinity, and the potteries discovered by Mr. Artis, extending for some twenty miles along the banks of the river. On the north of the Nene, the Castrum or Castor, and Mill Hill; and on the south, Chesterton and the camp known as The Castles, through which the Roman road runs in a diagonal direction before it crosses the Nene northwards in its course to the next station at *Causeway* (Ancaster). The communication of these strongholds with others on the banks of the Nene river may be studied in the investigations of the Royal Archæological Institute at their late Congress at Northampton, alluded to by their President, Lord Alwyne Compton.

The agent of the Dowager Marchioness of Huntly exhibited to us, from the museum of that lady, a flint instrument found, as he understood, among the early geological formations of the district, being one of the links connecting the archæology we study with that of those remote periods of which geology treats. Who shall say whether the labours of Evans, Lubbock, Tyler, and others, in this field may lead to the possibility of bridging over the chasm which at present separates geological periods from the evidence of man's experiences?

The milestone and dedication to Florianus, referred to by Mr. C. Roach Smith, has an historical interest which carries us to the date A.D. 276, when rival factions sided either with the Senate of Rome or with the Prætorian præfects in electing the Roman emperors. Florianus reigned only two months, having succeeded his brother Tacitus, who reigned but six. This Tacitus was of ancient family, claiming descent from the historian of that name. His wealth was considerable, and he well represented the senatorial order, of which he was the nominee. He died, however, at Tarsus, surrounded by the army; and his brother, without the reputation or the talent of the deceased emperor, hoped to perpetuate the dignity in the family; but the army declined to allow the principle of hereditary succession, and Florianus in two months ceased to exist. The family had to be content with the prophesy of the soothsayers, that a lineal descendant of Tacitus and Florianus should be Emperor of Rome in a thousand years from that time, and should rule over all the barbarians; and among the places named is the Roman island, which can be none other than our isle of Britain. These events are well attested by Vopiscus, a grave author, who wrote not long after, in the reign of Diocletian.

For the description of the beautiful Norman tower of Castor Church, and of the early foundress of a nunnery here, St. Kyneburga, I will refer to the *Transactions*, and to the account given us by the Rev. J. J. Beresford, and pass on to Stamford, where a hurried visit hardly did

justice to the many objects of antiquity of which the town can boast; and above all, the church of St. Mary's. The MSS., too, which went back to the time of Edward IV, were produced and explained by the Mayor, who welcomed the Association most hospitably, and did all that was possible to forward the objects of our visit; and the same may be said of the Rev. A. C. Abdy and others, who seemed to consider that another visit should be paid to Stamford to see the many antiquities omitted on this occasion.

Not even was there time to go over the princely domain of Burleigh House, though so near to the town. Our President in his address alluded to the first Cecil, Lord Burleigh, the illustrious progenitor of the two noble houses of Exeter and Salisbury. He may be quoted as a grand exception to that saying of Horace Walpole, that "every man has his price". It is refreshing to find examples to the contrary, and the absence of sordid motives in our past history, as when William Cecil (born 1520, who married Mary, sister of the celebrated scholar Sir John Cheke) had to lay down all his honours and his greatness rather than conform to Queen Mary's conditions, by which he might have kept them. And in naming one instance I may at the same time refer to another connected with the county of Norfolk in the person of one whose ancestor once owned the stronghold we visited, of Castle Rising. I mean Philip Howard, the Earl of Arundel, who under Queen Elizabeth was equally firm in refusing her offers of preferment if he would attach himself to the reformed religion; and rather than do this he languished in the Tower of London, and died there at the early age of thirty-nine, in 1595. The walls of the Beauchamp Tower bear marks of his hands in carving some lines of religious consolation during his sad captivity, signed "Arundell, June 22, 1587." His son Thomas, restored to his dignities by James I, became afterwards the Earl of Arundel so distinguished for his collection of works of art.

It remains, before taking leave of Wisbech and our kind friends there, to speak of the hospitality shown us by Captain Catling at Needham Hall, near Elm, where the old church was visited by a detachment of our party; and after service on the Sunday we had a minute survey of the architecture, under the guidance of Mr. Brock. Needham Park, where we spent the day, affords pasture for bullocks and sheep, with much benefit to their owner, who carried off two gold medals at the Paris Exhibition. In times gone by, and even within the memory of Captain Catling, water-fowl frequented this marshy country, which by draining has become a fine park with large trees.

At Wisbech Mr. Peckover entertained some of the party at his fine old house, dating back from the time of Queen Anne, and preserved very much in its appropriate fittings and furniture as it was in the

days of that Queen. Near it we came upon a link between the times of the Stuarts and our own, in the humble slab which marks the burial-place of Jane Stuart, who died 1788, aged eighty-eight years. She was a natural daughter of James II, and supported herself by weekly wages earned in the field. She refused all offers of pecuniary aid from the court, and declined to be drawn from her obscurity. Her memory is to this day respected by the Society of Friends, in a corner of whose burial-ground the box-edging has been planted and kept green ever since around her grave.

Mr. Smith's beautiful house and grounds were thrown open to our party; and Mr. Leach and Dr. Lithgow, the Local Secretaries, were indefatigable in rendering their assistance, and arranging for the best economy of time.

Some of the vaults under private houses in the town were interesting examples of early groined brickwork. We visited one under Mr. Leach's house, and one occupied by Mr. Exley, the wine merchant, having a length of 200 feet.

The Mayor, Mr. Charles Gane, after giving up his time to us all the week at our evening meetings, would regale us with a loving-cup at his house at parting; and we regretted not to have had more time to devote to Wisbech Museum, which contains many antiquities from the neighbourhood, such as coins, celts, both in metal and stone, ecclesiastical rings, etc.; and also to pay a second visit to the remarkable church of St. Peter's, with its double nave, the architecture of which was described to us by the Rev. Canon Scott, from the notes of his brother the lamented Sir Gilbert Scott.

We adjourned on Monday, 26 August, to Cambridge, and here the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, represented by the Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., F.S.A., W. M. Fawcett, M.A., Professor W. Wright, LL.D., have, with the assistance of many of the Fellows and Professors of the University, introduced us in two days to so many of the treasures of ancient Cambridge, that all the Muses of the Cam would be unable, in a volume, to reproduce a tithe of the thoughts which they suggest, much less can these be compressed into a few pages. I may therefore take leave to write down only a few notes on such subjects as seem to fall more particularly within the scope of our studies, making no apology for those I omit; and perhaps the most convenient method to adopt, even as to the few subjects referred to, will be to divide the matter into sections, such as the *prehistoric*, the *historical*, the *architectural*, *section of the books and MSS.*, and of the *ancient plate*.

PREHISTORIC SECTION.—In the first part of this summary I referred to some of the mounds visited, which may be classed among the prehistoric or unrecorded. We have on the north of the river Cam one College, that named Magdalen, which stands between the stream and

the site of a Roman encampment, the vallum still remaining in the gardens of the College, and forming a raised walk. The area of the camp can be traced, and is computed to measure 1650 by 1600 feet. Within the area of this camp is a mound on which a castle once stood; and here arises the old question, was the camp here before the mound, or the mound before the camp? If the mound is artificial, we might almost safely answer the first question in the affirmative, and suppose it to date from post-Roman times; but if it is a natural formation, it is an unusual instance of a Roman camp occupying a space with a mound in the middle of it, which would not fall in with the Roman mode of laying out camps.

Rather more than a mile from this is Chesterton, and near it, at King's Hedges, a large oblong camp on the south side of a Roman road which crosses Chesterton Field.

HISTORICAL SECTION.—I will here, without particularising the Roman remains shown, as at Trinity College, at the foot of the staircase, which are described by the Rev. J. C. Bruce,¹ refer to a tile exhibited, with an inscription upon it, which was proved to be a forgery, and was found, with others of the same kind, in Warwickshire. We had the opportunity of comparing the inscription upon the tile with one from which it had been copied on a Roman altar dedicated to Hercules, and brought from the Wall in the times of Camden and Stukeley. The forgery is curious because the tiles are known to be of some age, and carry us back to when the question of the situation of early British tribes was vehemently contested, and that of the Cangi had advocates who located them in Somersetshire, while others placed them in North Wales, chiefly on the authority of Ptolemy's Promontory of the Cangi in Cheshire. These forgeries may have been used to maintain the theory of some zealous partisan, who, however, has blundered in copying the usual formula at the end, *vslm*, by a wrong letter; to say nothing of the inconsistency of placing a votive inscription on a tile.

In passing through the cloisters of St. John's College a number of the party were seen thronging round the altar of Apollo, which came from *Coccium* (Ribehester). It was illuminated on all sides by "holding a lighted taper up to heaven"; and one might imagine in the anxious crowd a desire to hear from the oracle of the god some second prophesy about a new Salamis to be planted in Cyprus, even though the prophesy has been already a second time fulfilled by the event:

"Certus enim promisit Apollo
Ambiguum tellure nova Salamina futuram."

Professor Colvin, M.A., conducted us over the Fitzwilliam Museum,

¹ *Arch. Journal* for 1855.

and after discoursing upon the beautiful marble hall and staircase of the building, which was reared by the legacy of the Earl Fitzwilliam, who died in 1816, proceeded to describe some of its contents, and among them the Disney collection. When the Disney Professor, Dr. Marsden, in the year 1854, discoursed upon these antiquities to the Royal Archæological Institute, he called attention to many slabs with early Greek inscriptions, from the Troad, then recently brought over. The present Disney Professor, Dr. Babington, has to welcome the discovery, in these times, of antiquities without end, from the researches in Greece, Asia Minor, and the isles of the Ægean; and we may compliment the Managers of the Museum for their promptitude in bringing over the magnificent casts of those large sculptures lately exhumed from the Temple of Jupiter at Olympia, to which our attention was drawn by Professor Colvin. The gigantic figures of Centaurs in their contests with Lapithæ are full of vigour; and it seems like sacrilege to reduce to the level of ordinary life forms which the Greek mind has idealised out of a tribe of skilful horsemen, drivers of bullocks, and lording it over the natives, with the usual carrying off of their women common to early Greek manners. The wealth of these cattle-dealers, and the extent of their foreign trading, would raise them above the native tillers of the soil both in wealth and experience of life. Such bullock-drivers were the Iceni of these counties, as far as we may infer from the presumed derivation of their name, and what is known of their history; but Britain could boast no Pæonios or Alcemenes to convert them into Centaurs of marble.

Of ancient pottery from the neighbourhood, we had a good collection to examine, and two cases full of specimens from Cyprus; but I must pass over details, nor have space to speak even of the pictures in the gallery, which included a Venus of Titian, and others of the best old masters. Nor can I more than allude to the famous collection of Greek coins left to the Museum by Colonel Leake.

We must leave the early Greeks, Romans, and Saxons, for the lessons of English history which are taught us by the different colleges which “most sweetly scatter their wholesome streams through all the gardens both of church and state”, as said William Camden. We visited twelve out of the seventeen; and in each hall and chapel, combination-room and master’s lodge, had so many objects presented for contemplation and study, that it was to endure the pains of a Tantalus to pass by them as we did.¹

When we dined in the hall of Magdalen College, by the kind permission of the Master and Fellows, Mr. Horman Fisher pointed to a lovers’ knot carved on one of the stone mullions of a window there, in

¹ I have to acknowledge my indebtedness for much information to the admirable *Handbook of East Anglia*. Murray, 1878.

honour of the royal lovers who united the two branches of York and Laneaster, and caused the red and white rose to be amalgamated on one bloom as the badge of Henry VII. This is an era from whence the great prosperity of the University seems to date, and from whence modern English history takes its rise, each generation thence tending to build up that idiosyncrasy of the nation which every Englishman must feel to whom the history of his country is familiar. Not that the colleges do not present traces of the earlier foundations in their buildings as well as in their annals. The early abbeys of the Marshland had influenced the formation of schools of learning, perhaps, as far back as the times of Felix, who had his first seat at Soham, according to William of Malmesbury. Elmham was a city and seat of the Bishops of Norfolk from about 673 to 1075; but documentary evidence as to Cambridge is not very clear till the year 1231, when writs are issued by Henry III at Oxford for the regulation of the Cambridge clerks, and wherein the Chancellor and Masters of the University are mentioned.

The early history of the separate colleges will hardly furnish a very exact title to the seniority of one over the others. Thus if Peterhouse points to its earliest foundation by Hugo de Balsham, Bishop of Ely, 1257-86, in the reigns of Henry III and Edward I, *St. John's College* claims to be founded upon the old establishment of St. John's Hospital, planted in the reign of Henry II; although its second founder was the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of Henry VII. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was this lady's executor, and carried out her wishes in respect of the foundation. He himself founded four fellowships and two scholarships, and supplied a code of statutes, though these were afterwards set aside by Henry VIII in 1545. He also built the gateway of brick with stone dressings. In the hall is a portrait of Bishop Fisher, and another in the Old Masters' Lodge, assigned to Holbein. The friend and companion of Sir Thomas More, Fisher suffered with him on the scaffold, in 1535, for denying the King's supremacy in matters ecclesiastical. The library of the College has some good Tudor wood-carving, and Professor Mayor here delivered an interesting address with a history of the College.

The royal foundation of *Trinity College* was reared upon the older foundations of King's Hall and Michael House: the latter founded in the reign of Edward II, the former by Edward III. Its most eminent scholar, John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, before referred to, was Master of the College in 1497. There are portions of the old building still to be seen, as some of the stonework in the buttery, and the timber roof of the kitchen.

The Rev. Robert Burn, A. H. Heaton, and F. S. Howard, conducted us through the noble library of Sir Christopher Wren, into which we

passed after taking a survey of the three courts and quadrangles of the College. Mr. White, Sub-Librarian, gave us an interesting account of a Saxon cemetery discovered at Orwell, near Berrington, in Cambridgeshire, and various specimens of the remains there found were exhibited. The famous statue of Lord Byron, by Thorwaldsen, adorns this fine room of 190 feet in length; and among other marble busts which are placed against the walls, I noticed that of Dr. Bentley, Sir R. Cotton, and John Ray the Naturalist, all by Ronbilliac; Sedgwick by Woolner, Dr. Whewell by Baily, and a portrait of Roger Gale the antiquary, whose MSS. are here preserved. A bust, too, was there of John M. Kemble, to whose Saxon researches and editorship of charters and other MSS. in that language, history is so much indebted. Many coins were placed out under glass cases, including a good Roman series; and among the emperors referred to in this summary I noticed three coins of Tacitus, A.D. 275-276; one of Florianus, A.D. 276; twenty-four of Probus, A.D. 276-282.

In the hall, considered the finest in Cambridge, were pictures of Sir H. Spelman, a copy by Isaac Whood; Ray the naturalist, copy by Hudson; Dr. Bentley, original by same, who was the instructor of Sir Joshua Reynolds. This last great master painted the picture of the last Duke of Gloucester when a child, who was Chancellor of the University from 1811 to 1834. An oriel window contains some ancient glass, on which is a figure of the Richard Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III, supposed to be an original portrait.

By the kind permission of Dr. W. Hepworth Thompson we were admitted to the Master's Lodge and state rooms used on occasions of royal visits. Some of the most remarkable pictures were a full length portrait of Henry VIII, assigned to Lucas de Heere; Lord Bacon, on panel, given by Peter Burrell in 1761; Sir Isaac Newton, by Thornhill; Anne Boleyn, probably an original portrait; Dr. Nevile, builder of Nevile's Court, who died in 1615; Sir Isaac Newton, by Enoch Zeeman, painted within three months of his death; a small head of Scaliger, attributed to P. Veronese, given by Bentley. In the Combination Room, among many good pictures, is one of Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI; of Baker the non-juror; of the elder Wilberforce; and of Adams and Herschel the astronomers.

On entering Trinity College we passed through a brick portal, the lower portion of which is attributed to Edward III, by his arms carved in stone; but the upper portion by Henry VIII, whose bluff, full-length figure occupies a canopied niche above the doorway. His two daughters, the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, are claimed as the foundresses of the chapel, the first having commenced, and the latter finished it. Among the beautiful windows is one painted with the effigy of Mary holding a model of the chapel in her hand. What stir-

ring events arising out of the political leadership of these two half-sisters do their names recall ! Interesting portraits of both are in the College ; the former agreeing well in features with the well-known picture of Mary I, painted for Philip of Spain, in the Museum of Madrid. A plain slab of stone, on the north side of the altar, bears the name of Richard Bentley, who died 1742, aged eighty-one. This learned critic and author, who deservedly gained a European reputation, had been Master of Trinity since the year 1700.

In the ante-chapel is a marble figure, by Woolner, of the late Master, Dr. Whewell ; and near it another, by the same artist, of Lord Macaulay ; both in company of Sir Isaac Newton's full-length statue by Ronbilliac, and the seated figure of Lord Bacon, a copy of that in St. Michael's Church, St. Alban's, where Bacon is buried.

We passed to *Clare College*, a very ancient foundation, though the building is of the seventeenth century. Its first foundation by Richard de Badow was confirmed by its second foundress, Elizabeth de Clare (whose portrait is seen on the walls of the College), third daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, by his wife, Joan of Acre, daughter of Edward I, who died in 1360. This has been supposed to be the "Solere Hall" mentioned by Chaucer in the *Reeve's Tale*, and where he himself had been educated.

Corpus Christi College next claimed our attention, and is remarkable as having been founded in 1352 by the aldermen and brethren of the united guilds of Corpus Christi and the Blessed Virgin. It was afterwards known as Benet College.¹ It was attacked by Wat Tyler's men in 1381, who burned and destroyed the valuable charters and other MSS. there preserved. Its library will be spoken of hereafter.

In the Master's Lodge are two portraits of Archbishop Parker, who was Master from 1544 to 1553. Among the scholars of Corpus were Samuel Wesley, father of John and Charles Wesley (died 1735) ; Stukeley the antiquary (died 1765) ; Gough, editor of *Camden* (died 1809).

Not far off stands *Queen's College*, established on the site of St. Bernard's Hostel, a house founded by Cistercian monks for their scholars in Cambridge. Andrew Duket, the Principal of the College, became the first President of Queen's in 1448. The name was given to it because founded by Margaret of Anjou, Queen of Henry VI ; and Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of Edward IV, became its second foundress in 1475, giving it a code of statutes. A contract exists for roofing the hall in 1449.

¹ Some interesting particulars relating to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, are given in a MS. of William Cole, in Additional MS. No. 5842, Brit. Mus., and therein will be found an account of an acquittance for £24 "for the bargain and sale of the annualis of xxs. by the yeare to Kenilworth Abbey", payable by the town of Cambridge. It is dated 24th May, 19 Henry VIII.

Professor Wright pointed out the treasures of the library ; and in the President's Lodge, among others, are a small portrait of Erasmus by Holbein ; a portrait, on panel, of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, and Queen Anne of Denmark, wife of James I, and of Elizabeth of Denmark his daughter.

Erasmus of Rotterdam, that enemy to monasticism, and literary leader of the Reformation in Europe, became a bond of union between the thoughtful minds of the Continent and our own when he came over to England in the troublous times of Henry VIII. Bishop Fisher, who was President of Queen's, has the honour of having invited the great scholar to take up his residence at Cambridge ; and the brick tower, where the rooms occupied by Erasmus were situated, commanded the attention of us all as viewed from the first cloister of Queen's College.

We passed to *St. Catherine's College*, which was founded in 1475 by Robert Woodlark, Provost of King's, and Chancellor of the University, but the present buildings are not ancient.

Trinity Hall was founded in 1350 by William Bateman, Bishop of Norwich, under the name of the "Hall of the Holy Trinity at Norwich"; and its greatest interest is in its legal library, where we were shown the method of chaining the books to the carved oak desks, to which an iron bar is attached, on which the chains run. Of the books, more hereafter. The pictures of Cecil, Lord Burleigh, and his son Robert, the Earl of Salisbury, both Chancellors of the University, of Porson by Hoppner, and of Roger Gale, are interesting ; a bust also of the first Lord Lytton, who was President of our Society at the St. Alban's Congress in 1869, when he received us in his classical domain of Knebworth. Among the scholars of this College were Holinshed the chronicler (died 1580), Carte the historian (died 1754), and the Earl Fitzwilliam, founder of the Museum.

Gonville and Caius College, though it has some old portions which are worth notice, is a large modern building of stone, one wing of which is a copy of the Château de Blois in France. There were two founders, as its name indicates. The first was Edmund de Gonville, rector of Rushworth, Norfolk, and also of Terrington in the same county, where he died in 1350. The second founder was John Caius, physician to Edward VI and to Queen Mary. This remarkable man, who had studied at Padua, Pisa, and Paris, was an eminent Greek scholar and antiquary. His portrait is in the hall.

After attending service at the Chapel of *King's College*, we ascended its marvellous roof, and walked upon the massive stone blocks of which it is formed, the timber roof being above our heads. From the summit of the latter, Cambridge with its seventeen colleges, its well tim-

bered gardens, and walks by the side of the winding Cam, were laid out before us. This College, founded by Henry VI first, in 1440, as an independent College, and then in 1443 on a much larger scale, when it was connected with the College founded by him, the same year, at Eton. The chapel, with its twenty-five windows containing the original coloured glass, was known as the Church of Our Lady and St. Nicholas. The windows are described in *Journal*, xii. The chapel was begun in Henry VI's reign, and was continued in those of Edward IV, Richard III; and from that time till 1508 it was quite at a standstill, when the building was resumed under Henry VII. The erection was not finished till 1515.

Sir John Cheke was Provost (died 1557), and members of this College were Sir Robert Walpole, his brother, Horatio Lord Walpole of Wollerton, and the famous Robert Walpole, son of Sir Robert; also Archdeacon Coxe the historian.

It remains for me to describe Magdalen College, over the Bridge, in the hall of which we dined by the kind permission of the Master and Fellows. Here had formerly stood a house, founded about 1428, for the education of young Benedictine monks, and known as Monks' Hostel; but in about 1483 it became known as Buckingham College. The College had been founded at the request of Crowland Abbey, to which it was attached, and on the dissolution of the monasteries it escheated to the crown. It was then refounded by Thomas Lord Audley, under the name of the College of St. Mary Magdalene. The great interest attaching to this College centres in the "New Building" on the eastern side of the second court, inscribed "Bibliotheca Pepysiana, 1724", the date when the College became possessed of Pepys' valuable legacy of his fine library, of which more will be said hereafter. His portrait, by Lely, is in the hall.

The last College we visited was that of *Jesus*, the Master of which is the venerable Dr. George E. Corrie, Vice-President of the Congress, who had arranged that every opportunity should be afforded us for viewing this ancient and most interesting College. Mr. Fawcett, M.A., of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, gave us an excellent account of the Chapel and the alterations it underwent under Bishop Alcock of Ely, who founded the College in 1497, or rather converted into a College what till that time had been a Benedictine nunnery founded about 1133, and afterwards endowed by Constance, daughter of Lewis VI of France, and widow of Eustace, son of King Stephen. It was also benefitted by Malcolm IV, King of Scotland. The Convent was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Rhadegunde. The inscription, MORIBVS ORNATA JACET HIC ROSA BERTA ROSATA, on a tomb-slab of the thirteenth century, records the name of one of the abbesses, in the south transept of the chapel.

The first court was built during the Mastership of Dr. Sterne, between 1638-43, and partly in and after 1718. Dr. Sterne was Laud's chaplain, and attended him to the scaffold. He afterwards became Bishop of Carlisle and Archbishop of York. In the hall is a portrait of Tobias Rustet (by Sir Peter Lely), Yeoman of the Robes to King Charles II, who founded sixteen scholarships here, and died in 1693. There is also one of Dr. Sterne; and in the Combination Room one of Archbishop Cranmer, by Holbein. It bears the date 1548, "*ætatis sue 58.*" Also one of Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and of William Harvey who discovered the circulation of the blood.

We must now leave the peaceful shades of Jesus College, and quitting Cambridge, must hope to revisit it on another occasion, to see those other colleges which have been passed over, such as Sidney Sussex, where the original portrait of Oliver Cromwell is preserved, and where so many men of the disturbed period of his rule were educated, such as Samuel Ward, Master, one of the translators of the Bible (died 1643); Thos. May, historian of the Long Parliament (d. 1650); also Fuller, author of the *Worthies*; Sir Roger l'Estrange (d. 1704); Rymer, of the *Fœdera* (d. 1713).

We had seen portraits of Oliver Cromwell and of General Monk at Queen's College; and at the church of St. Mary, at Ely, we were shown the house where Cromwell lived many years before he first entered Parliament as Member for Huntingdon. It is interesting when we reflect upon the outcome of his subsequent political career, and the influence he afterwards had upon the history of these counties.

ARCHITECTURAL SECTION.—I shall limit myself to passing in review some of the buildings by name, leaving their description in detail to more competent hands. The collection is, indeed, varied, and runs through almost every period of our history, from St. Benet's Church with its Saxon tower, to the round church of St. Sepulchre and the parish church of St. Mary's. Then we visited an oblong building to which the name of the School of Pythagoras was given in the sixteenth century, but appears to be Early English with some Norman work; and its purpose does not quite appear, some calling it a grange, and others a manor-house, and it might equally well have been used for a school. The Colleges present the picturesque appearance of varied styles, for the most part of post-Reformation period, if we except the brick and stone portions of Henry VII and VIII, of which there are good specimens; and that elegant piece of architecture, King's College Chapel, which can only be compared with St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and Henry VII's at Westminster. The gate near Clare, which once formed part of King's, and now stands up by itself, will, it is to be hoped, be preserved as a good type of the brick and stone of the Tudor period; and another is the gateway to Jesus College.

That interesting specimen of the early Renaissance, called the Gate of Honour, at Caius and Gonville College, must not be passed over, whether it was all built in 1574, or the top part added as much later as the Carolian period.

SECTION OF THE BOOKS AND MSS.—The private history of the next age, portrayed in the diaries of John Evelyn, 1641-1706, and of Samuel Pepys, 1659-69, lead me to speak of the *Bibliotheca Pepysiana* containing the valuable books and papers of the garrulous yet hardworking Secretary to the Admiralty during the reigns of Charles II and James II. His friend John Evelyn, under 28 January 1682, says: "Mr. Pepys, late Secretary to the Admiralty, shewed me a large folio containing the whole mechanic part and art of building royal ships and men of warr, made by Sir Anth. Deane; being so accurate a piece, from the very keele to the lead, block, rigging, gunns, victualing, manning, and even to every individual pin and naile, in a method so astonishing, with the draught, both geometrical and in perspective, and several sections, that I do not think the world can shew the like." This description will be approved by all of us who saw the book, which, with Sir Francis Drake's memorandum book, maps, and charts, as well as portfolio of portraits of the worthies of the period, were shown to us, and explained with great courtesy, by the Librarian. The MS. diary, written in short hand, and contained in six volumes, was also shown us. It was first edited, at the beginning of this century, by Mr. John Smith, B.A., curate of Banham, Norfolk, and has lately been again deciphered and published. I will not quote from that well known diary, or repeat the story from it related by Mr. G. R. Wright, in which was introduced the flattering speech Mr. Pepys made about his wife, whose beautiful bust, in white marble, still stands on its pedestal on the north side of the chancel of the church of St. Olave's, Hart Street, London,—a church they frequented when living in the adjoining street called Seething Lane.

We saw the copies of seventeen letters from King Henry VIII to Anne Bullen, taken at Rome from the originals resting there in 1682. These may lead to reflections on her subsequent fate, as we had mused upon that of her predecessor, Katherine of Aragon, when viewing her bedchamber in Leeds Castle, Kent, and her grave in Peterborough Cathedral.

Before leaving Pepys' library, I will quote from J. Evelyn a passage concerning those Arundel marbles which I have before referred to:—"19 Sept. 1677. To London with Mr. Henry Howard of Norfolk, of whom I obtained the gift of his Arundelian marbles, those celebrated and famous inscriptions, Greke and Latine, gathered with so much cost and industrie from Greeco by his illustrious grandfather, the magnificent Earle of Arundel, my noble friend whilst he lived. I

procur'd him to bestow them on the University of Oxford." Great was this age for science and literary progress, and the establishment of learned societies. Sir John Tradescant's collection at South Lambeth formed the nucleus of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, as did Sir Hans Sloane's, at Chelsea, that of the British Museum in London. Among the names of learned men whose portraits adorn the walls of the colleges, that of Ray the naturalist, and founder of a society of his name, is often repeated; and I may take occasion to refer to his work, among many others, *The Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works of the Creation*, written to prove the greatness and goodness of God by the knowledge of his works,—a theme which has been so ably written upon, after two hundred years, by those eight wise men of England who were selected by the Earl of Bridgewater's trustees to carry out that great work, *The Bridgewater Treatises*.¹ The late Master of Trinity, Dr. Whewell, connects Cambridge with this undertaking; and to Professor Sedgwick belongs the honour of establishing in Cambridge the Geological Museum, to forward a science second only, if it is so considered, to astronomy,—a science in its infancy at the beginning of this century; but when such foster-fathers as Whewell, Sedgwick, Murchison, Buckland, Phillips, Lyall, and others, took it up, it has grown to what it now is by the patient labours of those hard-working explorers and their successors.

Passing over the University Library of some 250,000 volumes, which we did not visit, it is difficult not to refer to the famous Uncial MS. of the Gospels, dating from the fifth or sixth century, known as the Codex Bezae, preserved there, and which was presented to the university by Theodore Beza himself in 1581.² At Trinity Library our attention was called to the MSS. collected by Thomas Gale, and presented by his son Roger Gale. The Bentley MSS., comprising many Greek, from Mount Athos; the Canterbury Psalter, with Anglo-Saxon and Norman glosses, of the presumed date of 1150; Milton's MS. of a dramatic composition, which he is thought to have worked up into *Paradise Lost*. At St. John's the libraries of Prior, the poet, and Thomas Baker; psalter and canticles of Irish work of the seventh century, with marginal glosses, the work of Irish Scribes; two Cover-

¹ Twelve volumes. London, 1836.

² This was printed in facsimile at Cambridge in 1793 (2 vols. folio); and specimen pages are given in Plates 14-15 of the facsimiles of the Palaeographical Society, among which will be found specimens of the following early copies of the Holy Scriptures:

Plate 104, Codex Vaticanus. Fourth century, at Rome.

" 105, Cod. Frederico Augustanus Sinaiticus. Fourth or fifth century. Leipzig.

" 106, Cod. Alexandrinus. 5th century. Brit. Mus., London.

" 118, Cod. Argenteus, Gospels of Ulfilas. Gothic. Sixth century. Upsala Univ. Library.

dale Bibles, printed on vellum in 1539, one of which had belonged to Cromwell, Earl of Essex. At King's Library, works bequeathed by Jacob Bryant, once a fellow, and many of another fellow, Sir Francis Walsingham, of Elizabethan celebrity. At Corpus, the great MS. collection of Archbishop Parker, from the stores of the dissolved monasteries, among which an early copy of the Gospels from the Augustinian monastery at Canterbury; Parker's original MS. of the thirty-nine articles, with autograph signatures of the bishops. At Catherino College a large folio Salisbury missal on vellum. At Peterhouse, the MS. of Warkworth's *Chronicle*, extending over the first thirteen years of Edward IV's reign. Warkworth was master of the college, and died in 1500. At Trinity Hall the MS. of Thomas of Elmham's *Historia St. Augustin. Cantuar.*, and to these should be added the valuable charters of the town, some as early as Henry III, and one as late as Philip and Mary. These were displayed in the town hall, and explained by the learned Mayor of Cambridge, who took the opportunity of telling us the history of Thomas Hobson, the carrier, whose portrait hung upon the wall, and who was a benefactor to the town and university. The proverb of "Hobson's choice" arose from his letting out saddle horses, and giving the hirer no option but to take the one next in turn.

ANCIENT PLATE.—Having no space to devote to this interesting section, I will recall but few pieces to your recollection, such as the mace or caduceus of silver, having on it a crown and four serpents at Caius, and at Corpus the plate presented by Archbishop Parker, 1544 to 1553, salt cellar, ewer, and basin, covered cup, and thirteen apostle spoons. The cup of the three kings, of dark brown wood, with silver mountings, and on the lip of the bowl the names of Jaspar, Melchior, and Balthazar. The poison cup at Clare, being a silver cup, having a crystal within it, which was supposed to change colour if poison had been mixed in the liquor by some designing Locusta. To those studying this branch of archæology I would refer them to a new work on the subject by Wilfred Joseph Cripps, M.A., founded on the papers and tables of the veteran antiquary Mr. Octavius Morgan, F.R.S., F.S.A., London, 1878.

Having brought our labours to a close, I am bound to acknowledge the forethought and good arrangement of our congress secretary, Mr. Geo. R. Wright, throughout our ten days' excursions. The one and the other have been sorely taxed, yet amply vindicated by him, notwithstanding the somewhat intricate railway system through the fen country, and the length of our journeys; and it may become a serious question for future consideration whether the distances gone over should not be restricted. Lastly, I would add to the expressions we have heard of the success of the Wisbech Congress, which will best

appear in the official report of the proceedings—a general remark of the practical results which have attended the active exertions of the British Archæological Association, and we may claim a share of credit for the gain of an historical monument on an elevated site, known as the Lawe, at South Shields, containing the foundations, walls, and pavements of a Roman town in the north of England; which, instead of being covered up or built upon, is to remain for the inspection and teaching of future generations. Mr. Brock, in the name of the Association, took the lead in petitioning the corporation of South Shields as to its preservation, and suggesting practical means of effecting it, which has been very handsomely agreed to by the corporation, and by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. We may hope also for some excavations on a systematic plan at the Roman Durobrivæ in Northamptonshire, as the result of our late congress, if the plan meets with your approval and support.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

*St. Alban's Abbey.*¹—It is fortunate for antiquaries and all lovers of mediæval art that Mr. Neale has been so devoted, conscientious, and truthful in the task he has undertaken. The fact must be constantly driven home to many, that too much indifference exists with respect to our ancient monuments. Time is not always the destroyer. How many relics of the past have been swept away to make room for factories, shops, or publichouses! Many buildings have been effaced through misguided restoration. Since this and similar societies have existed, things have improved; but still how much remains to be done! The value of collections of drawings of national monuments cannot be over estimated. What we require are accurate and faithful measured drawings representing the buildings exactly as they are, not hasty sketches. Every detail, every sculptured carving, every interesting moulding, should be delineated line for line, not as the artist thinks they should be, but as they are. Future generations will then be enabled, to know what is old and what is new, and will find additional pleasure

¹ *The Abbey Church of St. Alban, Hertfordshire.* Illustrated by James Neale, F.S.A., A.R.I.B.A. London. Printed for subscribers.

in the study of the fragments of structures which "in the elder days of Art builders wrought with greatest care". They will, moreover, have handed down to them representations of many totally destroyed buildings.

The size of the volume is imperial folio (22 inches by 15 inches), and it contains sixty plates, including two double plates, and a coloured frontispiece. There is letterpress describing each plate, and a short general history of the Abbey. The plates are reproduced from the author's drawings by photolithography; thus an exact facsimile is obtained without any redrawing or touching up by the lithographer. It is the largest book produced by photolithographic process yet issued from the press, and is a monument in its way of the progress made during a few years in this branch of art. The chronological chart (p. 7) is an admirable idea well wrought out. It gives, in the most clear way, works undertaken by the various abbots, the reigning sovereigns, the styles of architecture according to the nomenclatures of Rickman and Sharpe, etc.

The nave of St. Alban's is 284 feet 5½ inches from the central tower to the west front, being the longest nave in the world. The long, unbroken lines have an effect quite unique. It must not be forgotten that if by mischance a high-pitched roof should be substituted for the existing low-pitched roof, the long lines will be less pleasing than at present. The parapets, which really form the sky-line, are now composed of variously coloured stones, tiles, and flints, occasionally overgrown with moss. These materials give a variety to the outline preferable to the suggested lead of monotonous hue. We see no real justification for destroying the present roof. It has been proved to be capable of being properly repaired, and it is an interesting portion of the history of the building which has existed for at least four centuries.

Mr. Neale describes (p. 12) how, by the merest chance, the painted ceiling of the choir was brought to light in 1875, and reproduces part of the painting as the frontispiece of this volume. The last paper read before this Association by the late Rev. Charles Boutell, was upon the heraldry displayed on the ceiling.¹

The list of subscribers shows the reputation in which Mr. Neale is held by his professional brethren. We find the names of all the well known architects. The principal libraries throughout the kingdom, and a goodly number of nobility and gentry, have also subscribed for copies. Although he has obtained an amount of support rarely accorded to the author of a book on architecture, we understand in a pecuniary sense he has been a considerable loser. This is owing to the few copies that were printed, and the enormous cost incurred in providing a perfect and complete book. The drawings have been

¹ Vol. xxxiii. Sept. 1878.

erased from the stones, which we hear with some regret. Such works as these should be spread far and wide, and not be confined to the libraries of rich collectors. We cannot do better than quote the author's own words, in which may be detected hints as to the difficulties of his task, as to his fervent love for his art and for the monumental work which he has studied so faithfully.

"In St. Alban's we read the history of English mediæval art, in the work of the finest period.....From the beginning of the thirteenth to the middle of the fourteenth century there must have been at St. Alban's, in constant succession, some of the ablest workmen in the country, and designers who had the command of solidity and grandeur, sustained dignity of proportion, constructive propriety, and masterly fertility of resource,—in fact, of all the elements of grand architecture. Trained skill has succeeded in impressing on all that it touched the stamp of genius. The history of the community is in some respects a history of England. Every Englishman must regard St. Alban's with interest, and more especially every English architect. Its antiquity, its vast size, its majestic form, the exquisite proportions of many parts, the wealth of original detail, attracted me first to its study, and my reverence and interest have grown deeper continually as I have laboriously sought after the principles of its designers. An architectural student may well be thankful that good fortune has given him a training by which he may be able to follow, through the work of his life, in the footsteps of the men of olden times. An expression of hearty gratitude to many such old masters in our art is also due from me, especially now to those who at St. Alban's have left for our learning such monuments of their skill and their devotion."

We should have devoted a few paragraphs to the shrine of St. Alban's, illustrated on Plate 51, but we hope that Mr. Neale may be persuaded during the present session to read a paper before the Association on the subject.

The late Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A., etc.—It is proposed to purchase by subscription a marble bust of the late Thomas Wright, the property of Mrs. Wright, executed by Joseph Durham, R.A., when Mr. Wright was in the vigour of youth and intellect, and to place it in some safe and public hall or library, to be determined on by the subscribers. Two memorials on the behalf of Mrs. Wright, the widow, have been sent to Lord Beaconsfield and one to the Queen, but hitherto without any good result; and now for upwards of ten months Mrs. Wright has been deprived of the benefit of the pension granted to her husband, while the almost total loss of eyesight threatens to make her prospects in the future yet more sad and gloomy. No one in the present generation has rendered greater public services in the wide

field of literature than Thomas Wright, and therefore the proposers of the purchase of the bust trust that, as the sum received will be devoted to the necessities of Mrs. Wright, it will not be limited by any reference to the mere artistic value.

Subscriptions will be received on behalf of Mrs. Wright by T. F. Dillon Croker, F.S.A., *Treasurer*, 9, Pelham Place, Brompton, S.W.; Edward William Brabrook, F.S.A., 23, Abingdon Street, Westminster, S.W.; C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., Temple Place, Strood.

The lithograph of the *Pieta* found at Breadsall Church, which we gave in our last number, was lent by Mr. J. Charles Cox, having originally appeared in his "Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire."

Early in 1879 will be published a second edition of *Canterbury in the Olden Time*, greatly enlarged, with twenty or thirty illustrations, coloured plates, in royal octavo, by our associate, Mr. John Brent, F.S.A. This edition will comprise "Ancient Canterbury," "Canterbury under the Romans, Anglo-Saxons, and in Mediæval Times." It will contain an account, and illustrations as far as practicable, of all objects of an antiquarian nature that have been found in Canterbury of any importance, Celtic remains, Roman enamelled fibulæ; plates of intaglio rings, seals, glass vessels, lamps, pottery, etc., moulds for pilgrims' tokens, also a description of mediæval relics, and illustrations of ancient buildings, now demolished, St. George's and Burgate Gates, the Worthgate, the old Ridigate, St. Andrew's Church, Nunnery of the Holy Sepulchre, St. Gregory's, etc., and St. Augustine in 1728. An account will be given of the ancient monumental brasses in the parish churches, and, if practical, a plate of the fine brass of Christopher Klock or Alcock, which has disappeared from St. Mary Magdalen's Church. Selections, where of interest, will be made from the burghmote proceedings, illustrative of the manners, customs, and doings of the people of Canterbury some centuries since; also an account of ecclesiastical and civic feasts, with hunting the deer by the corporation, the corporation in armour, Canterbury in insurrection, and many other curious and interesting details. A short account will be added of the cathedral and the ancient monastery of Saint Augustine. To subscribers the price is ten shillings and sixpence.

An Ayrshire Lake Dwelling.—The *Scotsman* says: Of all the sites on which man has chosen to fix his "local habitation", few commend themselves less to modern ideas of comfort and convenience than that of the lake-dwelling. It is no less certain, however, from the extraordinary persistence and wide distribution of lacustrine abodes, that such a position must have been well adapted to the circumstances of very many savage and semi-savage communities. Interest in this

ancient form of dwelling has been reawakened by the discovery of a crannoge on the farm of Lochlee, near Tarbolton, in Ayrshire, and there is every prospect, from the care which is being taken by the Archaeological Society for the counties of Ayr and Wigtown, to have it thoroughly investigated, that it will supply much valuable material to Scottish antiquaries. Forty years ago this crannoge was covered by the waters of a loch, which extended over a considerable portion of the present farm. It was exposed, however, shortly after, by the complete draining of the loch, when it attracted the attention of the curious in the neighbourhood from its artificial appearance, and still more by the discovery of two canoes in the bed of the lake. Its real nature, however, does not seem to have been suspected—a thing not to be wondered at, seeing that neither Swiss “Pfahlbauten” nor Irish crannoges had as yet been described. Having thus narrowly escaped fame forty years ago, the ancient bed of Lochlee has since known no further changes, save that produced by the inevitable rotation of crops. Re-draining operations, however, were commenced a few weeks ago, and these have led to the opening up of the mound, and the discovery of the characteristic features of the crannoge. From the excavations which have been already carried out, and of which a short notice has appeared in *Nature*, the structure would appear to be circular in form, and about twenty-five yards in diameter. It is surrounded by a stockade of young oak trees, which in some instances are fixed directly into the mud of the lake bottom, and in others fit into holes in horizontal beams. The interior of this artificial island appears to be formed of woodwork, interspersed with large stones and masses of clay. Near its surface there are the decayed remains of a rude platform, formed of rough planks and saplings lying on beams of split oak trees. In cutting a trench through the mound two stony pavements were come upon near the centre, each resting on a bed of clay, which, from the surrounding remains of ashes, charcoal, and burnt bones, had evidently been fireplaces; and still lower the clay of a third hearth was discovered. The existence of these fireplaces, one above the other, would seem to indicate that, during its occupation, the water had been gradually gaining upon the crannoge, and so necessitated the raising from time to time of its surface. Similar indications have been met with in several of the Irish crannoges. Unlike most of these, however, it seems to have been connected with the shore by a gangway, three rows of closely set piles having been found to extend from the mound to the mainland. Among the remains which have already been dug up are a canoe, hollowed out of a single tree, querns, bone chisels, hammer stones, a spindle wheel, deer horns, with marks of cutting upon them, bears’ tusks, and a great variety of the bones and teeth of animals. With the exception of a three-pronged iron instrument,

found in the drain outside the mound, and another piece of iron, found near the surface, there is no trace of metal; while a piece of red pottery, also found outside the mound, and the half of a grooved head, are the only specimens of Ceramic art. It is too soon yet to form conclusions as to the age, etc., of this interesting relic of bygone times, but archaeologists will look forward with interest to the publication in the Proceedings of the Society already mentioned of a full account, with plans and sections of the Lochlee Crannoge.

Derbyshire Churches.—The four volumes of *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire*, by J. Charles Cox, our associate, are now ready. The first volume treats of all the ancient churches and chapels in the hundred of Sealsdale or East Derbyshire; twenty full-page illustrations. The second volume embraces North Derbyshire or the hundreds of the High Peak and Wirksworth; twenty-five full-page illustrations. The third volume includes the hundreds of Appletree and Repton and Gresley; twenty-three full-page illustrations. The fourth volume, which completes the work, includes the hundred of Litchurch and Morleston and the borough of Derby. This volume also contains a general index to the whole work, and many additional particulars in a supplement, relative to the churches of North and East Derbyshire. Subscribers' names to be sent to Mr. Edmunds, *Derbyshire Times* Office, Chesterfield, before the end of November. The work is a monument to the skilled judgment as well as to the indefatigable industry of Mr. J. Charles Cox. It is a thoroughly good specimen of local antiquarian work, conscientious, diligent, and sensible, and one that ought to lay all Derbyshire men under a debt of gratitude.

The Rev. R. W. Eyton, M.A., has just published (at 10, Little Queen Street, Holborn), two very useful historical works. The first is a *Key to Domesday*, showing the method and exactitude of its mensuration, and the precise meaning of its more usual formulæ, the subject being specially exemplified by an analysis and digest of the *Dorset Survey*, 4to, price £1. The other is the *Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II*, instancing also the chief agents and adversaries of the King in his government, diplomacy, and strategy. This work resembles, in some respects, the *Itinerary of King John* by the late Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, and those of Kings Edward I and II by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne in our own *Collectanea Antiqua*. But the present work is far fuller, and contains names of witnesses to charters and contemporary chronological facts which are of the greatest importance towards a critical knowledge of our history in the later half of the twelfth century. 4to; price £1 4s.

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